Portrayal of refugees in Greek online media: the case of
Protothema.gr and Efsyn.gr

MA Thesis

Name of author: Ece Bilir

Student Number: 2062399

MA track: Management of Cultural Diversity

Department of Cultural Studies

School of Humanities and Digital Sciences

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Supervisor: Dr. Camilla Spadavecchia

Second Reader: Prof. Dr. Kutlay Yagmur

Abstract

During the so-called "refugee crisis" which began in 2015, Greece has had to deal with a significant number of refugees entering it due to its geographic position. Research on the portrayal of refugees is not recent, but it has been flourishing over the last few years. Several studies (Chouliaraki & Stolic, 2017; 2019, Matar, 2017, Jelinkova, 2016) show that refugees are often portrayed as victims or as dangerous people, with both approaches having an impact on people's attitudes towards refugees and on migration policies (Chouliaraki & Stolic, 2019). Against this background, this research This proposed research aims to explore refugees' visual portrayal in two Greek online newspapers with different political views. Specifically, it will analyse and look at the similarities and differences in the refugees' portrayal.

 The research method selected is visual content analysis on a sample of 40 pictures (20 from each newspaper). This research studies the portrayal of refugees in Greek online newspapers. It focuses on the Greek ideologically opposite online newspapers efsyn.gr (progressive) and protothema.gr (conservative) to answer the research question: How do Greek online newspapers from opposing ideological views, efsyn.gr and protothema.gr portray important events regarding refugees in Greece, and what [if any] are the differences in their portrayals? The question is answered through visual content analysis by selecting forty different images (20 from each newspaper). The analysis shows that there are specific distinctions in the portrayal of refugees based on the ideological inclination of both newspapers. However, the analysis also shows that despite these differences several similarities exist in the portrayal of the refugees despite the difference in the political ideologies of both newspapers.

Keywords: refugees, refugee crisis, media portrayal, public opinion, visual content analysis, news, Greece, Europe.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

The aim of this proposed research is to analyze the visual portrayal of refugees in two widely read Greek online newspapers and point out the similarities and differences between them in this portrayal. Before moving to the substantial discussion, it is relevant to note that the term refugee or refugee crisis in this thesis, are general terms that signify refuge/asylum seekers, and people in situations that can be qualified as refugee like, this is done for the purpose of articulation and also because the crisis that began the mass migration from Syria to Europe in 2015 is also largely dubbed as the refugee crisis (Wodak R. &., 2017).

To begin with, it is first relevant to understand the evolution and the context of the refugee crisis. The Syrian civil war, which has been raging since 2011, has resulted in more than 250,000 victims and millions of refugees. The International Organization for Migration (IOM), in a 2015 report, found that the number of refugees and irregular migrants who entered Europe in that year was over one million. Therefore, for the past few years, Europe has been facing an unprecedented crisis in the context of the sheer number of refugees that have arrived on the continent. This situation has been reported in the European press in various ways. A 2016 report by the European Commission stated that "more than one million people seeking international protection, mostly from Syria, Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Iraq, have entered Greece through Turkey since January 2015" (ESPN Flash Report 2016/64).

Though the issue of the refugee crisis in Europe since 2015 has been well documented and studied generally, as shown in the following section on the theoretical framework, in the context of Greece, an earlier study done by Boukala and Dimitra, which focused on the political discourse in Greek social media focusing on the analysis of content (Boukala S. &., 2018). While the research done by Boukala and Dimitra focused on tweets by politicians and the interpretation of these tweets by media in Greece, a comparative study about refugees' visual portrayal in two newspapers has not been done for Greece before with the specific focus on the news agencies selected for this thesis, so a further thorough examination of the Greek example can be useful.

Greece is a major stakeholder in the refugee crisis, as it has been hosting large numbers of refugees due to its geographic position. Also, this research attempts to showcase how opposing political views or ideologies can influence the portrayal of refugees in the two online newspapers, given that one of them is right-wing and has been criticized for extremism, while the other is a center-left progressive source. Literature has shown that far-right political views

portray refugees as a threat, while more progressive outlooks take a more hospitable stance (Jelinkova,2019). This research aims to showcase whether that holds true in the case of two ideologically opposing newspapers.

The significance of studying the portrayal of refugees within the ideological background of the newspapers is high, exactly because it also reflects the political situation in the country itself and how the Greek people have responded to the refugee crisis, but also because it can provide insights to see if political ideologies have an influence on the media coverage of events and situations.

Roupakias & Chletsos (2020), in a recent study, reported that the immigration/refugee situation in Greece is positively correlated with the rise of voters who opt for far-right parties. From 2012 and until early 2019, Golden Dawn, a Neo-Nazi party, which was convicted as a criminal organization in 2020, was represented in the Greek Parliament. The continuing presence of Golden Dawn in the domestic political spectrum along with the emergence of two xenophobic parties (Independent Greeks- Ανεξάρτητοι Έλληνες, and Greek Solution-Ελληνική Λύση) demonstrate the salience of the migration and refugee crisis within the Greek society (Rea, Martiniello, Mazzola, Meuleman, 2019).

Literature shows that the populist right-wing ideology perceives the refugees as a threat to national societies (Jelinkova, 2019). The two newspapers which have been selected for this study are considered to be ideologically opposing. Efsyn.gr, "Εφημερίδα των Συντακτών", (literal translation: Newspaper of the Editors) is the descendant of the Greek newspaper "Ελευθεροτυπία": Freepress) which was a left-leaning historical newspaper within the period 1975-2014. During the deep economic crisis in Greece (2009-2016), this newspaper collapsed. Efsyn, is a cooperative project -administered by its journalists- supporting progressive and liberal ideas following its long centre-left political tradition. In the latest years, the online newspaper has a column regarding the trial of the Golden Dawn neonazi party (now convicted as a criminal organization). Protothema.gr (free translation: The First Topic), first published in 2005, has often been regarded as a newspaper expressing extreme conservativism and even far right ideas in the Greek press scene, especially as many analysts have stressed its significant role in the rise of the Golden Dawn (Dioskourides, 2013). The online form of the newspaper also maintains a distinctive section dedicated to the migration and refugee issue. Media narratives about refugees or migrants have been a topic of research in Europe and the world for many years, but over the last decade, more specifically since the 2015 refugee crisis in

Europe, there have been many such studies resulting from the refugee crisis. The media portrayal of refugees has created a narrative about refugees which shows how refugees are portrayed in distinct ways. On one hand, they emerge as victims of geo-political conflict needing protection, and on the other hand as a threat to the nation-based order and excluded from the communities (Moore, 2012).

A study done in the UK showed how there is a relative absence of the voices of refugees, in how media represents them, and thus this coverage fails to represent them correctly or continues to present an imbalanced and impartial perspective on refugees. This in turn results in further stigmatization and isolation of the refugees (Philo, 2013). This thesis focuses on the academic discussion in the context of Greece and how media representation of the refugees in Greece takes certain narratives in print media. Nevertheless, to the best of my knowledge, no studies have been performed on the ideology's role in refugees' representation in online media in Greece. Therefore, by comparing the refugees' portrayal of two ideologically opposite online newspapers, this study will shed light on ideology's role in refugees' representation in online newspapers.

Moreover, conducting this study in Greece, a crucial stakeholder in the refugee situation in Europe, makes the proposed research even more relevant. Considering the relevance of the issue of ideology for this thesis, it is important to understand the concept. In order to answer this question, an explanation of the meaning of ideology is required. The Oxford dictionary defines ideology as "based on or relating to a system of ideas and ideals, especially concerning economic or political theory and policy." Therefore, in the context of this thesis, the focus on ideology is limited to the political affiliations of media houses that impact their views on the refugee issue. This interconnection is a widely discussed subject, as also discussed in the previous section. However, it is also important that this media coverage is also relevant in shaping the public attitude toward refugees. As seen in another study done in the EU, it was found that the media coverage shapes political trust, as "*media coverage of immigration and refugees influences trust in the European Union; however, the effects depend on citizens' ideological leaning and content characteristics*" (Brosius, 2019).

Based on the above discussion this research proposal answers the following question: *How do Greek online newspapers from opposing ideological views, efsyn.gr and protothema.gr portray important events regarding refugees in Greece, and what [if any] are the differences in their portrayals?*

To answer this research question, there is a need for sub-questions, which can help direct the research towards its final aim.

Sub-questions:

1. How does protothema.gr portray the events?

2. How does efsyn.gr portray the events?

3. What (if any) are the differences between the two portrayals?

The time period for the images selected for this research is between 2015 and 2020, and the thesis is focused on the visual portrayal of the refugees. The thesis follows the following structure. The chapter describes the exiting narrative of refugees in Europe and in other parts of the world, before discussing the core issue of this thesis and provides a brief discussion on the meaning and scope of the concept of refugees in section 2.1. This section is followed by a discussion of the existing literature on the representation of refugees in media in the Western World (Section 2.2) and a discussion on how concepts of visibilities and agencies are represented in the media portrayal of refugees in section 2.3. and the role of political affiliations in such representations that are discussed in Section 2.4. Chapter 3 describes the context of this thesis and discusses the focus of the thesis in the context of Greece. The methodological framework of this thesis is discussed in Chapter 4 which is followed by Chapter 5 on results, and conclusion and discussions in Chapter 6.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework

This chapter describes the exiting narrative of refugees in Europe and in other parts of the world, before discussing the core issue of this thesis and provides a brief discussion on the meaning and scope of the concept of refugees in Section 2.1. This section is followed by a discussion on the visual representation of refugees in media (Section 2.2) and discussion on the how concepts of visibilities and agencies are represented in the media portrayal of refugees in section 2.3. and the role of political affiliations in such representations that is discussed in Section 2.4. Section 3 describes the context of this thesis and discusses the focus of the thesis in the context of Greece.

2.1 Who is a refugee?

Before starting this discussion, it is important to understand what is the definition of the term refugees. The definition of the term has been a matter of debate between states, as some have tried to narrow the scope of the definition, while others have been attempting to expand it in the interests of their condition (Worster, 2011). Nevertheless, an internationally accepted juridical definition of refugee exists as the Geneva Convention for Refugees (1951 as amended by the 1967 Protocol) (hereinafter referred as the convention) , defines a refugee as a person who "*owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it*".

Abiding by international law standards, the U.S. Refuge Act of 1980 states that a refugee is an individual with a "*well-founded fear of persecution*". According to the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees, a legal definition of a refugee is "a person who qualifies for the protection of the United Nations provided by the High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), in accordance with UNHCR's Statute" (General Assembly Resolution 428 (V) of 14 December 1950). Therefore, while there are many from that this definition takes in referring to migrants, this is the legal definition of a refugee under the Convention (Statute, UNHCR, 1950). The Convention definition is also international public law and has 149 states including Greece as its parties, it is the one this study follows. With this understanding of what does the term refugee mean the next section will discuss how are they represented in the mass media. According to Amnesty International, "*an asylum-seeker is a person who has left their country and is seeking protection from persecution and serious human rights violations in another country, but who hasn't yet been legally recognized as a refugee and is waiting to receive a decision on their asylum claim. Seeking asylum is a human right. This means everyone should be allowed to enter another country to seek asylum*" (Amnesty International, s.d.).

2.2 The visual portrayal of refugees in media

Joyce and Gaudin (2007) suggest that visual portrayal/representation can be BOTH narrative or non-narrative as they state that the purpose of narrative images in to illustrates a causal process in a specific time. These images can be people, animals or objects that are either doing something (actors), or they can also have something being done to them (goals). For example, a refugee being helped by a police officer or shouting at the camera. While the image with the police officer shows something being done to the refugees them shouting at the camera shows the refugees, something being done by them.

Fuersich (2010) argues that media portrayal/representation consists of "constructed images that carry ideological connotations", he explains that some types of portrayals can have negative aspects, especially when it comes to portraying minorities, as this kind of narrative can maintain inequalities. To take an example of these negative aspects, sometimes media houses portray minority men as a threat to law and order which reinforces the negative image of refugee men. For example, in the post 9/11 era, the narrative about Middle Eastern Men (including the refugees who fled Syria) continue to portray Muslim men as representative of sexual and physical aggression and predatory sexual practices, that were also reflected in how during the #refugeesNotwelcome movement, when it said that it's not long before the rapes start (Rettberg, 2016, 179,180). Gender also plays an important factor is how media chooses to represent women as they generally either underrepresented or seen as conjunction with their religious identities, as either victims of or individuals lacking agency and in need to be rescued Amores et. al. 2020, 308).

Focusing on these distinctions and methods of representation, this research explores if the existing media portrayal with ideological connotations and can have an influence on people's perception of the other.

Evidently, the portrayal of refugees in the media has been a topic for research, within Europe, for a few years. Matar (2017) found that the portrayal of the crisis involving mass migration generally referred to as the refugee crisis contained an alarming number of stereotypes. According to Matar (2017), there is a problem with the use of stereotypes as *"these assumptions (the use of stereotypes) and divisions become naturalized, normalized and taken for granted, thus becoming acceptable explanations and descriptions of the crisis and those who are experiencing it"* (p.295). This statement shows how the media portrayal of refugees

can help in creating or reinforcing the stereotypes about them by reinforcing these stereotypes, which is a generalized form of portrayal lacking the voices of the refuges themselves.

Within these discussions, Chouliaraki and Stolic (2019), having examined Western media news (Canada, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Sweden, the U.S., and the U.K.) from June to December 2015 (84 pictures), established five categories of visual typology widely used to portray refugees in the media: a) plain biological life happenings, b) a time for empathy or charity, c) a threat to state security, d) a chance for hospitality and activism, e) a self-reflexivity universal message. A similar study on these issues was done by Samuel Parker on the representation of refugees in the UK and Australian media and concluded that *"the predominant repertoire used in the articles was that of the unwanted invader"; active deviants or criminals" who have arrived to cause problems for the passive majority"* (Parker, 2015).

On the other hand, another study in the US has shown while some media portrayal tries to show refugees as regular people it also shows that media's coverage is based on their political affiliation and the issue of representation is a central issue in defining and describing the issue of refugees and immigrants across the globe (Parrott, 2019).

 This matter of representation is deeply connected with pollical ideologies, as both within Europe and beyond, the negative imagery of refugees has been supported by the rhetoric that creates categories of us v them, which is further supported by right-wing populist and nationalistic agendas (Wodak, 2017). These representations continue to highlight the "politics of fear" based on ethnonationalist ideas specially relating to refugees and asylum seekers (Wodak R., 2015). The population belonging to the category of refugees and asylum seekers, continue to be stigmatized in political and media discourses as well as in practice as they are considered to be easy targets. These narratives in turn, have an impact of the public image, moods imaginaries, political preferences. Moreover, they can also result in physical violence against the incoming "refugees" (Boukala S. &., 2018).

Previous research has shown that refugee or migration imagery is often caught in the dilemma of presenting refugees either as victims of geopolitical situations or as people who have evil motives and want to harm the host countries. Another research by Chouliaraki & Stolic (2017) used news headlines from media agencies in five European countries (incl. Greece) to show that refugees were often presented as dangerous or victims of a situation.

