



Ioannis Vazirgiantzikis. Media representations of refugees and migrants. Implications for their language education and learning



School of Humanities

Postgraduate Programme: Language Education for
Refugees and Migrants

Postgraduate Dissertation

Media representations of refugees and migrants

Ioannis Vazirgiantzikis

Supervisor: Achilleas Kostoulas, PhD

Patras, Greece, January 2026

Abstract

This postgraduate dissertation examines media representations of refugees and migrants. The study is informed by Critical Discourse Analysis. To address its aims, a research sample of news articles was assembled. These were ten articles from the news site iefimerida, twelve articles from the news site Proto Thema, twelve articles from the Daily Mail, and nineteen from the BBC. The selection of the news sites was based on unbiased web traffic data, which were used to identify the two most popular news outlets in Greece and the United Kingdom. In addition, a strict search and selection protocol was designed and implemented to select and gather articles. An analytical model grounded in established content analysis techniques was employed. Using thematic analysis, textual evidence from the news articles was grouped into codes, which allowed for prevailing themes to emerge. The study showed that the four news sites represented migrants and refugees negatively. Across all examined news sites, migrants and refugees were predominantly represented as a problem and a homogenised mass, with only limited exceptions observed in the BBC. The news sites Proto Thema and iefimerida represented them as unwanted, dangerous, and threatening. The Daily Mail represented them as unwanted and as a strain on resources and security; and the BBC represented them as an administrative and economic burden. Across the articles, there was consistent conflation of the terms “migrants”, “refugees”, and “asylum seekers”. In the Greek news sites, no pro-migrant discourse is apparent. In the Daily Mail, there is minimal evidence of pro-migrant discourse, and in the BBC, there is limited pro-migrant discourse which is overwhelmed by dominant governmental anti-migrant discourse. Similar studies of broader scope are required.

Keywords

Critical Discourse Analysis, media representations of migrants and refugees, thematic analysis, refugees, migrants, and asylum seekers, critical literacy.

Αναπαραστάσεις προσφύγων και μεταναστών στα μέσα ενημέρωσης

Ιωάννης Βαζιργιαντζίκης

Περίληψη

Αυτή η μεταπτυχιακή διατριβή εξετάζει τις αναπαραστάσεις των προσφύγων και των μεταναστών στα μέσα ενημέρωσης. Η μελέτη βασίζεται στην Κριτική Ανάλυση Λόγου. Για την επίτευξη των στόχων της, συγκεντρώθηκε ένα ερευνητικό δείγμα άρθρων ειδήσεων. Αυτά ήταν δέκα άρθρα από τον ειδησεογραφικό ιστότοπο *iefimerida*, δώδεκα άρθρα από τον ειδησεογραφικό ιστότοπο *Proto Thema*, δώδεκα άρθρα από την *Daily Mail* και δεκαεννέα από το *BBC*. Η επιλογή των ειδησεογραφικών ιστότοπων βασίστηκε σε αμερόληπτα δεδομένα διαδικτυακής επισκεψιμότητας, τα οποία χρησιμοποιήθηκαν για τον εντοπισμό των δύο πιο δημοφιλών ειδησεογραφικών μέσων στην Ελλάδα και το Ηνωμένο Βασίλειο. Επιπλέον, σχεδιάστηκε και εφαρμόστηκε ένα αυστηρό πρωτόκολλο αναζήτησης και επιλογής για την επιλογή και τη συλλογή άρθρων. Χρησιμοποιήθηκε ένα αναλυτικό μοντέλο βασισμένο σε καθιερωμένες τεχνικές ανάλυσης περιεχομένου. Χρησιμοποιώντας θεματική ανάλυση, τα κειμενικά στοιχεία από τα ειδησεογραφικά άρθρα ομαδοποιήθηκαν σε κώδικες, γεγονός που επέτρεψε την ανάδειξη των κυρίαρχων θεμάτων. Η μελέτη έδειξε ότι οι τέσσερις ειδησεογραφικοί ιστότοποι παρουσίαζαν τους μετανάστες και τους πρόσφυγες αρνητικά. Σε όλους τους εξεταζόμενους ειδησεογραφικούς ιστότοπους, οι μετανάστες και οι πρόσφυγες παρουσιάζονταν κυρίως ως πρόβλημα και ως ομογενοποιημένη μάζα, με μόνο περιορισμένες εξαιρέσεις να παρατηρούνται στο *BBC*. Οι ειδησεογραφικοί ιστότοποι *Proto Thema* και *iefimerida* τους παρουσίασαν ως ανεπιθύμητους, επικίνδυνους και απειλητικούς. Η *Daily Mail* τους παρουσίασε ως ανεπιθύμητους και ως επιβάρυνση για τους πόρους και την ασφάλεια, ενώ το *BBC* τους παρουσίασε ως ένα διοικητικό και οικονομικό βάρος. Σε όλα τα άρθρα, υπήρξε συστηματική εννοιολογική σύγχυση των όρων «μετανάστες», «πρόσφυγες» και «αιτούντες άσυλο». Στις ελληνικές ειδησεογραφικές ιστοσελίδες, δεν υπάρχει εμφανής λόγος υπέρ των μεταναστών. Στην *Daily Mail*, υπάρχουν ελάχιστα στοιχεία λόγου υπέρ των μεταναστών, και στο *BBC*, υπάρχει περιορισμένος λόγος υπέρ των μεταναστών, ο οποίος επισκιάζεται από τον κυρίαρχο κυβερνητικό αντιμεταναστευτικό λόγο. Είναι σκόπιμο να διεξαχθούν παρόμοιες μελέτες ευρύτερου πεδίου. Η προώθηση του κριτικού γραμματισμού θεωρείται καθοριστικής σημασίας για όλους τους μαθητές.

Λέξεις – Κλειδιά

Κριτική Ανάλυση Λόγου, αναπαραστάσεις μεταναστών και προσφύγων στα μέσα ενημέρωσης, θεματική ανάλυση, πρόσφυγες, μετανάστες και αιτούντες άσυλο, κριτικός γραμματισμός.

References

- Al Jubeh, D. (2023). *Unaccompanied minors arriving in Greece: An exploration of their journey* [Master's Dissertation, Aalborg University].
https://www.academia.edu/146220143/Aalborg_University_MSc_Global_Refugee_Studies
- Alexiou, S. (2021). *I anaparastasi ton metanaston-prosfygon ston elliniko dimosio logo - Kritiki analysi kai didaktikes protaseis* [The representation of immigrants-refugees in Greek public discourse - Critical analysis and teaching proposals] [Master's Dissertation, Hellenic Open University]. Apothesis.
<https://apothesis.eap.gr/archive/item/72613>
- Anderson, N. (2023, October 9). More migrants land in Britain after crossing the Channel in small boats a day after a teenage refugee from Eritrea drowned when a dinghy carrying 60 people capsized - the fifth to die in northern France in three weeks. *Daily Mail*. <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-12611715/More-migrants-land-UK-crossing-English-Channel-small-boats.html>
- Anthias, F. & Lloyd, C. (2002). Introduction: Fighting racisms, defining the territory. In F. Anthias & C. Lloyd (Eds.), *Rethinking Anti-Racisms. From Theory to Practice*. Routledge.

- Archakis, A. (2020). *Apo ton ethniko ston meta-ethniko logo: Metanasteftikes taftotites kai kritiki ekpaidefsi* [From national to post-national discourse: migratory identities and critical education]. Patakis.
- Arcila-Calderón, C., Blanco-Herrero, D., Masiola, M., Oller-Alonso, M., Saridou, T., Splendore, S., & Veglis, A. (2021). Framing Migration in Southern European Media: Perceptions of Spanish, Italian, and Greek Specialized Journalists. *Journalism Practice*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2021.2014347>
- Arvanitidis, P., Papagiannitsis, G., Desli, A. Z., Vergou, P., & Gourgouliani, S. (2021). Attitudes towards refugees & immigrants in Greece: a national-local comparative analysis. *European Journal of Geography*, 12(3) (pp. 39-55). https://www.eurogeojournal.eu/articles/03_EJG_2021_10_22_%CE%91_ARVANITIDIS_55.pdf
- Avraamidou, M., Kadianaki, I., Ioannou, M., Panagiotou E. (2017). *Migration in the Greek-Cypriot Press between 2011-2015: visibility, topics, trends and the debate between pro and anti-migrant discourses*. University of Cyprus. <http://www.recore.eu/documents/>
- Bailey-Morley, A., & Lowe, C. (2023). *Public narratives and attitudes towards refugees and other migrants: Greece country profile*. Open Data Institute. https://odi.org/en/publications/public-narratives-and-attitudes-towards-refugees-and-other-migrants-greece-country-profile/?utm_source=chatgpt.com