As Moore et al. (2012) suggest, this creates an understanding about the refugees in the citizens of the host state who regards refugees on either end of the victim – prospective terrorist

spectrum. While there are discussions both in favour and opposition of this kind of portrayal of refugees, the study done by Moore et. al. specifically focuses on the issues of the portrayal of refugees only as victims, which is also considered problematic. As Owens (2011, p. 135) states, such portrayals present refugees like *"humans as animals in nature without political freedom,"* and the images may be impressive and thought inducing but fail to incite self-reflexivity in the viewers, makes it harder for refugees to be viewed as *people like us* and maintains an almost colonial outlook.

Similar matters of visual typology regarding refugees' portrayal have already been studied by researchers (Wilmott, 2017). In particular, the analysis of the "refugee and asylum" coverage emerged in the U.K. (Blumell, Bunce, Cooper & McDowell, 2019) and 'the refugee situation' as it appeared in Belgian and Swedish press. De Cock, Sundin & Mistaen (2019) performed a comparative quantitative content analysis between Belgian and Swedish newspapers from 2015 to 2017.

While they found both similarities and dissimilarities in the portrayal of refugees based on the country they were analysing, they also found that while the initial reports at the beginning of the crisis were more humanitarian in nature, this soon escalated to more xenophobic and racist messages, which was also noted by Chouliaraki and Stolic (2019). Another similar analysis of 900 articles written between 2014 and 2016 in newspapers from the Czech Republic, a country that was very much opposed to hosting refugees, found that refugees were often depicted as a security threat or a burden imposed by the EU/on the EU states (Jelinkova, 2019). As Jelinkova (2019) mentions, the portrayal of refugees in the Czech media was dehumanizing, painted a picture of them as threats and failed to account for the reasons behind the crisis.

This led to the public opinion being very hostile towards refugees. As Devereux (2015) noted, this kind of stereotypical portrayal in the news can narrow the public's understanding of who refugees really are and make citizens less hospitable. Another important factor to note here is that, humanity and agency are also vital tools in identifying the patterns of visual representation of refugees in important events (Chouliaraki & Stolic, 2017). The issue of humanity in Chouliaraki & Stolic (2017) is tightly connected with how refugees are portrayed in the media, mainly because, as the researchers explain, refugees are being deprived of their humanity by the main representation themes, they are not given their own narratability, but rather fit into pre-existing narratives of the media, which usually fail to account for the circumstances they have had to face and their life journey. Moreover, these categories are also

problematic as far as agency and responsibility are concerned, as the mass media are criticized for not instilling responsibility in their readership and not promoting models of agency which can create a body of citizens capable of actually understanding the phenomena that led to the refugee crisis and adopt the right mindset concerning refugees.

As also mentioned in the previous section, media representation of refugees and immigrants is a topic which has been widely discussed, and thus form a central theme in discussions on refugee rights. However, all representation of refugees in media is not negative. For example, in a report containing various case-studies on the representation of refugees, a British newspapers coverage is relevant to note, the coverage represent, three Syrian women, and represents them as strong and entrepreneurial women, with their real names and age in the article (Refugeesreporting, p. 30) Another study done in the US, mentions that the visual representation of refugees in the US media represents that most of the photos had either a perspective of human-interest frame which features immigrants and refugees as everyday people, or a political frame, that showcases politicians (Parrott, 2019).

2.3 Political views and portrayal of refugees

The relationship of the refugee issue and its media coverage with political views is unavoidable, as most media platforms have a political ideology and, as Matar (2017) noted, the media narrative served in enhancing political polarization. Matar also mentions how the far-right political parties in Europe have created a "moral panic" based on the refugee crisis to rally support their views. This is also something that was discussed in Roupakias & Chletsos (2020), as previously stated. However, Matar's main field of work was to find and discuss trends in the literature about the media's role during the refugee crisis. As her research showed, the media had a significant role in forming public opinion and the way it perceives a web of different narratives and the relationships between them. As far as the refugee crisis is concerned, says Matar (2017), it is evident that the media shape the public opinion in the western world.

The study by Boukala and Dimitra analysed the tweets by the then Greek Prime Minister and the president of the main opposition party, regarding the European debate about the threat of suspending Greece from the Schengen agreement, and how this was represented by three main news media in their coverage of the debate regarding Schengen and the refugee crisis (Boukala

S. &., 2018). This research by Boukala and Dimitra focused on the *"content analysis of the politicians' tweets and the published articles on the refugee crisis in three Greek newspapers, the populist right-wing Protothema, the highbrow conservative Kathimerini, and the left-wing Efimerida ton Syntakton (all national newspapers)"* (Boukala, 2018,7). This study highlighted how three different newspapers shaped their arguments based on their "ideological mechanisms". While the conservative newspaper Kathimerini, highlights the inefficiency of the government which is causing the isolation of the country, the populist right-wing Protothema, is shown to create and increase a climate of fear and xenophobia, as it portrays that the EU is punishing Greece and Tsipras is presented as the defender of the nation. In contrast, left-wing Efimerida ton Syntakton, is said to criticizing EU for the refugee crisis (Boukala S. &., 2018, 17).

Bringing back the discussion to Western European context, literature shows that the populist right-wing ideology perceives the refugees as a threat to national societies which is different from the left-wing ideology. (Jelinkova, 2019).

2.4 Visibility and Agency

As this thesis analyses two newspapers to analyse the visual representation of refugees, therefore, it uses the study done by Chouliaraki and Stolic (2017), as this study is crucial for this thesis as it has shown how humanity and agency are also key terms in identifying the patterns of visual representation of refugees in important events. A description of these is given as follows:

Humanity: The issue of humanity in Chouliaraki & Stolic (2017) is tightly connected with how refugees are portrayed in the media, mainly because, as also mentioned above, refugees are (often) being deprived of their humanity by the main representation themes. This is because they are not given their own narratability, but rather described so that they can fit into pre-existing narratives of the media, which usually fail to account for the specific circumstances they have had to face and their life journey. Thus, the humanity attributed to the refugees is only based on their representation of the media and not a narrative that refugees themselves can give which can describe their conditions.

Agency & Responsibility: Chouliaraki & Stolic (2017) also state that responsibility or agency is the other side of the portrayal. The mass media is criticized for not instilling responsibility

in their readership and not promoting models of agency that can create a body of citizens capable of understanding the phenomena that led to the refugee crisis, and adopt the right mindset concerning refugees. The issue of agency and responsibility is complementary to the humanity element of the portrayal, as it answers the question of, who acts and feels with refugees. To understand agency, they explain that agency can be derived from two visual features of the refugee agency, by either representing refuges who have the 'will to harm us' i.e. in the form refuges sovereignty and another when they are shown as victims by attributing malevolence which reduces refugees to 'faceless strangers' (Banks, 2011: 294).

Visibilities and Visualities: Chouliaraki & Stolic (2017;2019) put down 5 categories of visibilities, which can be seen as 5 ways in which the refugee crisis and refugees as human beings are presented in the media. The relationship of visibilities and visualities is best explained in the paper itself as follows: "If visibility refers, therefore, to the public horizon of what we see and relate to in the media, visuality, as Mirzoeff (2006: 76) puts it, is the semiotic domain wherein a specific 'politics of representation', the 'struggle over who is to be represented' and how, is played out" Chouliaraki & Stolic (2017, 1166). Therefore, visibility is in a sense what we see, while visuality refers mostly to which aspects of the matter are represented in the media and whether they form a fair portrayal. The purpose of using this as a central theme of this paper is to focus on the issue of media representation, in a pre-described context. This is also a choice of methodology, as by using these categories, the researcher is able to focus the thesis within these categories for a focused analysis.

The five visibilities according to Chouliaraki & Stolic (2017) are as follows:

1.**Visibility as biological life:** This refugee visibility is based on portraying refugees as a "mass of unfortunates". According to Chouliaraki & Stolic (2017) it is both dehumanizing for refugees, as it adopts a stance which merely regards them as objects in need of help rather than subjects, and it fails to account for the responsibility of a failing world politics system, as there are no chances for critical reflection. Thus, this visibility refers to the physiological conditions in which refugees are portrayal for example in camps, tents, or refugee camps which highlights their conditions of living who need to be helped and rescued. Chouliaraki & Stolic (2017) emphasise this by using the study by Boltanski, (Boltanski, 1999), that shows that this category shows refugees in fragile dinghies or refugees camps, "a field of representation that reduces their life to corporeal existence and the needs of the body" Chouliaraki & Stolic (2017, 1167).

2.**Visibility as empathy:** These approaches are often accompanied with the picture of a refugee child or family. While they seem very human in nature, issues arise when one digs deeper, as they promote an image of infantilism and even a colonial rhetoric according to which the western world needs to care for refugees like for children in need, which deprives them of agency and voice. As far as agency and responsibility are concerned, this visibility of refugees may incite some actions of empathy, but they would mostly be out of guilt and not out of a deeper understanding (Chouliaraki & Stolic, 2017). This can be understood in how an image of a crying child, a mother with a young baby or a rescue worker shown in acting while helping the refugees, however, this approach takes away the uniqueness of the situation, by taking a distanced approach and does not humanise the refugees fully Chouliaraki & Stolic, (2017, 1168).

3.**Visibility as threat:** In contrast to the previous visibility category, this category is mostly based on pinpointing differences between refugees and the readership of the media, as refugees (mostly males) are depicted as a threatening mob or as people who have no do not follow the laws of other states in their actions. It is self-evident that such a portrayal leads to vilification of refugees and will certainly not provide for any agency and responsibility rather than just citizens wishing to close borders and avoid refugees. These are images which represent refugees as a threat to the social order and produces anxiety as they are presented as racial and cultural 'others' (Gale, 2004). Chouliaraki & Stolic, (2017) use Gale's study to show how threat is show in images such as refugees walking through the motorways of the Balkan route, or aggressive men who wear baklavas and causing or participating in riots (Chouliaraki & Stolic, 2017, 1169).

4.**Visibility as hospitality:** While hospitality (such as the Refugees Welcome activism in many world cities) is an indicator of positive responsibility on behalf of the citizens, who openly criticize their politicians and plead solidarity with the refugees, problems regarding the humanity of refugees still arise, as refugees are once again swept to the margin as far as public visibility is concerned, since the main political actors are Western citizens who may be coming from a positive outlook on refugees, but still do not allow the refugees themselves to actually have a voice. This type of visibilities can be seen in movement, protests and marches supporting refugees in slogans that support refugees such as "'refugees welcome here', 'refugees are human beings', 'let them in', 'be human', '20.000? Are you joking?' etc. Such visualities of concerted action represent acts of hospitality, that is, acts of "welcoming the

other in one's space, with or without any expectation of reciprocity" (Chouliaraki & Stolic, 2017, 1169).

5.**Visibility as self-reflexivity:** Such portrayals are, for example, the ones concerning celebrities acting in refugee camps, but also the aesthetic portrayals on social media (e.g. artwork). Chouliaraki & Stolic (2017) explain that while there are positive emotions within these representations, in the case of a celebrity, the attention is mostly on the celebrity themselves, while artwork sometimes tends to fictionalize refugees. The researchers find that this form of portrayal is directed from us -as in Western citizens- to us, and is still dehumanizing refugees, as it portrays a message of "we talk about this between us alone because we want to", which once again doesn't give refugees their own say and makes the attention of Western citizens the main reason behind talking about the refugee issue. This form of visibility shows an aspirational form of agency as the celebrities give a voice to the suffering and show us what is a compassionate way of acting towards the refugees Chouliaraki & Stolic (2017, 1170).

These visibilities are utilized in the photo analysis of this thesis by identifying elements of the image such as the gender, number, age of the individuals. Furthermore, their living conditions, surroundings spaces and what types of actions do the images show.

Chapter 3: Context

This chapter includes the contextual explanation of this thesis. The chapter includes a discussion on the context of the crisis and its coverage in the media. It also includes, a discussion on how media's visual portrayal of refugees has been seen by scholars in the field. A separate section is included to show in what context the two newspapers have been selected for this thesis.

 The Syrian civil war, which has been raging since 2011, has resulted in more than 250,000 victims and millions of refugees. The International Organization for Migration (IOM), in a 2015 report, found that the number of refugees and irregular migrants who entered Europe in that year was over one million 'Factsheet, Global Migration Trends 2015, IOM). This situation has been reported in the European press in various ways. The researches carried out on the issue of portrayal of refugees, have been focused on the refugee crisis and how it came to be portrayed in mass media all over Europe (Chouliaraki, 2017; 2019). However, such research

has never been carried out for Greece alone, and there has never been a comparison between papers of opposing political views regarding the visual representation of refugees. Thus, while the effects of the refugee crisis are visible across Europe, this research focuses on the issue in the context of Greece. In doing so this study narrows down the focus and provides relevant insights in a specific country of Greece, and how the political affiliations of media houses have been instrumental in defining the representation of refugees in the media.

The reason for choosing Greece is as follows. Arguably, Greece is one of the countries which has been severely hit by the refugee crisis of 2015. During the refugee crisis, Greece has had to deal with a significant number of refugees entering it due to its geographic position (European Commission, 2017). Research on portrayal of refugees is not recent in Europe, but it has been flourishing over the last few years, due to the so-called "refugee crisis" starting in 2015. During the period 2015-2016, Greece experienced an unprecedented influx of immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers fleeing war and misery in or for their home countries finding a better and safer life in the EU. After its closure of the so-called "migration route of the Balkans" (also known as the Western Balkan route and has been one of the main migratory paths into Europe reflected the influx on the Eastern Mediterranean route) (Frontex 2021), in March 2016, thousands of refugees were trapped in Greece. Following the EU-Turkey declaration, the number of new arrivals in Greece decreased significantly to 81 people per day on average in the period March 2016 - July 2017. The general humanitarian situation of refugees and migrants on the mainland or Greek islands has been a heated issue to this very day (European Commission, 2017).

The significance of this research for Greece is high, given how the country has been an important receiving Country of migrants and asylum seekers since 2015 as is currently hosting vast amounts of refugees due to its geographical position. Meanwhile, Greece, also has seen a rise in the acceptance of far-right parties which is being noticed all over Europe. Roupakias & Chletsos (2020) in a recent study reported that the immigration / refugee situation in Greece is positively correlated with the rise of voters who opt for far-right parties. From 2012 and until early 2019, Golden Dawn, a Neo-Nazi party, which was convicted as a criminal organization in 2020, was represented in the Greek Parliament. The continuing presence of Golden Dawn in the domestic political spectrum along with the emergence of two xenophobic parties (Independent Greeks- Ανεξάρτητοι Έλληνες, and Greek Solution- Ελληνική Λύση) demonstrate the salience of the migration and refugee crisis within the Greek society (Rea, Martiniello, Mazzola, Meuleman, 2019).

While Greek newspapers and online news agencies have been analysed in a few researches along with news from other countries, one of the most relevant studies used in this research regarding the visuals of the news about refugees is the study done by Chouliaraki & Stoic (2017, 2019).

3.1 The selection of Protothema and Efsyn

The newspapers selected, Protothema and Efsyn represent very different worldviews. With the one being populist and the other progressive respectively, the way in which they would present the refugee crisis was something that inspired this research. The media portrayal of refugees is not new; in fact, several scholars have addressed this topic for several years already (Blumell, Bunce, Cooper & McDowell, 2019; De Cock, Sundin & Mistaen, 2019; Jelinkova, 2019). Simultaneously, numerous studies have been performed on the role of ideology in the media (Chouliaraki & Stolic, 2017; 2019; Matar, 2017).