- Ball, J. (2023, November 1). Afghan dad feared family would die in Channel crossing. *BBC*. <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-leicestershire-67263580>
- Barrett, D (2023, October 12). Sharp rise in number of small boat migrants being deported from Britain as new agreement with Albania kicks in. *Daily Mail*. <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-12624123/Sharp-rise-number-small-boat-migrants-deported-Britain-new-agreement-Albania-kicks-in.html>
- Barrett, D., & Jones, O. (2023, September 25). Suella Braverman warns 780MILLION people are eligible to claim asylum in UK under 'absurd' refugee rules: Home Secretary to make major speech TODAY calling for overhaul of UN Refugee Convention. *Daily Mail*. <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-12559701/Channel-boat-migrants-not-treated-refugees-international-asylum-laws-create-huge-incentives-illegal-migration-Suella-Braverman-say-major-speech.html>
- BBC (2023a, November 2). *Free bus travel pledge for asylum seekers in Scotland*. <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-scotland-scotland-politics-67301769>
- BBC (2023b, November 3). *Scottish independence: Asylum system would be overhauled*. <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-scotland-scotland-politics-67309357>

BBC (n.d.). *History of the BBC: First regular hi-definition television service.*

<https://www.bbc.com/historyofthebbc/anniversaries/november/first-regular-television-service>

Bennet, S., Ter Val, J., Lipiński, A., Fabiszak, M., & Krzyżanowski, M. (2011).

MEDIVA Thematic Report 2011/02: Media Content. European University

Institute. [https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Artur-](https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Artur-Lipinski/publication/295547449_Migrants_and_Media_Newsmaking_Practice/s/links/56cb211708ae1106370b72e1/Migrants-and-Media-Newsmaking-Practices.pdf)

[Lipinski/publication/295547449_Migrants_and_Media_Newsmaking_Practice/s/links/56cb211708ae1106370b72e1/Migrants-and-Media-Newsmaking-Practices.pdf](https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Artur-Lipinski/publication/295547449_Migrants_and_Media_Newsmaking_Practice/s/links/56cb211708ae1106370b72e1/Migrants-and-Media-Newsmaking-Practices.pdf)

Berkovic, D. (2023). Researcher positionality. In D. Ayton, T. Tsindos, & D.

Berkovic (Eds.), *Qualitative research: A practical guide for health and social care researchers and practitioners* [Online book]. Monash University.

https://oercollective.caul.edu.au/qualitative-research/chapter/_unknown_-27/

Berry, M., Garcia-Blanco, I., & Moore, K. (2015). *Press coverage of the refugee and migrant crisis in the EU: A content analysis of five European countries.*

United Nations High Commission for Refugees.

<https://orca.cardiff.ac.uk/id/eprint/87078/>

Brailas, A., Tragou, E., & Papachristopoulos, K. (2023). Introduction to qualitative

data analysis and coding with QualCoder. *American Journal of Qualitative*

Research, (7)3 (pp.19-31). <https://doi.org/10.29333/ajqr/13230>

- Breeze, R. (2011). Critical discourse analysis and its critics. *Pragmatics*, 21(4) (pp. 493-525). <https://doi.org/10.1075/prag.21.4.01bre>
- Burchell, H. (2023, October 25). Ipswich Novotel hotel to stop housing asylum seekers, says MP. *BBC*. <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-suffolk-67211536>
- Cholezas, I. (2018). The education of refugee children in Greece. *Greek Economic Outlook*, (35) (pp. 38-43). <https://www.kepe.gr/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/The-education-of-refugee-children-in-Greece-Ioannis-Cholezas.pdf>
- Chouliaraki, L., & Zaborowski, R. (2017). Voice and community in the 2015 refugee crisis: a content analysis of news coverage in eight European countries. *International Communication Gazette*, 79(6-7) (pp. 613-635). https://eprints.lse.ac.uk/84707/1/Zaborowski_Voice%20and%20community_2017.pdf
- Chouliaraki, L., Georgiou, M., & Zaborowski, R. (2017). *The European “migration crisis” and the media: A cross-European press content analysis*. London School of Economics, Department of Media and Communication and Utrecht University. https://www.academia.edu/33647366/The_European_migration_crisis_and_the_media_A_cross_European_press_content_analysis

- Christopoulou, E. (2021). *I anaparastasi tou 'allou' se eidiseografika kimena stin epohi tou koronoiou: Didaktiki protasi sto plesio ton polygrammatismon* [The representation of the 'other' in news articles in the covid era: Teaching proposal in the context of Multiliteracies] [Master's dissertation, Hellenic Open University]. Apothesis. <https://apothesis.eap.gr/archive/item/72598>
- Chrysou, N. (2021). *Applying CDA on 'Evros Crisis' discourses on Twitter* [Master's dissertation, Hellenic Open University]. Apothesis. <https://apothesis.eap.gr/archive/item/71142>
- Clements, C. (2023, October 31). Council calls for aid amid Glasgow refugee housing concerns. *BBC*. <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-scotland-glasgow-west-67267963>
- Creswell, J. W. (2014). *Qualitative inquiry & research design: choosing among five approaches* (4th ed.). SAGE.
- Cullicane, A. (2023, October 30). Bewdley hotel to stop housing asylum seekers. *BBC*. <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-hereford-worcester-67261474>
- Cummins, J. (1988). The role and use of educational theory in formulating language policy. *TESL Ontario Contact*, 14(1) (pp. 12–19). <https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/EJ387333.pdf>
- Cummins, J. (2001). *Negotiating identities: Education for empowerment in a diverse society* (2nd ed.). California Association for Bilingual Education.