This study analyses two major newspapers in the Greek scenario, which have opposing political ideologies. Efsyn.gr, "Εφημερίδα των Συντακτών", (literal translation: Newspaper of the Editors) is the descendant of the Greek newspaper "Ελευθεροτυπία/ Eleftherotipia": Freepress) which was a left-leaning historical newspaper within the period 1975-2014. As the founders of Efsyn explain on the site's History tab, the site is run by most of the journalists who worked for Eleftherotipia. The newspaper's progressive orientation is also visible because most articles support the main opposition party of Greece (SYRIZA, a left party) and criticize the governing New Democracy party (conservatives)[1][1]. In the latest years, the online newspaper has a column regarding the trial of the Golden Dawn neo-Nazi party (now convicted as a criminal organization).

Protothema.gr (free translation: The First Topic), first published in 2005, has often been regarded as a newspaper expressing extreme conservativism and far-right ideas in the Greek

[1] Although the headlines are in Greek, one can definitely see that the opposition is being favored by Efsyn, with titles such as (free translation) "With patience, persistence and good planning" on an article featuring the head of the party (here, headline), while the governing party is being called "a master at deceiving and covering up" and accused of trying to set up false witnesses against a member of SYRIZA and the former SYRIZA led government (here, text).

press scene, especially as many analysts have stressed its significant role in the rise of the Golden Dawn (Dioskourides, 2013). The online form of the newspaper also maintains a distinctive section dedicated to the migration and refugee issue. As the EU-funded MEDIVA project noted in 2012, regarding the newspaper: "it is known for its populist orientation and hate speech approach mainly to migration and migrant related news and themes" (MEDIVA, 2012).

The same report notes that the website administrators allow hate speech and racist comments and do not delete them, as they find that this promotes freedom of speech (MEDIVA, 2009). More sources, such as the Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung (Foundation), emphasize that Protothema.gr often takes far-right approaches. The report from the Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung (Fekete, 2020, p. 6) on the Golden Dawn trial goes as far as characterizing Protothema as the "cheerleaders" of the neo-Nazi party in the previous years.

Before moving on to the next section of this discussion, it is also relevant to note that ideological views are interconnected in the way media and politics related to each other (Johnson, 2007).

Chapter 4. Methodology

To define the research strategy of this thesis, this chapter is divided into 5 separate sections. Section 4.1 discusses the research design, which provides details of the method and content of this thesis. Section 4.2 is the sample strategy which is followed by a section on data collection 4.3, data analysis and research quality indicators in 4.4 and 4.5.

Before going into the details about methodology, it is also relevant to give certain methodological clarification on the nature of this research. The fact that two major Greek newspapers will be utilized in the proposed research means there will be access to media as they are presented by well-known and well-read professionals of the Greek media business. This study also contributes to new knowledge as a comparative study about the visual portrayal of refugees in two newspapers has not been done for Greece before. Therefore, a further thorough examination of the Greek examples can be useful. The research being carried out for the purposes of this thesis is original because it suggests a comparative analysis between two Greek online newspapers, in order to determine how refugees are presented in them and whether there are differences in this portrayal. The topic is therefore relevant and important;

it is significant to find out whether the portrayal of refugees in the mass media differs from one online newspaper to the other, and how refugees are presented by different news agencies with opposing ideologies.

The aim of this research is to see if there are any difference in how two newspapers represent refugees based on their opposing political ideologies. This main research question in this thesis is: *How do Greek online newspapers from opposing ideological views, efsyn.gr and protothema.gr portray important events regarding refugees in Greece, and what [if any] are the differences in their portrayals?*

The research question is answered through the following methodology:

4.1   Research Design

The method selected for this proposed research is visual content analysis. This form of analysis bears much resemblance to text-data-driven content analysis, as it has the same features of coding and can provide both qualitative and quantitative data. More specifically, as Lister & Wells (2001) mention, content analysis on photographs tends to be about the background, the people or items presented, the framing, the gaze of the people in it, and the angle from which the camera takes the scene. Pauwels (2012) finds that photographs are cultural artifacts, and their analysis can provide insights into their social, cultural, and historical context. Semiotic analysis is also popular for visual content analysis based on photographs or video. In this approach *"pictures are signs"* (Nöth, 2011), and the denotation – connotation relationship is examined.

More specifically, as Lister & Wells (2001) mention, content analysis on photographs tends to be about the background, the people or items presented, the framing, the gaze of the people in it, and the angle from which the camera takes the scene. According to Entman, framing refers to the "selection and emphasis of certain aspects of a perceived reality" meaning, the media is generally using a specific framing to describe the frame of reference which is utilized by the audience to interpret and discuss public events (Entman, 1993, 52).

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In terms of the nature of this thesis, as this research does not involve coding but relies on photo analysis without any statistical data analysis it takes the form of a qualitative research. The sample for this study will be 20 pictures depicting 5 important events regarding refugees in Greece (See Appendix 1) from each online newspaper (total of 40 pictures, 8 pictures per event divided in half between the newspapers i.e., four images for each event from both the newspapers). The events are (1) Fire at the Moria camp and subsequent issues (2020) (2) Opening and closure of borders at the Idomeni area (2019-2020) (3) Refugee push at Evros river (2020) (4) Arrival of refugees from the Syrian war (2015) (5) Hospitality of locals on the island of Lesvos (2015). These events are chosen as they were widely covered in Greek media due to their relevance. For example, Moria camp and subsequent issues was a fire incident that got the attention of the Greek and international media (European Commission, UNHCR, Prime minister of the German state). The results of the fire were huge. More than 13.000 people were left without a home/shelter. This camp was designed for less than 3k people, yet 13k+ were living there and this fire exposed the situation. UNHCR, In 2018 had urged the Greek government to move asylum seekers away from Lesbo as they had said that conditions were at a "boiling point", as, at the time, there were 8,000 people living in the Moria camp.

The Greek prime minister had called an emergency meeting and European Commission President Ursula von der Leyen stated that the main priority was "the safety of those left without shelter" (BBC, 2020). Similarly, the opening and closure of borders at the Idomeni area was a major event that was widely covered across international media, hundreds of refugees took part in a protest at the N.Macedonia border as Greece tried to evacuate the Idomeni camp which was overwhelmed with the number of refugees (France-Presse, 2016). The other three events were also found extensive coverage in the media, as in the refugee push at Evros river, a report by the Guardian stated that "Greek police coerce asylum seekers into pushing fellow migrants back to Turkey", the same event was covered by a number of other media outlets across the globe including by Human Rights Watch (Katy Fallon, 2022) (HRW, 2022).

The arrival of refugees from the Syrian war has been chosen as this is a crucial event that market the refugee crisis and sparked a debate across Europe and around the globe, a report in the New York Times titled "Syria Changed the World" signifies the relevance of this event, the report states "*the refugee crisis has posed one of the biggest challenges in memory to the*

cohesion of the European Union and some of its core values: freedom of movement, common borders, pluralism. It heightened anxieties over identity and culture, feeding off economic insecurity and mistrust of governing elites that grew over decades with globalization and financial crises" (Barnard, 2017). The issue of Hospitality of locals on the island of Lesvos is covered as it is an event which reflects on how the refugees were received and the issue was also covered widely by the media (DW, s.d.).

The samples were selected at random to avoid researcher bias but were found by using keywords which are included under chapter 5 of this thesis meaning name of the event is the keyword used to search for the images. In content analysis, the relevance of the pictures may be way more important than their quality. As Bock, Isermann & Knieper (2011) explain, the size of the research unit is hard to determine in visual content analysis, as one single picture of an event "of its uniqueness could be more expressive or immersive than 1000 photographs of a regular happening that all look alike (p.3)". As Bengtsson (2016) suggests, content analysis research rarely surpasses 30 items, but since pictures are different from text, the proposed number of 40 images is chosen based on the nature of this thesis.

The data collection process for this research is randomized apart from the search criteria. The pictures for analysis are the 20 first pictures that show up while conducting the "search" function and typing the same keywords about each event on each online newspaper's website, to ensure that there is no bias in the pictures selected toward certain desired outcomes. The pictures selected will need to actually depict refugees, but other than that, the first pictures that come up about each event will be used. In this way, the researcher will have no way of selecting pictures based on any kind of bias. This process is also going to be tracked in the way mentioned in the research quality indicators (end of current chapter). The thesis uses a combination of two methods for the research which are explained in the following sections.

Instead of having a pre-set codebook, the pictures will be analysed and a codebook will be formed based on the findings as this will give the researcher more freedom to interpret images in the most accurate manner. Hence the nature of this research is qualitative. As Bengtsson (2016) suggests, a researcher can choose between manifest analysis and latent analysis. Manifest analysis is concerned with what the text or unit of interest (here, picture) shows, while latent analysis goes deeper and is concerned with interpretation; this is, what the picture is actually talking about. In order for this to happen, according to Bengtsson's article on content

analysis (2016), every picture will be examined separately, and a piece of text will be written regarding what is shown on the picture based on the questions described later. The analysis of the data begins with the process of decontextualization, which means finding the meaning units. A meaning unit is, according to Bengtsson (2016, p. 11) *"the smallest unit that contains some of the insights the researcher needs".*

According to the same paper, both latent and manifest analysis undergo the same procedure; however, the difference between having a pre-set codebook and forming a codebook after the decontextualization process lies in whether the research tool (here, codebook) is formed deductively or inductively. While there are positive aspects to both methods, here a mix of both the inductive and deductive method is used. Inductive reasoning is the process through which conclusion are developed through the process of collection of data and weaving together new-found information into theories, thus, the researcher has to analyse the date with and open mind to find meaningful subjects in answering the research question. Whereas, deductive reasoning includes a process wherein the researcher looks for pre-existing and already determined subjects to test hypothesis or principles (Berg, 2012). There are benefits in using both these methods. As Bengtsson suggests (2016), while deductive analysis (codebook first, analysis later) can achieve a high level of reliability, inductive analysis has the added benefit of being more flexible. As both these methods have certain benefits, for this thesis, a mix of the method is used. While this thesis carries out the photo analysis to explore whether the five categories of visibilities can be found, it is deductive, whereas in first conducting the analysis and then finding the various categories of visibilities it also adopts an inductive nature. The coding can change and develop during the study, as a better analysis is being achieved and more data become available. This calls for a repeated process of analysis, starting from different viewpoints each time. The main reason I have selected to first analyse and then form the codebook is that, as Bengtsson suggests (2016, p. 12), *"interpretations of the meaning units that seemed clear at the beginning may be obscured during the process"*. Given that the pictures of refugees may have many different layers of meaningful units, the idea here is that the codebook tool should be constantly enriched along with the understanding of the researcher concerning each category. Another methodology in use along with the visual content analysis as suggested by Bengtsson (2016) will be the 5 categories of visual typology (Chouliaraki & Stolic, 2017, 2019). In order to determine which category each picture would fall under (or even if some would fall under more than one category), a thorough review of the research

articles mentioning this categorization will be done, in order to determine which elements, suggest that there is one of those interpretations.

In order to categorize these observations, the data will be compared with the literature (recontextualization) and then categorized. For the categorization process, the similar elements of the analysis for each picture (or rather, the elements which answer to the same question) will be found and grouped together.

This procedure will be based on three questions, as seen in the relevant literature. In order to have a transcript for each picture, what goes on in the picture, and what kind of visibility (as in Chouliaraki & Stolic, 2017) refugees seem to have. The first question would be simply *"What is going on in this picture?"* (Bengtssson, 2016) and the answers to that will help form the open coding tool, according to which meaning units can be found and which categories they would belong into. The two further questions stem from Chouliaraki and Stolic (2017) and are more connected with the media representation of refugees. These are:

- *How do refugees appear in these images?* (humanity)
- *Who or what appears to feel and act with them?* (agency)

All five categories of representation that the researchers found, failed to account properly for the humanity of refugees as well as agency issues, as seen in the next paragraph. The way this analysis works is that the researcher looks at the picture and analyses, it first as a factual subject. This involves, identifying the nature of the image, in terms of categorically available information, such as daylight, night, gender, colours etc. Thereafter, the context of the photo is seen from two perspectives, (i) what does the reader see, and if possible, to also analyse(ii) what does the reader feel after seeing this image. While it is not possible to objectively identify the reader's feelings, an attempt to made to have a general understanding of the reader's feelings in these cases based on the existing understanding of how people can react by looking at an image. However, the researcher acknowledges that there is always an element of assumption in identifying these feelings. The researcher also acknowledges that the images do not always fall in the visibility categories and sometimes can provide new and different contexts.

The following elements are looked at the each of these categories keeping in mind that in certain images visibilities will not fall into any of the pre-existing categories (unclear):

- **Visibility as biological life Visibility as Empathy**
- **Visibility as threat**
- **Visibility as hospitality**
- **Visibility as self-reflectivity**

Before discussing this further, it is relevant to understand the process of categorizing the images. The image analysis is based on the facts that the image is able to show to the general audience. While some categories have more factual aspects, such as hospitality and self-reflectivity, the categories of biological life, empathy, and threat have a more subjective approach based on the nature of these categories. While biological life categorization will be based on the conditions of the refugees, empathy is categorized based on the feeling of the researcher and an assumption regarding a general audience, while threat is based on the refugee actions and posture in an image.

As far as quality standards for the research are concerned, the research uses a randomized data selection process. As also previously noted, the data selection for this research was randomized to ensure that the analysis includes most relevant sources and images. As the thesis, entails visual representation analysis as its main methodology, it is prone to an element of subjectivity in the analysis. Therefore, another method will be applied to ensure that the thesis is as objective as possible in its analysis by ensuring that the deductions are non-biased and credible.

4.2 Sample Strategy

The sample for this study will be 20 pictures depicting 5 important events regarding refugees in Greece (Appendix 3) from each online newspaper (total of 40 pictures, 8 pictures per event divided in half between the newspapers). The sample will be selected at random to avoid researcher bias. In content analysis, the relevance of the pictures may be way more important than their quality. As Bock, Isermann & Knieper (2011) explain, the size of the research unit is hard to determine in visual content analysis, as one single picture of an event "of its uniqueness it could be more expressive or immersive than 1000 photographs of a regular

happening that all look alike (p.3)". The decision to include a total of 40 pictures in the study was made because this sample size is big enough to produce conclusions, but also manageable in terms of devoting enough time to analyzing each item.

4.3 Data Collection

The data collection process for this research will be absolutely randomized apart from the search criteria. The pictures for analysis will be the 20 first pictures that show up while conducting the "Search" function and typing the same key words about each event on each online newspaper's website, to ensure that there is no bias in the pictures selected towards certain desired outcomes. The pictures selected will need to actually depict refugees, but other than that, the first pictures that come up about each event will be used. In this way, the researcher will have no way of selecting pictures based on any kind of bias. This process is also going to be tracked in the way mentioned in the research quality indicators (3.5).

4.4 Data Analysis

It may be altered or expanded if it is deemed necessary (Bengtsson, 2016), considering the differences between analyzing photographs and text-based data. When this procedure is complete, the comparison between the answers will provide for the main part of this analysis and the answers to the research questions. As explained in the article by Bock et al. (2011), along with the quantitative codebook, visual content analysis also has a qualitative element, which can be analyzed using a method called image communication, which focuses on the context within which the picture was taken, shared and produced. Meanwhile, literature has shown that refugees are portrayed in media as a) plain biological life happenings, b) a time for empathy or charity, c) a threat to state security, d) a chance for hospitality and activism, e) a self-reflexivity universal message. As this is backed up by most of the studies so far, these five categories will be used in the codebook and serve as a basis for further qualitative analysis. In order to avoid biased or flawed analysis of the connotative message behind each picture, a peer debriefing process (see also 3.5) will allow the researcher to have feedback from an unbiased peer regarding whether the analysis and categorization of each picture in these five modes of portrayal is justified via the literature or based on logical fallacies.

4.5 Quality Indicators

- **Randomized data selection:** As previously noted, the data selection for this research will be randomized, as described in 3.3.

- **Tracking:** As Nowell et al. mention (2017, p. 1), researchers need to demonstrate that "*data analysis has been conducted in a precise, consistent, and exhaustive manner*" as well as include *"enough detail to enable the reader to determine whether the process is credible."* A way to accomplish credibility is by having an audit trail of each step in the process, based on which another researcher could arrive at the same or similar results (Nowell et al., 2017).

- **Reliability:** The visual analysis questions tool (Appendix 1) will be crafted based on a thorough review of the literature, and any alterations which seem appropriate over the course of the analysis will be discussed with the supervisor, to ensure the credibility of the study.

- **Non-biased deductions:** Koch (1994) mentions that a researcher should make sure to justify their theoretical, analytical or methodological choices based on the literature throughout the study, so that other readers can find a justified trail of justification over how significant choices were made. These choices and the methodology have already been mentioned in section 1.

Chapter 5. Results

The results in this section are organized to include 4 images from each of the newspaper for each of the 5 events. The photo analysis is followed by the observations on how the image can be categorized to show which type of visibilities do they belong to. The photo analysis is followed by table for each of the newspapers to represent the results in the form of numbers. The number represent, gender, mode of transport and age wherever it is possible to see it in the image.

This section includes the findings of the photo analysis wherein the following events were chosen for picture sampling:

1. Fire at the Moria camp and subsequent issues (2020)
2. Opening and closure of borders at the Idomeni area (2019-2020)
3. Refugee push at Evros river (2020)
4. Arrival of refugees from the Syrian war (2015)
5. Hospitality of locals on the island of Lesvos (2015)

The selection of two events from the heated time of 2015 and three more recent ones will also provide with an interesting discussion regarding differences in portrayal over time. Each image is preceded by the key word that was used for finding the images. The following section categorizes each image in one of the categories for visibilities discussed in section 2.3 which are:

- Visibility as biological life
- Visibility as empathy
- Visibility as threat
- Visibility as hospitality
- Visibility as self-reflexivity

- Key word: Φωτιά Μόρια- Fire at Moria
  Efsyn.gr

1. https://www.efsyn.gr/ellada/koinonia/235358_ena-nekro-paidi-apo-ti-fotia-sti-moria

   This image includes two major aspects. A primary observation in the picture shows a dark wall running on the left side of the picture. Along with the left side of the picture is also shown in a darker light and in comparison, to the right side appears to be blurred.

   While one is a group of people the other is a person who seems to carry a green bucket that is filled with some kind of liquid. The dividing line between these two aspects is shown in the form of barbed wires set above a wall. The people behind the barbed wires are not recognizable in terms of their gender and color clearly. On the left side of the image, some people (who appear to be younger men) seem to look over the fence at something which is happening on the ground.

   On the other side of the barbed wire, an individual who is photographed from the back is visible. A preliminary look at the image gives no clear indication regarding the gender of the person. The image also shows two people who are a bit ahead of the woman. While one of them appears to be in movement and looks like a young boy, the other person is also pictured from the back and can be seen holding a red bucket. The picture is taken during the day as we can see blue skies and daylight. There are also some broken barned wires on the road and a web of wires appears to be running around the trees reaching toward the barbed wire. The main focus of this image appears to be:

Visibility as biological life and threat: An overall look at the image shows that all individuals depicted in the image are caught in movement. Form the chaos depicted in the image it is possible that this is an image reflecting visibility as biological life as in where it can be seen that the living condition of the refugees is different to those who are not in the same category. This also reflects a narrative of us and them. The chaos and destruction in the images, along with the images of people behind the barbed wire and the conditions in which the image is taken along with the dark representation in the left also shows threat as an element.

2. https://www.efsyn.gr/ellada/dikaiosyni/260800_ston-eisaggelea-oi-6-afganoi-gia-ti-fotia-sti-moria

This image depicts a residential space that was caught on fire. While it cannot be categorically identified at what time it is taken. It has been taken during the day. The image shows a space where structures have been destroyed by the fire.

The images taken after the fire has subsided. Some trees are still standing and look unaffected by the fire. The steel/iron structures seem to have been affected by it. The ground seems to be covered in ashes from the fire and the picture mostly depicts shades of grey which can be indicative of the extent of the fire. Therefore, it appears that the image fits within the category of:

Visibility as biological life and empathy: This image shows the condition of the refugee camp which evidently appears to invoke a sense of empathy in the reader due to the nature of the image and the conditions that are visible in the image. However, it does fall within the first category of visibility, i.e. visibility as a method of showing the condition of biological life of the refuges.

Visibility as threat: The image's depiction of the fire can also raise the question if it is caused by the refugees, thus, making it a possibility that the refugees have caused this thus it can show visibility as threat.

3. https://www.efsyn.gr/ellada/koinonia/259209_nea-fotia-sti-moria-horis-fagito-kai-nero-polys-kosmos

This image shows a crowd that appears to be waiting in line for their turn. While it cannot be categorically said what they are waiting for, the large number of people shown in the images along with their body language appears to indicate that they may be exhausted.

A close look at the image also shows that there are two main lines in the image, wherein one is for women and the other is for men. In the women's line we can clearly see that the colour of their skin is brown. Whereas this cannot be said clearly for the men's line. While some individuals appear to be holding some kind of paper, others seem to be empty-handed. The image is taken during the day, wherein it appears that it is quite sunny and hot as some people are seen covering their heads and eyes either with their hands. While most individuals in the image appear to be adults, some young children can also be seen accompanying some adults.

Moreover, the image itself does not indicate the weather as some people are seen wearing lighter clothes some of them also appear to be wearing jackets. So, it can be said that the heat is caused due to the sun and not the weather itself. All women are shown with some kind of head coverings which can be indicative of their religion. Most individuals (both men and women) are seen wearing face masks which shows there were some pandemic-related restrictions in place. This image can be analysed to be falling in two categories of visibilities, as biological life and empathy.

Visibilities, as biological life and empathy: While the waiting aspect and the crowd shown in the image depict that the refugees are waiting for something in a crowded place which makes a reference to their physical condition. The second aspect can also be said to be referencing to the empathy aspect to a certain extent. However, this is not clearly stated in the context.

4. https://www.efsyn.gr/ellada/koinonia/264520_poios-ebale-ti-fotia-sti-moria-apokalyptiko-reportaz-toy-bbc

This picture is depicting a fire scenery in the camp of Moria at 2020. The picture vivid colours due to the event that it tries to capture. It shows 4 individuals in the scene, who appear to be running from a fire scene. While one person is clearly seeming to be holding a bag and another a light source (such as a phone or torch) it is difficult to ensure if the people in the front are carrying any belongings. As mentioned, the individuals depicted are in motion, as they are seen running from the fire. While the camera is pointing towards their faces, their facial features are not recognizable because of the nature of the light in which the image has been taken, however, their body shape and face, to the extent it can be seen, is dark/black. The light

is a mix of red and dark sky as it seems to have been taken at night. The primary depiction is that it catches the subject of the image in motion running from a fire in the camp towards the direction of the camera. From the writer's per on the left side of the picture, there is the fire that burns the infrastructure, as well as many trees and other surroundings. The individuals in the image appear to be in the centre, on the right side there is a trash can, which is full of trash both inside and out. It is certain that this image has been taken in Moria, an infamous refugee camp in Greece, as this was the particular event in question at the time of the picture search.

From the limited visibility appearing in the image, it can be derived that the gender of the depicted individuals is male. It also can be said that three of them seem to be underage, because of their body shape and height. Their real skin color is not visible in the picture but what we can see as their face is only a dark surface with no facial features, we can only see their body shape, as they are running towards the camera.

The infrastructure at the refugee camp seems to be poor with no amenities and built with poor quality materials. The clothing is simple casual clothes, of which the kind cannot be determined based on the picture we cannot detect exactly what kind of clothes are these. While the economic background of the individuals cannot be ascertained from this picture, one individual is see carrying a bag of belongings. It appears that the individuals in the image are probably people who used to be staying at the refugee camp we see in the picture. The trash which is full shows that the place it is not taken care of, in the sense of social amenities. Their education status in unknown as well. We can also not clearly identify the status of their health.

While the image itself does not state the legal status of the individuals, it can also be argued that they are irregular refugees, asylum seekers waiting to apply for asylum or waiting for their decision after the asylum-seeking application, waiting to claim their refugee status. The emotions of the boys are again not visible. We can see their bodies that are in motion, they are running from the fire with lights and bags, therefore their body indicates that they are in disturbance, inconvenient, anxious about the situation and panicked. This emotion may or may not be about losing accommodation but it certainly reflects that they must be experience some form of tension due to the fact that they are trying to save themselves from a fire by running from it.

This picture is published both from efsyn.gr and protothema.gr for the fire incident at the Moria camp in Greece, and it was also used by other newspapers. Based on the elements stated above, the following conclusion can be drawn about the what the picture tried to depict.

Visibility as biological life: We see four individual running from a situation that seems to endanger them that is visibility in terms of reflecting conditions of biological life. They are victims in the sense that they have to run from the situation to save their lives, this also falls in the category of visibility as a marker of biological life.

 Visibility as threat: While the nature and facilities of the accommodation cannot be ascertained only from the picture, some stereotypes on conditions in these types of accommodation may or may not apply. There is a visible threat to the individuals which forces them to flee the situation in the quickest manner, which can explain the lack of belongings thus this depiction reflects on the victimhood of refugees. It is possible that the accommodation did not comply with safety procedure which may have caused the fire in the first place. At the same time, the fire, destruction, someone running towards the camera are also threatening image to the audience. As there is no indication of who caused the fire, just dark shapes of people, no face, running to the reader. Thus, the dark shapes and no clear image of the faces reflects visibility as threat.

- Key word: Φωτιά Μόρια- Fire at Moria
  Protothema.gr

5. https://www.protothema.gr/greece/article/1042460/fotia-sti-moria-metanastes-tragoudousan-bye-bye-moria/ (Similar to the EFSYN IMAGE NO. 4)
   This picture is depicting a fire scenery in the camp of Moria at 2020. The picture vivid colours due to the event that it tries to capture. It shows 4 individuals in the scene, who appear to be running from a fire scene. While one person is clearly seeming to be holding a bag and another a light source (such as a phone or torch) it is difficult to ensure if the people in the front are carrying any belongings. As mentioned, the individuals depicted are in motion, as they are seen running from the fire. While the camera is pointing towards their faces, their facial features are not recognizable because of the nature of the light in which the image has been taken. The light is a mix of red and dark sky as it seems to have been taken at night. The primary depiction is that it catches the subject of the image in motion running from a fire in the camp towards the direction of the camera. From the writer's per on the left side of the picture, there is the fire that burns the infrastructure, as well as many trees and other surroundings. The individuals in the image appear to be in the centre, on the right side there is

a trash can, which is full of trash both inside and out. It is certain that this image has been taken in Moria, an infamous refugee camp in Greece, as this was the particular event in question at the time of the picture search.

From the limited visibility appearing in the image, it can be derived that the gender of the depicted individuals is male. It also can be said that three of them seem to be underage, because of their body shape and height. Their real skin color is not visible in the picture but what we can see as their face is only a dark surface with no facial features, we can only see their body shape, as they are running towards the camera. The infrastructure at the refugee camp seems to be poor with no amenities and built with poor quality materials. The clothing is simple casual clothes, of which the kind cannot be determined based on the picture we cannot detect exactly what kind of clothes are these. While the economic background of the individuals cannot be ascertained from this picture, one individual is see carrying a bag of belongings.

It appears that the individuals in the image are probably people who used to be staying at the refugee camp we see in the picture. The trash which is full shows that the place it is not taken care of, in the sense of social amenities. Their education status in unknown as well. We can also not clearly identify the status of their health.

While the image itself does not state the legal status of the individuals, it can also be argued that they are irregular refugees, asylum seekers waiting to apply for asylum or waiting for their decision after the asylum-seeking application, waiting to claim their refugee status. The emotions of the boys are again not visible. We can see their bodies that are in motion, they are running from the fire with lights and bags, therefore their body indicates that they are in disturbance, inconvenient, anxious about the situation and panicked. This emotion may or may not be about losing accommodation but it certainly reflects that they must be experience some form of tension due to the fact that they are trying to save themselves from a fire by running from it.

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6. https://www.protothema.gr/greece/article/1043097/nea-fotia-sti-moria/

This image shows a site that looks like there has been a fire on the site. It is taken from some distance to show the overall condition of the state of the place. The place appears to be covered with smoke as seen from the angle from the image that has been taken. On the left side of the image, a red truck can be seen which looks like a fire truck. Right in front of the truck, we can see a man walking in an orange T-shirt. However, we cannot really know the age of the person. The space that the image depicts also shows some structures which appear to be makeshift with tin roofs. These makeshift spaces also do not look like they have been structured in a planned way that they do not align well. Moreover, from the angle of the viewers, it appears that the structures in question are in extremely close proximity without a lot of open space between them.

In the center of the image, there is an open space where we can see individuals who appear to be walking. From this angle, it seems that they are both men. Due to the distance from which the image is taken, it seems to focus on the space, more than the individuals in the image. It appears to have been taken during the daytime. This image can be analysed to be falling in two categories of visibilities, as biological life and empathy.

Visibilities as biological life, empathy, and threat: This is due to the fact that the image depicts a place which appears to have been residential. The images show the after effects of a fire which was evidently a refugee shelter, thus it connects to the living conditions of the refugees falling within the biological life visibility aspect, and the other aspect is that it also tried to invoke empathy in the audience by showing the condition. However, in doing so it doesn't fully fit the category as well because it specifically deals with the physical aspect of

refugee life thus not overtaking their voices. The image also does not have a colonial nexus. The idea that fire could also have been caused by the refugees also shows elements of threat.

7. https://www.protothema.gr/greece/article/1042892/fotia-sti-moria-i-europi-einai-sunenohi-grafei-i-handelsblatt/

This image shows an individual looking at something from a height. Based on the colors in the image which shows the individuals in red light. Most individuals can be seen to be men. Two things are evident from the image. While some men can be seen talking at the back of the image one man is seen overlooking the site where the light is coming from. This man seems to be sitting in a position that can be said to be uncomfortable as it he seems to be not properly sitting or standing. So, it can be said that it's a reaction to what is he seeing. The man sitting next appears to be carrying a blue plastic bag and a pillow. He seems to be looking at his phone while holding his belongings. On the right side of this man there appear to be some men sitting at the back. While we cannot correctly identify their reaction or what are they looking at.

There are also two men on the left, the one on the extreme left also appears to be carrying a backpack. Other than these two men who seem to carry some belongings, it is not clear from the images if other men also have any belonging with them. Some men on the rights side of the image also appear to be in conversation while one looks at the source of the light which is casting a red color on the whole picture. It is clear from the image that it has been taken at night and during the pandemic as the individuals have face masks. They appear to be in movement due to the fire which appears to be the central point of depiction in this image. The images taken during the night as the sky is dark, from their body languages it seems to indicate that they are waiting and all the subjects in the image are wearing masks.