Dafkou, V., & Gkaintartzi, A. (2023). Challenges and experiences regarding teaching refugee students in the Greek State School classes. *International Scientific Educational Journal "educ@tional circle"*, 11(1) (pp. 23-44).

https://educircle.gr/wp-content/uploads/2020/01/teyxos_11_1_2.pdf

Daramouska, M. (2020). *Human rights in child protection. The child's best interest principle under international and European legislation* [Master's dissertation, Hellenic Open University]. Apothesis.

<https://apothesis.eap.gr/archive/item/71265>

Dawkins, A. (2023, October 26). Kidderminster hotel to stop housing asylum seekers.

BBC. <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-hereford-worcester-67228341>

Dedman, S. (2023, October 31). Wethersfield base could be used for three years for migrants. *BBC*. <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-essex-67271084>

Doumani, K. (2023). *Kritiki Analisi Logou kai didaktiki axiopoisi: Anaparastasis prosfygon sto dimosiografiko logo* [Critical Discourse Analysis and teaching proposal: Representations of refugees in journalistic discourse] [Master's dissertation, Hellenic Open University]. Apothesis.

<https://apothesis.eap.gr/archive/item/176200>

Edwards, S. (2023, October 31). RAF Scampton: Dambusters base asylum plan unlawful, court told. *BBC*. [https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-](https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-lincolnshire-67274519)

[lincolnshire-67274519](https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-lincolnshire-67274519)

Eurydice (2024). *Population: demographic situation, languages and religions*.

<https://eurydice.eacea.ec.europa.eu/national-education-systems/greece/population-demographic-situation-languages-and-religions>

Fairclough, N. (1989). *Language and power*. Routledge.

Fairclough, N. (1995). *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of language*.
Routledge.

Fairclough, N. (2003). *Analyzing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research*.
Routledge.

Farkas, J. (2023). Discourse Analysis in Journalism Studies. *Journalistica*, 17(1) (pp. 1-5). <https://doi.org/10.7146/journalistica.v17i1.138573>

Fenwick, J. (2023, October 25). Asylum hotel closures may shift cost to councils, councilors warn. *BBC*. <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-67212103>

Fortune Greece (2021). *Posoi metanastes kai apo poies hores isilthan stin Ellada* [How many migrants and from which countries entered Greece].
<https://slpress.gr/koinonia/posoi-metanastes-kai-apo-poies-chores-eisilthan-stin-ellada/>

Fotopoulos, S., & Kaimaklioti, M. (2016). Media discourse on the refugee crisis: on what have the Greek, German and British press focused? *European View*, 15(2) (pp.265-279). <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12290-016-0407-5>

Francis, S. (2023, Jun 5). Two new barges to house migrants announced. *BBC*.

<https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-65810728>

Gemi, E., & Feta, B. (2024). *Migration developments in Greece in 2023*. Hellenic foundation for European & foreign policy (ELIAMEP).

<https://www.eliamep.gr/wp-content/uploads/2024/07/Working-paper-128-SOPEMI-.pdf>

Gemi, E., & Feta, B. (2025). *Migration developments in Greece: Key developments and challenges in 2023 – 2024*. Hellenic foundation for European & foreign policy (ELIAMEP). [https://www.eliamep.gr/wp-](https://www.eliamep.gr/wp-content/uploads/2025/03/Working-paper-131-SOPEMI-1.pdf)

[content/uploads/2025/03/Working-paper-131-SOPEMI-1.pdf](https://www.eliamep.gr/wp-content/uploads/2025/03/Working-paper-131-SOPEMI-1.pdf)

Gemi, E., Ulasiuk, I., & Triandafyllidou, A. (2012). Migrants and Media newsmaking practices. *Journalism Practice*, 7(3) (pp. 266–281).

<https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2012.740248>

Georgiou, M., & Zaborowski, R. (2017). *Media coverage of the ‘refugee crisis’: A cross-European perspective*. Council of Europe.

<https://rm.coe.int/1680706b00>

Gialabouki, E. (2008). *Dimosiografikos logos kai diakeimenikotita* [Journalistic Discourse and Intertextuality] [Doctoral dissertation, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki]. National Archive of PhD Theses.