Visibilities as biological life: This image fully fits within this narrative of visibility that is based on portraying refugees as a "mass of unfortunates". To illustrate further, as we see the subjects in the image as being victims of a fire and possibly trying to get away from this situation, it is clear that they need help. It is clearly a portrayal of refugees as victims. It has the power of resulting in feelings of empathy in the audience but it does not fulfil all aspects of the requirement of visibility as empathy.

Visibility as threat: The image's depiction of the fire can also raise the question if it is caused by the refugees, thus, making it a possibility that the refugees have caused it , moreover the dark faces and masks also can represent a health risk thus it can show visibility as threat.

8. https://www.protothema.gr/greece/article/1042554/fotia-sti-moria-proedros-poedin-sto-nosokomeio-den-prosilthe-kaneis-traumatias/

In this image, we can see the gender of the individual who appears to be men. They appear to be standing at a height and, red and orange light is reflecting on their faces, which seems to be coming from a fire. It can also be seen from the image that most individuals depicted in this image are not looking down but appear to be involved in paying attention to something else. It is clear from the picture that most of the men are standing. On the right side of the image, we can see some men standing and looking on their right side and one of the men appears to be taking an image or video but this can be said clearly. There is also a man in front on a level a bit below all the men and he seems to be holding a bottle which could be a bottle of water but we cannot be sure about that. Two men at the center of the image appear to be in conversation while one of them looks into his phone.

On the right side of the image, a man can be seen carrying something that looks like a bedsheet or a pillow and he is looking at others to his right who seem to be having a conversation while one of them seems to be looking in his phone and carrying a backpack. From the picture, it can be seen that the individual in the image appears to be in some sort of displaced situation due to the fire.

Visibilities as biological life: This image fully fits within this narrative of visibility that is based on portraying refugees as a "mass of unfortunates". To illustrate further, as we see the subjects in the image as being victims of a fire and possibly trying to get away from this situation, it is clear that they need help. It is clearly a portrayal of refugees as victims. It has the power of resulting in feelings of empathy in the audience but it does not fulfil all aspects of the requirement of visibility as empathy.

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- Key word :Ειδομένη σύνορα πρόσφυγες - Idomeni borders refugees
  Efsyn.gr

9. https://www.efsyn.gr/ellada/koinonia/190062_poreia-pros-ta-synora

Taken in a field full of small tents this image appears to show a type of makeshift living arrangement for refugees. Taken during the day, there is the sun can be seen in the picture. While there are many tens put up most of them are in the front of the picture while in the back of the field only one tent is visible. We cannot conclude that all the people in the picture are living in a tent. It is also not clear from the picture how many of the individuals are men or women. It comprises both men, women as well as children. The picture is not staged and most of the individuals seem to be captured in their natural state to the extent they are involved in the process of walking, talking to their neighbors, or talking on the phone. It is clear from the picture that it does not depict a long-term living condition since it is comprised of tents.

At the back of the picture, we can also see two vehicles but they are not recognizable. Behind those vehicles, it appears to be some kind of settlement but it cannot be seen as what it is.

Visibility as empathy and hospitality: There are a few things that this image displays in terms of how it portrays the refugees. The fact that they are seen around a makeshift tent arrangement, it shows them as victims living in conditions that are not stable. Moreover, it also shows elements of hospitality in the fact that some arrangements have been made for refugees so they can have a place for staying. It can also be argued that the image show some elements visibility as empathy, as the image has the impact on the audience so that they may empathize with the subjects in the image.

10. https://www.efsyn.gr/ellada/dikaiomata/200263_expres-tis-eidomenis-gia-anilikoys-prosfyges-kai-i-kampana-apo-edda

This image captures something that appears to be captivating in the way it captures the subjects of the image. It shows three young children overlooking a fence made out of barbed wire which is there to set a boundary. While the two children on the sides can be identified as we cannot be sure about the gender of the child who is in the middle. Across the wire, they are looking at, what appears to be, a military helicopter. The picture is taken during the day wherein the children may have been captivated by the image of the helicopter. But this is an assumption that cannot be verified. On the right side of the image, we can also see a man who appears to wear a blue jacket, as this is the only information that can be extracted from the image, it is not possible to conclude if he is from an aid agency or someone who is living in the camp.

The helicopter appears to be in the process of landing which could be one of the reasons why it appears to be so close. This also may be the reason why children also appear to be close to the helicopter and engrossed in the process of looking at it so much concentration. The

children are seen behind the above-mentioned fence, at the other side of the fence there seems to be a red jacket and some trash bags can be seen on the other side. Out of the three children the two younger children are seen hugging.

Visibility as biological life empathy: A close look at the image can really show how it captivates the audience while the subjects in the image (the three children, are themselves, captivated by the helicopter). It furthers shows a moment of respite and natural curiosity of children as seen through the lenses which appear to be putting them at par with all other children who can be curious in their outlook and show such behavior also in other children, as this nature of curiosity is not limited to being a refugee emotion. Thus, it can fit within the categories of visibility as biological life empathy.

11. https://www.efsyn.gr/ellada/koinonia/258710_froyrio-gia-hiliades-prosfyges-sta-diabata .

This image has been taken from behind what appears to a fence made of wires. On the other side of the fence, we can see a UNHCR's tent to the left of the photo. Whereas in the center a man and women are seen sitting in front of a tent. They appear to be in conversation. We cannot clearly determine the age and relation of the individuals from the image itself. Right behind and in front of them it appears that some vessel or cooking pots are scattered around. Behind them a group of young boys can be seen taking. Right next to the young boys a man can be seen walking towards the camera and next to him two people can be seen sitting. From the image it appears that these people are men. On the right side of the image a man can be seen walking in the opposite direction, behind him a structure made out of tin sheets can be seen.

Visibilities as hospitality and empathy: This image falls within two categories of visibilities namely as hospitality and empathy. By clearly showing a UNHCR tent, it shows how international agencies are working to welcome and provide for the refugees. The fact that it shows a sign of a family sitting and talking, from across the fence it does reflect a sense of empathy in the reader's mind while at the same time portraying the visibility in terms of hospitality as it shows how agencies in the West are providing help for the refugees who need help as they are in situation where they need to be saved. Thus, this image can fit in two categories.

12. https://www.efsyn.gr/ellada/koinonia/208831_diamartyria-50-metanaston-ston-stathmo-larisis

The image in question is a striking image, both in terms of what it depicts and the colors that can be seen in the image. The image shows a small child sitting on a railway track which is right in the center of the image. On both sides of the platform, we do not see people except a blurred person in the distance. The left side of the platform looks empty. The child is wearing a red jacket and hat which can convey that it is cold. So, sitting on the track he or she must be cold. It can be depicted as the child waiting for the train but it seems dangerous that a child is sitting in the middle of the track. The gender of the child cannot be seen in the image except that the child is very young. It appears to be a strange image as to how can a child be left alone at a train station to be sitting alone on the track.

Visibility as empathy: The subject in the image is a child, sitting alone on a railway track with no one else in sight. An analysis of the photo can be said to reveal visibility as empathy. The fact that the child is sitting alone may convey the child's helplessness in terms of the condition the child is shown in. Therefore, it can also be argued that the image conveys a sense of feeling lost that the child maybe feeling.

- Key word :Ειδομένη σύνορα πρόσφυγες - Idomeni borders refugees
  Protothema.gr

13. https://www.prototema.gr/greece/article/879526/sta-diavata-oi-prosfuges-tha-epiheirisoun-nea-poreia-sta-sunora/

    A first look at the image shows several individuals and tents in a large field. The image has been taken during the day and we can see that the sun is out. While we cannot exactly determine the number of people in the image it is clear that it comprises men, women, and children. There is also some individual in uniforms and helmets. While it is not possible to know exactly which agencies, they represent but it appears that they could be from the government.

    While the image does not reflect the location of the field where the tents are set up, it is possible that it could be outside the main city as from the image, it appears that we can see the lines of the city at the back of the image. An important thing that comes out of this picture is that the number of tents is way lower than the number of people seen on the site. Therefore, if the people shown in the picture are living at this site, then they would be forced to live in cramped

spaces with not a lot of open space. The people with the white helmets is the police and appear to be there to maintain order.

Moreover, while it's unclear from the picture, as to what is happening in the image, it can be seen that there is some kind of movement in the image as they seem to be involved in a conversation with either the authorities or amongst themselves.

Visibility as biological life and threat: This image shows two categories of visibilities, first in terms of the biological conditions of the refugees and second in terms of visibility as empathy. The tents in the field show the conditions in which refugees are in and the fact that they have been given a large field where they can stay reflects how the West if willing to help the refugees by providing them with shelter. As the identity of the people in the uniform is not known it does not connect to any specific agency and thus is open to interpretation. The second category can be said to be threat as a mob of people appear to have taken a land and having tents and the police is clearly there to keep the order.

14. https://www.protothema.gr/politics/article/982606/komision-se-erdogan-pare-piso-tous-prosfuges-apo-ta-sunora-me-tin-ellada/

The images show the Turkish head of State Erdogan and the President of the European Commission Ursula von der Leyen in a conversation. As the Turkish Flag is prominent in the image it can be concluded that the meeting is taking place in Turkey. The Turkish head appears to be explaining something to the president of the commission. While he appears to be convincing her or explaining something she appears to be open to listening and friendly as an audience which is reflected in the way she is smiling during the conversation.

Visibility as self-reflexivity: The image shows two powerful leaders in conversation. While one appears to be in charge in terms of the body language and appearance, the other leader appears to be someone who is willing to listen to the other leader. It can be said that image shows two contrasting personalities in how it captures their image. Thus, also fitting within the category of visibility as self-reflexivity.

15. https://www.protothema.gr/world/article/979449/reuters-i-tourkia-anoigei-stous-prosfuges-ta-sunora-me-tin-ellada/

This image shows an image of a boat (rubber dinghy) that is full of refugees in the sea. From the image, it can be seen that they are looking and pointing at something. Because they have been traveling at the sea, nearing the shore there must be a certain kind of respite that is

reflected in the image. Regarding the gender of the people in the image, most of them appear to be male, to the extent they can be recognized from where the image has been taken. Some children can be seen sitting at the front of the boat as well on the right side of the boat. All the people on the boat have life jackets, therefore, it is clear that they have been traveling in the sea for some time and needed a safety jacket. There is also an old man at the back.

A striking thing in this image is seen at the back of the image where two men can be seen smiling at what they can see. The image can be reflecting a sense of hope amongst the refugees who may have gone through numerous hardships to take this journey and have finally been able to reach a place safely.

Visibility as biological life and threat: This image is one that can be said to reflect a sense of hope in refugees, while this cannot be said just by looking at the image, in this context, the struggles of the journey along with the fact that they have been able to reach the shore safely may convey a sense of hope. At the same time the image also reiterates the stereotypes of refugee's conditions, helplessness and the routes and dangers they have to face in their journey to the West. Thus, it can also fit within the visibility as a biological life criterion. The large number of refugees also can fit within the criteria of threat.

16. https://www.protothema.gr/politics/article/979517/tourkika-mme-video-me-dekades-prosfuges-na-pernoun-eleuthera-sta-sunora-me-tin-ellada/

It is an image taken in motion and shows a group of refugees walking and running. The image appears to have been taken in the winter as most of them are dressed in jackets and hats. While some of the people, at the front of the image, are easily recognizable in terms of their gender, the people at the back also appear to be males. Regarding the age of individuals in the image, most of them appear to belong to a younger demographic. The young man on the right side of the image appears to look at the camera directly and appears to be either saying something or smiling. We can also see a hand raised right behind the man on the right. Similarly, some of the other men seem to be smiling in the picture while in the center of the picture some young men can be seen waving at the camera and either shouting or saying something. Though, it is not possible to know exactly how they are feeling. However, what can be seen from the image is that they have a sense of motivation or excitement. This is because, while they are on the move, they also show some kind of smile towards the person capturing the image or towards the camera itself. While the same assumption cannot be made for each subject in the image. It

can also be said that some of them are aggressive and yelling towards the camera but it is also possible that they are engaging with the camera and yelling and shouting at it.

Visibility as threat and biological life: The image is striking in the its depiction of a movement of refugees and the kind of emotions that it shows and can also invoke in the reader. The number to refugees seen in the image shows some of them who appear to be smiling, some engaging with the camera while some can also be said to have an aggressive way of engaging with the camera, or are seen shouting at it. Thus, the image can either be said to depict excitement, hope or even a sense of threat depending on how the reader chooses to view the emotions in the image. In this context, it can be argued that the image appears to depict visibility as threat at the same time also as biological life as it shows them walking in cold weather at night.

- Key word: Επανοπροώθηση προσφύγων Έβρος - Refugee push-back Evros
  Efsyn.gr

17. https://www.efsyn.gr/politiki/antipoliteysi/233420_pyra-antipoliteysis-kata-kybernisis-meta-ta-metra-toy-kysea

    The image shows two politicians talking to each other. While the image does not have any movement, it shows that both the parties appear to be involved in a conversation. While there is no overt emotion that is visible but they seem neutral or serious. They are wearing suits, and the lighting in the image is mild, The person on the left is the leader of the Greek parliament party SYRIZA, Coalition of the Radical Left – Progressive Alliance, Tsipras and the person on the right one is the leader of the communist Greek party, Koutsoumpas.

    Visibility as self-reflexivity: As the image shows a limited context and subjects, it only reflects a limited understanding of the context as two leaders of different political ideologies are seen in conversation. From the picture no specific context of the conversation can be clear, however, as it can be seen as visibility as self-reflexivity.

18. https://www.efsyn.gr/politiki/antipoliteysi/302815_n-filis-na-syzitithei-sti-boyli-porisma-kolafos-gia-ti-frontex

    The image shows a person who is a parliament member of the Greek SYRIZA political party. As he is talking at the parliament but is seen behind a glass so it can be assumed that the image has been taken during the pandemic. He is seen wearing a blue jacket and a red pullover while

looking to his right. He belongs to the left leaning party and he seems to be addressing someone.

Visibility unclear: While the image shows a parliament member addressing someone, it does not reflect the nature of the audience. There is no other context being shown in this image.

19. https://www.efsyn.gr/node/299795

The image shows a poster. It is a small handmade boat on top of a wave in a wavy sea. The colors are orange and black and minimalistic. The picture says stop pushbacks, which refers to the pushbacks that happen to the refugees. Considering the subject matter of the image, we can assume that it is an image to spread awareness about this matter, regarding the pushbacks of refugees or inform people about this.

Visibility as empathy and hospitality: The image reflects a social movement in support of the refugees, from the context of the image, as it shows a poster it may be assumed that this is a poster to raise awareness regarding the refugees. Therefore, it spreads awareness for the refugee push backs, the image wants the push backs to stop so they empathize with the refugees and moreover as it also wants to stop the pushbacks of refugees it can also show the visibility as hospitality.

20. https://www.efsyn.gr/politiki/233726_epithesi-syriza-kai-mera25-kata-boridi-gia-tin-anastoli-aitiseon-asyloy

In this image two politicians are seen sitting in the parliament, they are members of the Greek political party Nea Dimokratia which is a liberal conservative party in Greece. The party is currently in government in Greece. The image also shows other people are also sitting behind the main two subjects in the image as some items can be seen on the desk such as bags and glasses of water. Their body language is relaxed, they are smiling, they have almost the exact same sitting posture with hands on the faces. Also, the person on the right with white/grey is Makis Voridis , a far-right politician.