<https://www.didaktorika.gr/eadd/handle/10442/19104>

- Glesne, C. (2016). *Becoming qualitative researchers: An introduction* (5th ed.).
Pearson.
- Gottwald, M. (2014). Burden sharing and refugee protection. In E. Fiddian-Qasmiyeh,
G. Loescher, K. Long, & N. Sigona (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Refugee
and Forced Migration Studies* (pp. 525-537). Oxford University Press.
https://www.researchgate.net/publication/360486138_Burden_sharing_and_refugee_protection
- He, X. (2023). *British digital tabloids in the twenty-first century: Continuity and
change* [Doctoral dissertation, University of Sheffield]. White Rose eTheses
Online. <https://etheses.whiterose.ac.uk/id/eprint/34538/>
- Human Rights Watch (2021). *Greece: Stop denying refugee children an education*.
<https://www.hrw.org/news/2021/07/29/greece-stop-denying-refugee-children-education>
- Human Rights Watch (2023). *Greece: Events of 2022*. <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2023/country-chapters/greece>
- Independent Press Standards Organization (2025). *Editors' Code of Practice*.
<https://www.editorscode.org.uk/the-code/>
- Independent Press Standards Organization (2025). *Editors' Code of Practice*.
<https://www.editorscode.org.uk/the-code/>
- International Crisis Group (2025). *Ethiopia and Eritrea Slide Closer to War amid
Tigray Upheaval*. <https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/horn->

[africa/ethiopiaeritrea/ethiopia-and-eritrea-slide-closer-war-amid-tigray-upheaval](#)

International Organization for Migration, (2015). *EU migrant, refugee arrivals by land and sea approach one million in 2015*. <https://tinyurl.com/4wum568j>

International Organization for Migration, (n.d.). *Facts and figures (Global)*.
<https://greece.iom.int/data-and-resources>

Isari, F., & Pourkos, M. (2015). *Poiotiki methodology erevnas. Efarmoges stin psychologia kai tin ekpaidefsi* [Qualitative methodology of research. Implementations in psychology and education]. Kallipos Publications.
<https://repository.kallipos.gr/handle/11419/5826>

Jalbout, M. (2020). *Finding solutions to Greece's refugee education crisis. A Theirworld report*. Theirworld. <https://theirworld.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/FINAL-RefugeeEducation-Report-050520-1.pdf>

James, R. (2023, September 23). Boat migrants must be booked in three-star hotels at least, Home Office tells contractors as costs of housing them soars to £8m a day. *Daily Mail*. <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-12552031/Boat-migrants-hotels-Home-Office-costs-housing-8million.html>

Kalfeli, N. (2022). *More (about) borders, less (about) humans: Media coverage of migration and asylum seeking in Greece*. Heinrich Böll Stiftung.
<https://gr.boell.org/en/2022/06/26/more-about-borders-less-about-humans-media-coverage-migration-and-asylum-seeking-greece>

Kalfeli, P., Angeli, C., & Frangonikolopoulos, C. (2025). The Legalization of Same-Sex Marriage in the Greek Media: Political Spectacle over Substance — A Peace Journalism Analysis. *Journal. Media*, 6(4), 162.

<https://www.mdpi.com/2673-5172/6/4/162>

Kandyli, G. (2019). Accommodation as displacement: Notes from refugee camps in Greece in 2016. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 32 (pp. 12-21).

<https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/fey065>.

Kasimis, C., & Kasimi, C. (2004). *Greece: A history of migration*. Migration Policy Institute. <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/greece-history-migration>

Kostarella, I., & Palla, Z. (2024). Sensationalism versus substance: Exploring “viral” and “quality” journalism in the Greek public sphere. *Journal. Media*, 5(3) (pp.1173-1193). <https://doi.org/10.3390/journalmedia5030075>

Kostoulas, A. (2024). Challenging normative influences in refugee and migrant language education: Reflections of a trainee teacher cohort. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 139, 104454. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2023.104454>

Koutsomitis, Y. (2023, October 2). Metanasteftiko: Anazitontas ameses kai efarmosimes lyseis [Migration issue: Seeking for immediate and applicable solutions]. *iefimerida*. <https://www.iefimerida.gr/politiki/metanasteytiko-anazitontas-ameses-kai-efarmosimes-lyseis>

- Kovacevic, T., Reuben, A., & Gilder, L. (2023, October 25). Is the asylum backlog going down and other claims checked. *BBC*. <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-67218424>
- Krippendorff, K. (2019). *Content analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology* (4th ed.). Sage. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781071878781>
- Lee, A. & Otsuji, E. (2008). Critical Discourse Analysis and the problem of methodology. In T. Lê & M. Short (Eds.), *Critical Discourse Analysis: an interdisciplinary perspective* (pp. 65-78). Nova Science Publishers. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/308714852_Critical_Discourse_Analysis_and_the_Problem_of_Methodology
- Lewis, J., & Cushion, S. (2017). Think Tanks, Television News and Impartiality: The ideological balance of sources in BBC programming. *Journalism Studies*, 20(4) (pp. 480–499). <https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2017.1389295>
- Malliouri, A. (2024). *I koinoniki endaksi prosfigon kai metanaston stin Ellada kai stin Evropi apo to 2015 eos to 2020* [The social integration of refugees and immigrants in Greece and European Union from 2015 to 2020"] [Master's dissertation, National and Kapodistrian University of Athens]. Pergamos. <https://pergamos.lib.uoa.gr/uoa/dl/object/3400783/file.pdf>
- Mattheoudakis, M., Fotiadou, G., & Papadopoulou, D. (2025). CLIL on the spot: migrant education in Greece. *Front. Educ.* 9:1504257. <https://doi.org/10.3389/feduc.2024.1504257>

Maxwell, J. A. (2012). Designing a qualitative study. In L. Bickman & D. J. Rog (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of applied research social methods* (pp. 214-253).

Chapter DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781483348858.n7>

McBride, M. (2023, October 29). Portstewart bike recycling project helping asylum seekers. *BBC*. <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-northern-ireland-67225703>

Media Bias Fact Check (2024a, December 2). *Daily Mail – Bias and Credibility*.
<https://mediabiasfactcheck.com/daily-mail/>

Media Bias Fact Check (2024b, December 6). *BBC – Bias and Credibility*.
<https://mediabiasfactcheck.com/bbc/>

Media Bias Fact Check (2025a, February 27). *iefimerida.gr – Bias and Credibility*.
<https://mediabiasfactcheck.com/iefimerida-gr/>

Media Bias Fact Check (2025b, May 2). *Proto Thema – Bias and Credibility*.
<https://mediabiasfactcheck.com/proto-thema/>

Migration Data Portal (n.d.). *Irregular migration*.

<https://www.migrationdataportal.org/handbooks/chapter-4-introduction-key-concepts-and-definitions/irregular-migration>

Ministry of Migration & Asylum (n.d.). *Education*.

<https://migration.gov.gr/en/migration-policy/integration/draseis-koinonikis-entaxis-se-ethniko-epipedo/mathimata-ellinikis-glossas/>

- Mogli, M. (2019). *Mathainontas tin elliniki os defteri glossa se mi-typikes morfes ekpaidefsis* [Teaching Greek as second language in non-formal educational structures] [Doctoral dissertation, University of Thessaly]. National archive of PhD Theses. <https://freader.ekt.gr/eadd/index.php?doc=46316&lang=el>
- Morgan, K. (2023, October 25). Swindon female asylum seekers moved with 10 hours' notice. *BBC*. <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-wiltshire-67147307>
- Moustakas, S., & Kostoulas, A. (2024). Tracing the ideological contours of Modern Greek language textbooks: Uncovering liquid racism. *Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 37 (pp 105-128).
<https://ejournals.lib.auth.gr/jal/article/view/10396/9613>
- Mullet, D. M. (2018). A general Critical Discourse Analysis framework for educational research. *Journal of Advanced Academics*, 29(2) (pp.116-142).
DOI:10.1177/1932202X18758260
https://www.researchgate.net/publication/322901067_A_General_Critical_Discourse_Analysis_Framework_for_Educational_Research
- Nathoo, L. (2023, November 3). Scampton asylum plan could cost £260m over 3 years. *BBC*. <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-67313584>
- Nielsen, R. K., Schulz, A., Fletcher, R., & Robertson, C. T. (2025, November 10). *The BBC is under scrutiny: Here's what research tells about its role in the UK*. Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism.

<https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/news/bbc-under-scrutiny-heres-what-research-tells-about-its-role-uk>

Nikolaidis, I. (2025). *What Greeks believe 2024*. Dianeosis Research & Policy Institute. https://www.dianeosis.org/en/2025/02/what-greeks-believe-2024/?utm_source=chatgpt.com

Nikolopoulou, M. (2024). *Secondary teachers' perceptions regarding migrants' inclusion in contemporary school environments* [Master's dissertation, Hellenic Open University]. Apothesis. <https://apothesis.eap.gr/archive/item/204661>

Olukotun, O., Mkandawire, E., Antilla, J., Alfaifa, F., Weitzel, J., Scheer, V., Olukotun, M., & Mkandawire-Valhmu, L. (2021). An Analysis of Reflections on Researcher Positionality. *The Qualitative Report*, 26(5) (pp. 1411–1426). <https://repository.up.ac.za/items/0568dbc2-348d-4b1d-a400-8489bf69922f>

Orkopoulou, M. E. (2017). *Ta dikaiomata ton asynodefton anilikon metanaston kai prosfygon (idios stin ekpaidefsi)* [The rights of unaccompanied refugee and migrant minors (particularly in education)] [Master's dissertation, Panteion University of Social and Political Sciences]. Pandimos. <https://pandemos.panteion.gr/items/f06c31aa-fca7-46ce-9f89-e6ae3825fe98>

Palaiologou, N., Fountoulaki, G., & Lontou, M. (2019). Refugee education in Greece: Challenges, needs, and priorities in non-formal settings—An intercultural approach. In S. Peleg (Ed.), *Intercultural and Interfaith*

Dialogues for Global Peacebuilding and Stability. IGI Global (pp.165-197).