Visibility unclear: As the image shows two parliament members who are in power, the manner of sitting and smiles can be said to reflect their confidence while listening to someone. The image does not show who they are looking at.

- Key word: Επανοπροώθηση προσφύγων Έβρος - <u>Refugee push-back Evros</u>
  Protothema.gr

21. <u>https://www.protothema.gr/greece/article/1035623/metanasteutiko-prosfuges-ekleisan-ton-dromo-stis-thermopules/</u>

    We see a number of people standing or sitting in the middle of the road. It is probably in the Greek town LAMIA. The faces of the people are blurred, we can distinguish that there are men, women children and babies on the baby chair. It is daylight and some of subject are wearing masks. While it cannot be ascertained from the image as they are seen in the middle of the road, it is possible that they are waiting for something. The image has been blurred to not show the faces of the subjects. On the left side of the image, a woman can be seen wearing a full-face veil. The image may have been taken in movement as the subjects seem to be moving.

    Visibility as biological life and threat: This image shows refugees as they appear to be waiting for something while sitting in the middle of the road. Thus, it can be seen that it shows them in a situation that cannot be put into context by just looking at the image. Their act may be seen as conveying their act as fitting within the context of visibility as biological life, but this cannot be ascertained only by looking at the image. The fact that the image shows refugees as they appear to be waiting for something while sitting in the middle of the road, it appears that they are disturbing the commonly held standards of behaviors by locals, thus threatening social norms and peace. Therefore, it can be also argued that the image reflects visibility as threat.

22. <u>https://www.protothema.gr/greece/article/1006977/anahorisan-gia-tin-elvetia-23-anilikoi-prosfuges/</u>

    This image shows two women wearing masks and corona protective suits. One of them is also wearing protective glasses. The image shows the women at the door of a plane. While one of them is looking down, the other is looking to her left. It is not sure from the image if the plane has just landed or about to take off . The image does not show the passengers so it cannot be said what are their identities.

    Visibility unclear: The image gives the limited context of interpretation as it only shows two airplane staff standing at the door of the flight. There is no other context that the image provides so no further assumptions can be made only by looking at the image.

23. https://www.protothema.gr/greece/article/984644/evros-iremia-kai-ergasies-stis-kastanies/

The image mostly shows brown scenery and trees without leaves or flowers, which may reflect that they were burnt. In the front there is an empty dry land. There is also a person with military clothing in the middle of the image but he is not very visible he is just a small figure. Behind him there is some white smoke. In the background there is a fence that divides the dry land from a place that seems to have multiple mosques and buildings, and on the horizon some mountains can also be seen. It could be the border between Greece and turkey, which is the main passage for refugees from Turkey to Greece or vice versa as a result of the pushbacks.

Visibility as threat: As the image only shows a single person and some form of scenery it is not easy to understand the context of the image only from the image. However, as the researcher is aware of the context of the image that it may have been taken at the border between Greece and Turkey and thus may be reflective of the sight of pushback. The smoke is the distance can also reflect a sense of threat.

24. https://www.protothema.gr/greece/article/1055393/arhise-i-kataskeui-tou-neou-frahti-ston-evro/

This images from e-evros.gr, it is probably at Evros lake in Greece. We can see the lake and the greenery surrounding it. There are 6 men on the front, two of them with orange vest. Therefore, it can be said that the they are probably from the municipality; They are also holding some long sticks and trying to do something with the sticks (move or push) but that is not visible in the image. All the other people in the image are looking at the men. All the other men seem to be wearing civilian clothes apart from the one who wears military clothes.

Visibility unclear: The image is taken while some men are overlooking two men (possible from the municipality, based on their clothes). The image does not provide a context as the men in orange jackets are seen with a stick while other men, one in military uniform look at them.

- Key word: Άφιξη Σύριοι πρόσφυγες - Arrival Syrian refugees

Efsyn.gr

25. https://www.efsyn.gr/ellada/dikaiomata/18829_anoixte-tis-portes-gia-toys-syroys-prosfyges

The first thing reflected in this images that it has been taken during the pandemic. This is because we can see three men (possibly health workers) in front of the image wearing PPE kits and FFP2 masks. While one of the men is looking toward the camera, the one in the middle looks at the other people in the photo. The third man on the right of the image seems to be in movement.

All the subjects in the image are shown behind, what appears to be a barrier made out of ropes. Behind these barriers we see a woman holding a very young baby and looking at something. On the right side of the woman is another baby who is sitting on a man's lap. To the left of the woman, some kids can also be seen along with a man who has been covered because the man in the PPE kit seems to have come in front of him. Right next to the woman there is also another younger girl who appears to be covering her mouth with her head covering. Next to this man we can see three young boys also looking in front of them.

In focus is also an older man who is seen standing and looking right in front. On the right side of the man, a young girl can be seen looking in front as well. The women in the image are all wearing head covering which can be reflective of their religious identity. The old man in the middle looks like he is wearing pajamas and the image has been taken at night and the subjects in the image seem to waiting outside.

Visibility as biological life and empathy: The image clearly portrays a scene during the pandemic as it clearly shows health workers. Moreover, the girl children and woman are seen in hijab, while all of them continue to look across the fence. It is clear that they seem to be waiting for something. The image shows them waiting outside, thus it can be said that it portrays visibility as biological life in how it has been impacted during the pandemic and with the need for isolation and medical assistance. It also seems to invoke a sense of empathy in the reader, at the same showing how health workers are helping the refugees during a difficult health crisis.

26. https://www.efsyn.gr/ellada/koinonia/50616_apantiseis-gia-tin-epithesi-se-fotoreporter-sti-lesbo

This image is taken next to a seashore as the sea is visible at the back of the photo. It depicts two men caught in a scuffle. Whereas one man is holding the camera and the other one is wearing a lifeguard t-shirt. The image clearly shows that the man on the right in the t-shirt is holding the collar of the man with the camera and seems to be showing aggression. Whereas, the man with the camera is seen attempting to get rid of the hold.

Visibility as threat: This image shows two men fighting or caught in a scuffle, one appears to be a journalist as he is seen with a camera, while the other may be a care worker based on his orange T-shirt. He can also be a refugee who has been given clothes from an agency. Therefore, taking this argument, it can be said that the image shows visibility in terms of threat as a refugee or someone who is working to help refugees appears to be aggressive towards a journalist. Hence the image appear to fall in the category of visibility as threat.

27. https://www.efsyn.gr/kosmos/eyropi/23780_i-odysseia-ton-apelpismenon

The image focuses on the subject who is a woman surrounded by two individuals who are not visible in the image. Though from the image it can be seen something that may be a PPE kit, and gloves. One man is seen wearing a stethoscope and both of them have batons. While one of them is also wearing a military belt. Thus, it is clear that the image is focusing on the woman. She is wearing a scarf or hijab on her head, she is black; The woman has her hands on her head which can be seen either as a sign of fatigue, stress, or despair. However, this cannot be only derived from only looking at the image. The image has been taken during the day and the sky and sun can also be seen in the image.

Visibility as empathy and threat: This image highlights the stereotypes, in how it shows a woman who seems to be completely helpless and has come to the West to improve her living conditions. It, thus, portrays, visibility as empathy, as the woman is seen by what looks like agency workers who are helping her in reaching the West. Her identity and ethnicity are clear in her religious clothing and the color of her skin shown in the image. What is also relevant in this image is due the pandemic, a new form of threat appeared, and this image portrays that threat as the woman can be seen as a potential health risk.

28. https://www.efsyn.gr/ellada/dikaiomata/39284_oloi-oi-prosfyges-ehoyn-onomateponymo

This image shows a girl child who appears to be sitting in what looks like a classroom. She is shown to be alone in the classroom and is directly looking at the camera. She has her hands crossed in front of her which by certain standards appears to be a defensive technique but the

image itself cannot clearly state that. Also, her ability to directly look at the camera can also be perceived as confidence.

Visibility as empathy: The image shows a girl child shown in a classroom. While no other context is given in the image, it may be possible that the image tries to invoke a sense of empathy is showing a young child alone in a classroom. However, this is not really clear in the context of the image. It does also invoke a feeling of empathy while looking at the child as innocent and helpless in the context of this image.

Key word: Άφιξη Σύριοι πρόσφυγες - Arrival Syrian refugees

Prototthema.gr

29. https://www.protothema.gr/greece/article/512519/allonisos-115-surioi-prosfuges-anakalufthikan-apo-psara-se-akatoikito-nisi/

The image shows the moment refugees arrive at the seashore. The people shown in the image can be easily recognized in terms of their gender. There are three women clearly identifiable along with men and children. Most of the individuals seen in the image appear to have a single backpack in terms of their belongings. One man, on the left side of the photo, is seen holding two backpacks in his hand. Another man, on the right of the photo, wearing a red safety jacket is seen smiling.

The man behind the woman, wearing a red jacket, appears to be looking to the sky while holding a child in his arms. We cannot exactly know what the people in the image have been going through or feeling at the moment the image is taken, it can be said that the image depicts a sense of relief they must have felt reaching safely on the shore. In the image all subjects are not wearing a life jacket, they also seem to be in a chaos, they are running from the sea to the seashore, no evidence of boat or from where they are coming is seen in the image. Their facial expression is not clear but from their body language it is clear that they are trying to get away from the sea. Most of them are men and the women wear hijab.

Visibility as biological conditions and empathy: This image shows refugees who have just reached the seashore. It is in a series of images that highlight the dangerous journeys refugees have had to take to come to the West. As not everyone is seen with a life jacket, this fact also highlights the extent of risks they have taken to be on the boat. Therefore, the image can be

said to fall in the category of visibility as biological conditions and as empathy in how it shows their difficulties in taking the boat and reaching the shore. From the women's clothing the image also clearly shows their identities in this context.

30. https://www.protothema.gr/world/article/512227/velgio-oi-prosfuges-tha-boroun-na-vroun-douleia-4-mines-meta-tin-afixi-tous/

The image shows a crowded place, next to a building. The nature of the building cannot be seen in the image neither the reason of the gathering, From the clothes and the hats, it can be said that the image has been taken during summer. Subjects at the back of the image are holding cameras or their phone cameras. On the front we see clearly two babies being held up, the babies seem terrified. One of them in red clothes are clearly disturbed and is crying. On the left of the image there is a hand that shows something like a plastic card, it could be an ID documentation showed to the camera, but this is not visible in the image. At the back there are also people in costumes, white blouses and red hats.

Visibility as biological life and empathy: The image shows a large crowd and two babies are at the center of the image. Apart from the fact that a paper is seen on one individual's hand, the image is not clear. However, collectively the image invokes a sense of empathy by portraying the babies crying in front of the camera, and as crowds are shown as collective entity it also suggests that the image portrays visibility as biological life by showing refugees as mass of unfortunes.

31. https://www.protothema.gr/politics/article/506204/giati-oi-surioi-prosfuges-erhodai-stin-europi-kai-ohi-stis-plousies-aravikes-hores/

This image shows a road where two sets of individuals can be seen moving in the opposite direction. In the front of the image is a young boy carrying a baby in his arms. Following him can be seen three women, one man and a boy carrying small bags and buckets which seem to be full of things. The women in the image are wearing full-face veils and the image seems to taken in a desert area. Behind them, we can also see another man with a child who is looking toward this group of people. While it cannot be clarified only from the image as to why they seem to be on a move unless the context is clarified. On the left side of the image, we can see a small truck with four men going in the opposite direction but this is the only information that can be seen in the image. It has been taken during the day when everything can be seen clearly in the light.

Visibility as biological life and empathy: This image clearly shows a dry place which can be reflective of how it shows the conditions of people living in the area. The portrayal of the family walking towards the camera and women's clothing and belongings, convey the conditions, similar to the conditions of the road and the travelers in the truck. Thus, this can fall within the category of visibility as biological life, based on the context of the image. However, it can also be argued that the image can invoke a sense of empathy as it depicts harsh conditions of living based on the lack of civic amenities such as good roads and a good transport system.

32. https://www.protothema.gr/greece/article/502944/surioi-me-plasta-eggrafa-sunelifthisan-sto-aerodromio-tis-kefallonias/

The image only contains the entrance of the Cephalonia airport where the name of the airport is written on the roof of the airport. The sky in image is blue and full of sunlight.

Visibility unclear: This image only contains the name of the airport which is shown in daylight.

- Key word: Λέσβος φιλοξενία ντόπιων για πρόσφυγες - Local's hospitality for refugees
  Efsyn.gr

33. https://www.efsyn.gr/politiki/paraskinia/38210_prosfyges

Here is Grigoris Psarianos, part of the centric and social liberal political party in Greece. He seems to be sitting next to a window, we can see the shoulder of a woman who wears summer clothes and some food is also shown in the image therefore it is possible that he could be in a restaurant.

Visibility unclear: This is an image which shows a political leader, possibly taken in a restaurant which may be to highlight the difference between refugees and the condition of the politicians. Though, this is not clear in the image.

34. https://www.efsyn.gr/ellada/koinonia/31207_lesbos-o-altroyismos-kai-ta-ypopta-kroysmata

This image shows a man touching the image of Jesus with both hands, though only one of the hands is visible, from the posture of the man, it can be assumed that he is touching the image with both hands. His head is bowed down and he appears to be praying to the image. While the image appears to have some paint removed where the wall is visible, it is clearly an image conveying faith. While the exact emotion of the person cannot be seen, as to whether he is smiling or crying, it can be clearly deduced that he is in the process of praying.

Visibility as empathy: The image is of a man who can be said to be in a vulnerable position as the image is taken while he is praying. It can also be said that the image conveys a sense of empathy as it captures a very personal moment where the man appears to surrender to God and pray for something. As the image only shows this context, not a lot of information can be derived from it.

35. https://www.efsyn.gr/kosmos/eyropi/47097_kaneis-den-thelei-toys-prosfyges

This image shows a little baby looking over what appears to be a kind of a railing over which the hands of the baby can be seen. While the gender of the child is not clear. He is clearly very young. While the image also does not show where it has been taken, apart from the fact that the baby is seen behind a kind of barrier from the perspective of the camera.

Visibility as biological life and empathy: The boy in the image can be said to reflect the conditions of living and a sense of empathy while at the same time creating a dividing line due to the barrier shown in the image. Thus, it may be said that the image shows visibility as biological life and empathy.

36. https://www.efsyn.gr/ellada/dikaiomata/39442_ekpempoyn-sos-prosfyges-kai-katoikoi

The image shows a crowd next to a lake, it seems to be habitable place as there are buildings on the other side of the lake. In the image we clearly see a crowd standing next to the lake. Some of them are running and there is a commotion in the photo.
Some young men at the front of the image appear to be throwing something to each other. The ground is dirty and full of trash, there is also a standing mini white van in the middle. Someone on the left of the image seems to be taking photos or video of the incident, we can only see the hand holding the phone. There is also dust and people seem to be taking something from the ground, and running a throwing thing.

Visibility as threat: The chaos depicted in this image clearly shows a sense of disorganization or dissatisfaction within the refugees. The van in the middle appears to be caught in this moment. A large number of people appear to be causing a mess, probably fighting, people are also seen throwing something at each other. There is a chaos, in the image which is not peaceful as it also shows behaviour of refugees that represents disturbing the peace.