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/332992985_Refugee_Education_in_Greece_Challenges_Needs_and_Priorities_in_Non-Formal_Settings_-_An_Intercultural_Approach

Palmer, M. (2023, November 3). 'All are welcome in Rwanda if Britain wins migrant case': Kigali confident of Supreme Court result as they get ready for asylum seekers to arrive. *Daily Mail*. <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-12708783/Rwanda-Britain-migrant-Kigali-confident-Supreme-Court.html>

Panhellenic Federation of Journalists' Unions (1998). *Kodikas epaggelmatikis ithikis kai koinonikis efthinis ton dimosiografon* [Code of professional ethics and social responsibility of journalists]. https://www.presscouncils.eu/codes/24_gr

Papanagnou, V. (2023). Who is a good journalist? Evaluations of journalistic worth in the era of social media. *Journalism*, 24(5) (pp. 1052–1068).
<https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/14648849211036848>

Papapostolou, A. (2018). *Challenges and needs of teachers and volunteers offering language support to refugee children and adolescents in the Greek context*. [Master's dissertation, Hellenic Open University]. Apothesis.
<https://apothesis.eap.gr/handle/repo/38252>

Pathiaki, E. (2008). *Ethelontikes organoseis kai ekpaidefsi enilikon: I didaskalia tis ellinikis se metanastes kai prosfyges* [Volunteer organizations and adult education: Greek language teaching to migrants and refugees] [Master's

dissertation, Hellenic Open University]. Apothesis.

<https://apothesis.eap.gr/handle/repo/18892>

Peel, K. L. (2020). A beginner's guide to applied educational research using thematic analysis. *Practical Assessment, Research, and Evaluation*, (25)2. DOI:

<https://doi.org/10.7275/ryr5-k983>

Piperari, I. (2022). Refugee education through Greek political ‘texts’ in Greece: a Critical Discourse Analysis [Master’s dissertation, Hellenic Open University].

Apothesis. <https://apothesis.eap.gr/archive/item/169326>

Platform for International Cooperation on Undocumented Migrants (n.d). *Why words matter*. <https://picum.org/words-matter-2/>

Platform for International Cooperation on Undocumented Migrants (n.d). *Why words matter*. <https://picum.org/words-matter-2/>

Politis, P. (2001). Mesa mazikis enimerosis: to epikoinoniako plaisio kai I glossa tous.

[Mass media: the communicative framework and their language]. In A. F.

Christidis (Ed.), *Engyclopedikos odigos gia ti glossa* [Encyclopedic guide for language] (pp.114-120). Kentro ellinikis glossas [Center of Greek language].

<https://www.greek->

[language.gr/greekLang/studies/guide/thema_b10/index.html](https://www.greek-language.gr/greekLang/studies/guide/thema_b10/index.html)

Pollard, C. (2023, October 12). The UN is still sending hundreds of refugees to

Rwanda despite telling the UK the country is too dangerous for Channel

migrants. *Daily Mail*. <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article->

[12625311/The-sending-hundreds-refugees-Rwanda-despite-telling-UK-country-dangerous-Channel-migrants.html](https://www.protothema.gr/politics/article/12625311/The-sending-hundreds-refugees-Rwanda-despite-telling-UK-country-dangerous-Channel-migrants.html)

Proto Thema (2023b, October 23). *Kairidis: Me tin Tourkia anazitoume formula synergias enantia stin paratipi metanastefsi* [Kairidis:With Turkey, we are seeking a cooperation formula against irregular migration].

<https://www.protothema.gr/politics/article/1427123/kairidis-me-tin-tourkia-anazitoume-formoula-sunergias-enadia-stin-paratupi-metanasteusi/>

Proto Thema (2023c. October 31). *Dimitris Kairidis: Midenikes oi roes metanaston apo ton Evro-Neo symfono metanastefsis kai asylou prin tis evroekloges* [Migrant flows from Evros are zero - New immigration and asylum pact before the European elections].