- Key word: Λέσβος φιλοξενία ντόπιων για πρόσφυγες - <u>Local's hospitality for refugees</u>
  Protothema.gr

37. https://www.protothema.gr/greece/article/525686/polutelis-thalamigos-metefere-simera-sti-lesvo-pano-apo-300-prosfuges/

Here we see two photos combined in one. On the left there are some people sitting next to the sea, it could be a port. There are women, men children, the women wear long sleeved clothes and hijab. There are some backpacks, there seem to be someone covered with a white sheet on the back next to a woman. While it's not clear it might be a child sleeping. The socks of some kids are out on the ground, and looks like they are waiting for something but the image does not show what it is. On the right it is a white yacht, a man is on top of it walking, there are many items at the front of the yacht but it's clear as to what it is. Though from the colors shown in the image it may be some safety jackets. Though it is not clear it could be a mode of transport used by the refugees.

Visibility as biological life: This image is a combination of two, wherein one shows refugees are seen sitting, and in the other a yacht is seen. While it is impossible to know if these refugees are waiting to leave or have arrived at the port and waiting for something, it can still be derived that the image wants to show a connection between the yacht and the refugees. While this can be limited to the yacht being a mode of transport it can also be a way to show some additional context as to how refugees have access to a yacht in relation to all the other images of refugees which are portrayed in the media. It also reflects, to a certain extent, the visibility of the biological condition of the refugees.

38. https://www.protothema.gr/greece/article/510774/i-oikogeneia-vretanon-pou-zei-sti-lesvo-kai-sozei-surious-prosfuges-/

52

This image shows an image of the sea, a woman is seen helping another woman walk to the shore, and one of the white women is holding a young child in her arms. Behind these women, on both sides of the photo, we can see people in motion while trying to help each other. While we do not know the identity of the people who are helping the refugees, it can be possible that they belong to the government or international agencies. While only the young child with the woman and another man on the left appears to be wearing a safety jacket, another man on the right can also be seen holding a tube. It's not clear as to what the man on the right is doing as he seems to be going out of the sea. In the background there are floating items in the sea. Although it cannot be clearly determined it is possible, based on their clothes, that everyone else apart from the man on the right were not heading to the sea from the beginning.

Visibility as empathy and hospitality: This image can be said to highlight the stereotypes that are prevalent regarding refugees to the extent that this image appears to have been seen several times across media outlets. The fact that it is taken at the sea highlights their visibility in terms of their biological life and their conditions and struggles. While at the same time it also highlights visibility as empathy and hospitality. Empathy is seen as they arrive in the West where they are helped, and hospitality as the West is willing to provide help for the refugees who look like they have been struggling to reach the shore. It's relevant to also note, that this image appears to interconnect visibility concepts in terms of the context.

39. https://www.protothema.gr/greece/article/505743/lesvos-hios-samos-leros-kai-kos-dehodai-tous-perissoterous-prosfuges/

The image shows a bunch of people next to the sea. The people include men, women, and children. Some are sitting and waiting, some are standing and looking inside their staff and bags, and some are on their phones. A woman is wearing a hijab. They could be refugees who just arrived at an island or ready to leave the island. They are in the background. The image shows a middle ages man walking with a suitcase and duty-free bag in the front. From his things, he could be a tourist who just arrived on an island for vacation. He does not seem to be giving attention to the people on the back.

Visibility as biological life: This image is striking as it really shows the striking difference between a tourist/person visiting a city business compared to refugees. It shows visibility in the biological condition of the refugees who are seemingly different from the person who is

carrying a suitcase. There is an evident difference that clearly marks the difference between the subject of this image.

40. https://www.protothema.gr/greece/article/516096/lesvos-pano-apo-45000-prosfuges-metakinithikan-se-12-imeres/

This image shows some people standing on top of a boat and four of them appear to be looking down, the other three on the left seem to be in a conversation. It is not clear if they are waiting for something. Some children can also be seen on the left side of the photo. While most people seen in the image are men. In front of the balcony, clock is visible along with a label that says in Greek "Departure".
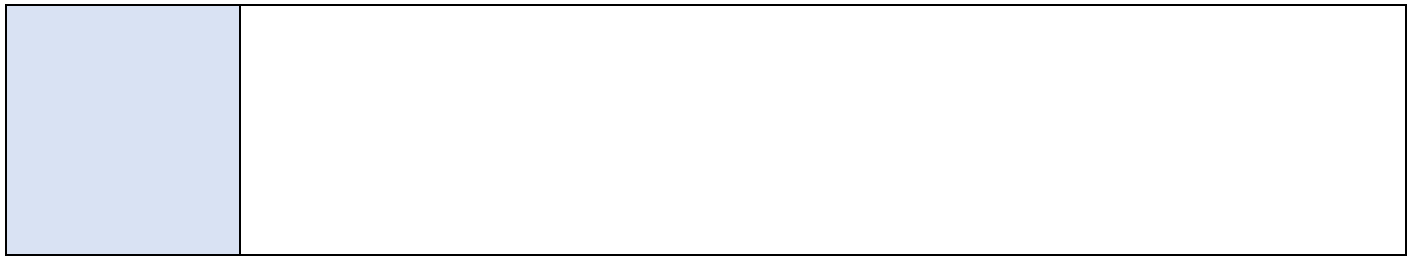
Visibility as biological life: In the context of the image the first observation can be made that the subjects in the image seem to be in transit as the boat has a sign which indicates the same. The image shows the subjects in movement thereby depicting their condition of not being in a stable environment and thus can fit within the category of visibility as biological life.

Picture No. Protothema	Visibilities	Gender and Number
1.	Visibilities, as biological life and threat	4 men
2.	Visibilities, as biological life, empathy, and threat	1 man
3.	Visibilities, as biological life and threat	15 men (not clear)
4.	Visibilities, as biological life and threat	19 men (not clear)

5.	Visibilities as biological life and threat	Unclear
6.	Visibility as self-reflexivity	1 man 1 woman
7.	Visibility as biological life and threat	Number not clear from the image but most appear to be men
8.	Visibility as threat and biological life	11 men at the front of the image many seen to be following
9.	Visibility as biological life and threat	Image is blurred shows women children and men
10.	Visibility unclear	2 women
11.	Visibility as Threat	1 people (age and gender not clear)
12.	Visibility unclear	6 Men
13.	Visibility as biological conditions and empathy	23 people 3 women 4 children 16 men (not clearly shown but appear to be)
14.	Visibility as biological life and empathy	2 children Crowd appears to be mostly male but cannot be counted

15.	Visibility as biological life and empathy	14 people 4 children 3 women 7 men
16.	Visibility unclear	N/A
17.	Visibility as biological life	12 people 1 child (boy) 6 women 5 men
18.	Visibility as empathy and hospitality	9 people 2 women 1 child 3 men are identifiable (others unclear)
19.	Visibility as biological life	17 people, 1 Man 2 women (clearly identifiable) 2 children (unclear)
20.	Visibility as biological life	7 Men 4 Children (1 boy, others cannot be clearly identified)
Total	Visibility as biological life - 14 Visibility as empathy - 5 Visibility as threat - 9 Visibility as hospitality - 1 Visibility as self-reflectivity – 1 Visibility as unclear - 3	

Image 5.1

Picture No. Efsyn	Visibilities	Gender and Number
1.	Visibility as biological life and threat	1 woman, several men and children
2.	Visibility as biological life and empathy	N/A
3.	Visibilities, as biological life and empathy	Image consists of several men, women and children
4.	Visibilities, as biological life and threat	4 men
5.	Visibility as empathy	1 child (boy) and 6 men the front exact number cannot be counted. Shows men, women and children
6.	Visibility as biological life empathy	3 children (boys) 1 man
7.	Visibilities as hospitality and empathy	9 people 1 woman 5 men 3 children

8.	Visibility as empathy	1 child (gender not clear)
9.	Visibility unclear	2 men
10.	Visibility unclear	1 man
11.	Visibility as empathy and hospitality	N/A
12.	Visibility unclear	2 men
13.	Visibility as biological life and empathy	14 people 1 baby (2 girls, 5 boys, baby's gender not clear) 1 woman 7 Men
14.	Visibility as threat	2 men
15.	Visibility as empathy and threat	1 Woman 2 Men
16.	Visibility as empathy	1 girl
17.	Visibility unclear	1 man 1 woman
18.	Visibility as empathy	1 man
19.	Visibility as biological life and empathy	1 child
20.	Visibility as Threat	2 men at the front Mostly male population, cannot be counted.

Total	Visibility as biological life - 7
	Visibility as empathy - 12
	Visibility as threat – 5
	Visibility as hospitality – 2
	Visibility as self-reflectivity – 0
	Visibility unclear - 4

Image 5.2

Chapter 6. Conclusion and Discussion

This chapter is divided into 5 sections. While section 6.1 gives the conclusion of the study, section 6.2 includes a discussion about the conclusion and its relevance. These two sections are then followed by three sections recommendations (6.3), further research (6.4) and limitations (6.5).

6.1. Conclusion

The analysis undertaken in this thesis, has clearly identified and analysed 40 different images 20 from each media house to reflect on the portrayal of people who are either in a refugee/asylum status seeking position. This section will first summarise the analysis in terms of gender, numbers, age and mode of transports and thereafter it will analyse explore what do these numbers reflect in the overall media imagery of people who are seeking either refuge or asylum. An overall view of analysis shows a huge difference in the number of images which show women and men in both the new papers. It is also relevant to note that the discussions and findings in this thesis are based on the understanding that most of the images focus on refugees from the Middle East belonging to Islam. As is clarified in the following sentence "Greece, which is 98 percent Orthodox Christian, hosted 1 million migrants on their way to other European countries. The vast majority of those passing through were Muslim" (Markovich, 2016).

Moreover, while in Protothema, the visibilities could be summarised in the following manner: Visibility as biological life - 14, Visibility as empathy - 5, Visibility as threat – 9, Visibility as hospitality – 1, Visibility as self-reflectivity – 1, and Visibility as unclear – 2. Whereas, for Efsyn it can be summarised in the following manner: Visibility as biological life - 7, Visibility as Empathy - 12, Visibility as threat – 5, Visibility as hospitality – 2, and Visibility as self-reflectivity – 1.

While in Protothema, the approximately total number of women is 19 the number of men shown is 96, whereas 18 children are shown in the 20 images. In contrast, for Efsyn the number of women is 5, whereas 30 men and 11 children are shown in the images.

REPRESENTATION IN NUMBERS – GENDER/AGE/MODES OF TRANSPORT		
	Protothema	Efsyn
WOMEN	19	5
MEN	96	30
CHILDERN	18	11
TRANSPORT	6	1

Image 6.1

REPRESENTATION OF VISITBILITIES IN NUMBERS		
Visibilities	Protothema	Efsyn
Biological Life	14	7
Empathy	5	12
Threat	9	5
Hospitality	1	2

Self-Reflectivity	1	0
Unclear	3	4

Image 6.2

A primary analysis of the categories of visibilities shows that both the newspapers while Protothema has the maximum images falling within the category of visibility as biological life, in the case of Efsyn, it is the category of Visibility as Empathy. It is also clear that visibility as threat is common feature in both the newspapers, with being visibility as biological life, and visibility as empathy being the categories to which maximum number of images correspond to. Other three categories appear to be not that common based on the analysis. With this background information it is relevant to see how these number can be interpreted to understand the meaning of these portrayals in the media.

This thesis has been written with an objective to explore and describe how two different newspapers, depict people in refugee-like situations based on their political ideologies, in the context of Greece. This has been done by analysing 40 different images in digital print media, with 20 images from each of the newspapers. More specifically, this thesis has focused on these specific events: *1) Fire at the Moria camp and subsequent issues (2020), 2) Opening and closure of borders at the Idomeni area (2019-2020) 3) Refugee push at Evros river (2020),4) Arrival of refugees from the Syrian war (2015), 5) Hospitality of locals on the island of Lesvos (2015)*

An in-depth analysis of these images has been used to see which of these categories of visibilities do these images fall within i.e. visibilities as biological life, as empathy, as threat, as hospitality, and as self-reflexivity. This analysis is done to answer the following research questions. How do Greek online newspapers from opposing ideological views, efsyn.gr and protothema.gr portray important events regarding refugees in Greece, and what [if any] are the differences in their portrayals?

Sub-Question:

1. How does protothema.gr portray the events?

2. How does efsyn.gr portray the events?

3. What (if any) are the differences between the two portrayals?

The photo analysis has shown that there are both similarities and differences in how the two newspapers depict the events with regards to refugee-like population. To describe the findings in statistical terms, out of the 20 images analysed the number can be reflected in the tables included in section 6.

The numbers reflected in the tables are similar in the categories relating to hospitality, self-reflectivity, and visibilities as unclear as a limited number of images have fall within these categories. However, the most important findings relate to categories of visibilities as biological life, as empathy, and as threat. The high number of images falling in the category of visibilities as biological life for the right-wing newspaper show how refugee-like people are shown as "mass of unfortunates" which is based on the study done by Chouliaraki & Stolic (2019), which reflect that this representation is dehumanizing for refugees as it represents refuges (and refugee-like people) as objects in need of help rather than subjects. This type of representation by the right-wing newspaper also does not reflect on the failing of world politics system, as it does not involve critical reflection. However, it is also relevant to note that left-wing newspaper does not fully avoid this category and has 7 images falling in this category, thus, it is clear that while the right-wing newspapers has a larger number of images in this category, the overall analysis shows that media houses continue to largely represent refuges and refugee-like people from a certain negative perspective, that lacks a critical reflection.

In terms of the categorisation in empathy as a category of visibilities, the numbers clearly show how the left-wing newspaper has a larger number of images falling in this category (12), which is much lower in the case of the right-wing paper. Thus, showing how left-wing newspaper shows refugees and refugee people in situations which have the ability to invoke a sense of empathy and guilt in the reader. It is also relevant to note that even the right-wing newspaper has a few images belonging within this category set. Another relevant aspect of this finding is that while the images do invoke empathy, they do not necessarily give us any more context or understanding of the situation in which refugees or refugee-like people are as also found in the study done by Chouliaraki & Stolic (2017).

While there are clear trends in this research that show a certain level of bias in the right-wing newspaper's representation of refugees and refugee-like population. However, in the case of representation in the category of visibilities as threat the number of images in this category are not that different as there are 9 images in the right-wing newspaper and 5 in the left-wing newspaper. These numbers show that media's representation of refugees and refugees-like population do involve their representation as a threat to law and order. This also reflects that how refugees are different for the country's population and how they should be seen with a sense of fear without understanding and exploring the responsibility and agency of the refugees and refugee-like population. These finding clearly support the study, which showed that Protothema, based on its right-wing ideology, cultivates a culture of fear of the refugees in its representation of the refugees (Boukala S. &., 2018, 17). However, the visual representation of refugees in Efsyn, does not have the element of criticism for the EU has been found in the study done by Boukala and Dimitra (Boukala S. &., 2018, 17)

6.2 Discussion

This section includes a discussion, based on the collusion and theoretical framework, to analyse the findings of this thesis in light of the academic works which provides the contextual framework of this thesis. This section is divided in three separate sections.

6.2.1 Women as victims – The problem of underrepresentation

The difference in numbers between the representation of men and women shows how there is a difference between how men and women are portrayed in the media. An earlier study done by Amores et. al. (2020), conducted and analysis of 500 journalistic photos from most representative digital media houses with international projection were looked at during the refugee crisis in 2015 in countries such as France, Germany, Italy, Spain and United Kingdom.

The analysis was done to analyse if there is a difference in the manner how media portrays women and men and if women are either underrepresented or represented as associated to religious symbols Amores et. al. (2020). The research provided an extensive analysis and highly relevant insights into the different ways Western media depicts women and men as it showed that "females in refugee-like situation were underrepresented in the main European

digital media even though they comprised roughly 50% of all the forcibly displaced who come to Europe, the media in our study only depict them exclusively (without men) in 10% of all their photographs and in roughly 20% of all the images showing only one gender." (Amores et. al. 2020, 307).

These findings also represent the generally held view in how in a male dominated society the media run by men puts women in a secondary position by giving them a passive role while at the same time giving men the central role as protagonists (Amores et. al. 2020, 307). This passive representation also reflects the perceived victimization of women, that is a common approach taken by Western media in how it represents Muslim Women, who are victims of their own culture and religion, in this portrayal of Muslim women as victims the media is able to use symbols of religion such as the *hijab* as one of the ways in which Western media interprets the lack of agency and victimhood of Muslim women (Amores et. al. 2020, 308). Lünenborg's study in this field also shows how media representation of women through which Western media appears to be reinforcing the "symbolic annihilation" of refugee women (Lünenborg, M. 2014).

The study thus, showed clearly how there is a significant difference between the portrayal of men and women in the refugee crisis as men are represented as actors with agency and the protagonists "(confronting their problems as valid, determined and courageous subjects)", and reinforce the notion of those men being represented either as a burden or a threat, playing on fears that already exist in the European society (Amores et. al. 2020, 308). While the research focused on visual framing theory, the finding of that research is also relevant for this thesis.

The vast difference found in the number of men and women represented in the media portrayal of refugee population, represents the same finding as have been discussed in the section above. The limited number of women shown in the media, is reflective of the trend of under-representation of women in both the newspapers or the limited representation reflecting the image of Muslim women as victims and women who lack the agency or the ability to either speak for themselves or raise a voice based on their cultural and religious background which is easily portrayed in their clothing and manner of representation. Moreover, the fact that most of these women came from the Middle East also makes it easy to categorise the status of women based on their racial and religious background.

At the same time this representation of women can be contrasted against the representation of men who are part of most of the images in both the newspapers. The next section discussed

how the over representation of men in the media helps reinforce the existing narrative of men in refugee-like situations.

6.2.2 Men as threat - The problem of overrepresentation

The Syrian refugee crisis, also saw the claims that most Syrian refugees were mostly male, which was also the narrative that dominated the #refugeeNOTwelcome movement. The media outlets have continued to emphasise on the male refugee image as compared to portraying women in the crisis. This stands in major contrast to the portrayal of women during the American war on terror in Iraq and Afghanistan where women's oppression was used as one of the justifications for the war as it emphasised how the women were victims and needed saving (Rettberg, 2016, 179).

The conversation surrounding males in refugee situations continued to be full of filled with apprehensions and the negative stereotypes, for example a tweet in 2015, regarding #refugeesNOTwelcome said "Won't be long before the rapes start." In these narratives the Middle-Eastern masculinity plays a major role in defining these men as threats based on their culture and religion (Rettberg, 2016, 179). While at the same time there are also arguments that why a large number of refugees are males, and do only men flee a war zone, claiming that these men fleeing the conflict are less threatening as they are cowards. Another tweet with the #refugeesNOTwelcome movement tweeted "2200 immigrants arrived in Munich. No women no children. Apparently only men flee 'war zones'?" (Rettberg, 2016, 180).

While these discussions relate to social media, they are reflective of the complex narrative that images of refugee-like men, it is evident that the narratives surrounding these images are supported by how the colonial framing of Middle-Eastern Men has evolved, the framing which has become even stronger post the 9/11 era. They are presumed to portray predatory sexuality and undisciplined male aggression which signifies their threatening nature (Rettberg, 2016, 180).

The discussions in section 6.2 and 6.3 proves Moore's thesis that in the representation of refugees they are shown as either victims or threats (Moore, 2012). The analysis has also shown that the study by Chouliaraki and Stolic (2017) has been used to interpret the humanity and agency of the refugees represented in these images. The difference in the portrayal of refugees done by each newspaper is also indicative of the fact that ideologies and political

affiliations have an impact on each other as they are interconnected (Johnson, 2007). Whereas the analysis also shows that the right-wing newspaper has a larger number of images that show the refugees as threats as compared to the left-wing newspaper (Jelinkova, 2019). These findings also reflect how there is a distinct relationship in media's portrayal of the refugees and their political affiliations (Matar 2017).

6.2.3 Modes of transport/police security/political representation

In terms of modes of transport, the images have covered a limited number of photos, as with Protothema it is 6 and for Efsyn only one images shows a mode of transport. It is also relevant to note that not all these images show transit of people in refugee-like situation, but some are merely represented in a static manner, while some appear to be moving towards the shore. Most of these transport mediums are boats, flights and trains reinforcing the largely popular narrative that has been used in the media. What is also relevant to see that a very limited number of these images show police presence, (2 images) or authorities in general whereas, representation of political official is also limited (3 images).

The discussion in section 6.2 and 6.3, have recognized visibilies and categories of factors that are relevant to see and understand the media narrative of refugee-like individuals, the next section discusses the limitations of this research with a focus on the method of content analysis and the biases that can have an impact on such content analysis. The next section will also find suggestions regarding the nature of future research that can highlight the existing issues in the media narratives on refugees-like individuals, groups and refugees.

Coming back to the findings in the photo, while most images in Protothema showed men as part of groups of men (only one individual photo), in Efsyn there were 5 instances where men are either seen as individuals or with a woman or child. It is clear that this represents the idea the refugee-like men should not be seen as individuals. This portrayal of men, corresponds to the idea that collectively men in refugee-like situation are seen capable of disorderly and unacceptable behaviour that poses a threat to the society. Thus, the portrayal of refugees as a crowd supports the narrative of them being a threat and can also result in nationalist perspective on the issue.

A collective look at the above discussion, is able to show how men and women are perceived and portrayed differently by the media. However, it is also clear that these images do not

always show an objective reality as all aspects of framing reflects the narrative that the media is trying to set. In the case of refugees-like men and women these narratives have a deeper historical connection that work not only in the context of the ongoing crisis, but in the context of the historical, cultural and social context of these people who are caught in the crisis and which narrative does the media chose to make.

Thus, while different media can have different portrayals, the common theme appears to be the underrepresentation of women in these situations wherein women are shown as helpless victims who lack agency and thus need to be saved, the important aspect in this image of women as victims is also that women are also seen as the bridge between cultures who if saved can save their children from the culture of oppression and subjugation that they continued to face and which they are running from.

Another relevant finding from the photo analysis is that is has shown that most images show men and women in the middle ages whereas there are limited images with children and elderly people. These shows that the media's portrayal of refugees continues to work on the pre-existing narratives of how and what people seeking refuge look like or what do they reflect. It is also quite relevant to note, that while there are arguments regarding the underrepresentation of women the recent statistics in this regard show that the number of women seeking refuge in 2021 was much lower than the men. The table below reflects this finding as summarised by the official authorities Ministry of Migration and Asylum in Greece (MoMA).

Gender/age breakdown of the total number of applicants: 2021 - Greece

	Number	Percentage
Total number of applicants	28,320	100%
Men	15,665	55.3%
Women	4,210	14.8%

Minors (also unaccompanied)	8,445	29.8%

The analysis has been able to show that how most images correspond to the predefined categories of visibilities, with only 6 images falling within the unclear category. While the research has been able to show the difference between the numbers in each of the categories based on the political affiliations of the newspapers, which are different based on whether the newspaper is right-wing or left-wing, there are also similarities in how both newspapers have images falling within all the categories. The results, however, are not limited in their scope as they go beyond the mere representation of refugees and refugee-like population as they also reflect the larger context in which the discourse on refugees and refugees-like population is created and how digital print media is able to create narratives and also reinforce the narrative which also exist regarding refugees.

There is also a clear distinction in how men and women are represented in these images. A cumulative analysis of the newspapers has been able to show that media houses continue to represent more men as compared to women. This is also related to the trend that there is an underrepresentation of women in the media, and the representations also continues to represent women as victims and people who lack agency and are subjugated by their own culture and men. While on the other hand the representation of men continues to show them as part of a larger crowd, and in situations which represent actions disturbing the law and order. Thus, their representation reinforces the narrative of men as threat or criminals.

These representations are reflective not only of the distinction between Western and Non-Western population, but also represent the way how media narrates other religions and cultures. This is true in the case of both men and women, as their representations is always done in the context of their religion and culture which is also subject to a certain narrative that exists in the media and also is a presumption in the mind of the reader. Women's lack of agency, and their presumed victimisation is attributed to their cultural and religion, without understanding the political context of their situation. For men as well as their representation as threat to women and to the social order continues to be affected by how other cultures and religions have been understood in the media and also in the larger discourse on refugees.

6.3 Recommendations

As this thesis deals with the issue of representation of refugees in media, it acknowledges the relevance and importance of this issue and how it has an impact on the way these representations impact society. Thus, the media houses are the main stakeholders in this research. Another relevant stakeholder in this regard can be the organisations that are working for and with the refugees for their successful integration into the host society.

The following are several collective recommendations for both the media houses as the findings show that despite certain dissimilarities in their representation of refugees both these newspapers also share a number of similarities. The discussion has also shown that the representations used by these newspapers are also related to their political affiliations, the recommendations made here apply to both newspapers. This section is followed by a specific recommendation for each of the media houses and the organisations working for and with the refugees.

Therefore, it is also relevant to focus on the fact the media outlets must recognize the nature of responsibilities they have towards a society based on the extent of their influence in informing and creating public opinion. Thus, they should be aware and recognize that they have big power and responsibility in shaping views and an attempt should be made on their part that their representation of refugees is not based on their political affiliations and does not try to create a public opinion that supports these ideologies but to represent the facts of refugee situations which can generate an informed opinion on the issue. Thus, media houses should focus on ensuring that their coverage does not result in polarization but to create an environment where the issue is looked at from a factual perspective and where the discourse on the issue is focused on finding solutions.

Therefore, it is suggested that journalists should have extensive training to face and recognize the biases they may have, and also to promote cultural awareness. It can also help the journalists to understand and connect with refugees in a better manner if they can create links through mutual capacity building with refugee networks and groups. Another recommendation is related to the management which can attempt to create a more inclusive and diverse newsroom this means creating a work that has the cultural, social, and gender diversity to be

able to understand and represent issues of individuals and groups who may find themselves in marginalized positions.

Another relevant observation in the thesis has been that the representation of men and women based on their cultural, and religious identity continues to reinforce the stereotypes that have existed regarding them, thus the media representation of these groups should actively attempt to work on these specific biases which are not only political but also historical in nature. This can only be done by looking at refugees not as a group of people representing threats or victims but also by trying to see them as individuals and understand their stories in the context and also make an effort to show and highlight these stories.

6.3.1 Recommendation for Protothema

One of the main findings of this thesis has been that the Protothema, which appears to have the maximum number of images falling the category of biological life (14) and threat (9), showing how its narrative of refugees is focused on showing the either as a threat or to show them as a group of individuals living in degradable conditions. Thus, reinforcing the rhetoric of their political ideology in their representation of refugees. In doing so, they continue to reinforce stereotypes of the refugee population and reinforce a divided society. Thus, the portrayal of refugees in Protothema can have a negative impact on the cohesiveness of society. Thus, one of the recommendations for the newspaper is to focus on unbiased reporting so that the representation of the refugees in the media is balanced, this can be done by educating the staff on how they can counter their political and cultural biases in their reporting of the refugees.

A more diverse workforce can be a helpful tool in creating an environment that is multicultural and has the cultural sensitivity which is required to portray stories of people from other cultures including the refugees. Moreover, another possible suggestion can be that sometimes-individual stories of success and integration of the refugees can have a positive impact on how the refugee population is perceived. This can also provide more credibility to the newspaper, which can move beyond only supporting a political ideology and create a space where the reporting is balanced and fair.

6.3.2 Recommendation for Efsyn

The portrayal of refugees in Efsyn also reflects how most images fall within the category of empathy (12). While this reflects that the newspaper also supports its liberal political ideology by showing that refugees should be seen with compassion, this image continues to replicate the issues of denying the refugees their voices Chouliaraki & Stolic, (2017, 1168).

Thus, a recommendation for Efsyn is also to have an open view of the refugee situation and make efforts to ensure that their representation is not limited to portraying refugees as collective entities by not paying attention to their unique circumstances. Stories of their struggles and triumphs are also relevant for the society to understand and interact with the refugees and also understand that they have the potential to not only take from the host society but also contribute to it.

For example, a doctor/ teacher or a qualified professional, who had to flee his/her country can prove to be a valuable addition to the host society. Thus, the overrepresentation of refugees as a collective mass ignores these stories and values that may be found in the refugee population. Thus, the newspaper should focus on covering these types of stories. Another example of this can be the representation of refugees as successful people in the host society who have been able to integrate and contribute.

6.3.3 Recommendation for refugee organizations

One of the most relevant aspects of organisations working for refugees is to ensure that they can integrate into society, thus refugees must be presented in a positive light.

Therefore, an organisation working for refugees should try and collaborate with news agencies to bring out positive stories about refugees which can challenge and possibly change the negative narratives that are popular in the media. Refugees need to be shown as individuals who are not mere victims of their culture and religion but have aspirations and the ability to work towards these aspirations. Their willingness to integrate into society through hard work, and willingness to learn the language and culture can be highlighted by presenting stories in the media that show such examples.

6.4 Further research

As one of the limitations of the research is the limited number of images that have been used, one of the recommendations for future research would be to include a larger number of images

in a similar context of analysis. This will help in having research that can give a better context to the study. Another suggestion can be also to reflect on the representation of refugees and refugee like populations in a comparative context. For example, an analysis of the print media sources in seeing their description of men and women can really help in focusing on the distinction between these representations and identify specific issues that exist with these representations.

Moreover, it will also be beneficial to have an analysis that involves a larger number of news across media agencies in Greece including independent journalistic sources. This can help in having a study that goes beyond these existing categories of visibilities and also analyse if there are new emerging visibilities. While this thesis has only focused on the visual interpretation of the images, it is also relevant to use the description of those photos in the form of headlines for comparative research, as this will also help in categorising the images and the context objectively. This is because a photo analysis done with the words that appear to explain those images can remove the elements of subjectivity and assumptions and make for a clear and objective analysis.

6.5 Limitations

One of the limitations of this research is the limited number of images that have been analysed for this research, due to which the context of this study is limited in its scope. Another aspect related to the images is that even with this limited number of images, some images are the same in both the newspapers making the analysis even more limited in that sense. Another limitation of this research is the fact that only two media houses are represented in this search and thus the representations are limited to two political ideologies and leave out some other perspectives such as independent media.

In terms of methodological terms and the selection of images, a number of steps have been taken to ensure that there has been no bias in the selection of the images. However, it is possible that the analysis may appear to be biased in certain images, however, it is relevant to note that the researcher has tried to only reflect on the facts in the analysis, and has not gone beyond what the images reflect. While some assumptions of the situations have been used in this analysis, these assumptions are also based on a general understanding of the situation.

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