<https://www.protothema.gr/politics/article/1430203/dimitris-kairidis-midenikes-oi-roes-metanaston-apo-ton-evro-neo-sumfono-metanasteusis-prin-tis-euroekloges/>

Proto Thema (2023e, October 31). *Voultepsi gia tous metanastes sti Rodo: to nisi ehi stohopoiitheí apo to 2020* [Voultepsi for migrants in Rhodes: The island has been targeted since 2020].

<https://www.protothema.gr/politics/article/1430246/voultepsi-gia-tous-metanastes-sti-rodo-to-nisi-ehi-stohopoiitheí-apo-to-2020/>

Proto Thema. (2023a, October 8). *Metanastefiko: Gemizoun oi domes sta nisia logo afksisis ton roon – Anisihia sti Rodo pou den ehi domi.* [Migration: Structures on the islands are filling up due to increased flows – Concern in Rhodes,

which has no structure].

<https://www.protothema.gr/greece/article/1428184/metanasteutiko-gemizoun-oi-domes-logo-tis-auxisis-ton-roon-provlimatismos-sta-nisia-anisuhia-sti-rodo-pou-den-ehei-domi/>

Proto Thema. (2023d, October 9). *Synelifthi diakinitis gia paranomi metafora 17 metanaston ston Evro* [A smuggler was arrested for illegally transporting 17 migrants to Evros].

<https://www.protothema.gr/greece/article/1429106/sunelifthi-diakinitis-gia-paranomi-metafora-17-metanaston-ston-evro/>

Proto Thema. (2023f, October 7). *Iriniki diadilosi diamarturias prosfygon sto KIT Lesvou* [Peaceful refugee protest demonstration at the Reception and Identification Center of Lesvos].

<https://www.protothema.gr/greece/article/1427140/eiriniki-diadilosi-diamarturias-prosfugon-sto-kut-lesvou/>

Refugee Support Aegean (2023). *Rodos: neoafihthentes prosfyges horis stegi kai eparki sitisi, sto eleos tou himona* [Rhodes: newly arrived refugees without shelter and adequate food, at the mercy of the winter].

<https://rsaegean.org/el/rodos-prosfyges/>

Reisigl, M., & Wodak, R. (2001). The Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA). In R. Wodak & M. Meyer (Eds.), *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis* (pp. 87-121). SAGE.

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/251636976_The_Discourse-Historical_Approach_DHA

Rodríguez-Pérez, C., Jivkova-Semova, D., Pérez Vara, E., Asadi, N., & Kreutler, M. (2022). Unravelling migration media coverage: How migrants and immigration were portrayed in Spain during the refugee crisis (2015-2018). *Historia y comunicación social*, 27(1) (pp.161-173).

<http://dx.doi.org/10.5209/hics.77537>

Saridakis, I., & Mouka, E. (2017). Representations of refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants in the Greek press (2010-2016): a critical corpus-driven study. In J. House and T. Kaniklidou (Eds.), *Proceedings of the 1st International Conference Europe in Discourse: Identity, Diversity, Borders Athens, September 23-25, 2016* (pp.408-429). Hellenic American University.

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/338823424_Representations_of_refugees_asylum_seekers_and_immigrants_in_the_Greek_press_2010-2016_a_critical_corpus-driven_study

Serwat, L., & Getachew Birru, J. (2025, February 10). *Africa Overview: February 2025*. Armed Conflict Location & Event Data.

<https://acleddata.com/update/africa-overview-february-2025>

Similarweb. (n.d.). *Website Traffic Checker*. <https://www.similarweb.com/website/>

Sobot, R. (2023, November 11). British holidaymakers could be sharing Spanish hotels with illegal migrants from Africa after they were asked to give up

rooms to accommodate asylum seekers. *Daily Mail*.

<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-12706645/British-holidaymakers-sharing-Spanish-hotels-illegal-migrants-Africa-asked-rooms-accommodate-asylum-seekers.html>

Spenser, S., & Triandafyllidou, A. (Eds.) (2020). *Migrants with irregular status in Europe. Evolving conceptual and policy challenges*. Springer.

<https://link.springer.com/book/10.1007/978-3-030-34324-8>

Stamou, A. (2014). I kritiki analysi logou: meletontas ton ideologiko rolo tis glossas [Critical discourse analysis: Studying the ideological role of language]. In M. Georgalidou, M. Sifianou, & V. Tsakona (Eds.), *Analysi logou: Theoria kai efarmoges* [Discourse analysis: Theory and applications] (pp. 149-187).

Nissos.

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/319876857_E_kritike_analyse_logou_Meletontas_ton_ideologiko_rolo_tes_glossas

Stamou, A., & Paraskevopoulos, S. (2011). I glossa ton Perivallontikon keimenon: I kritiki epignosi tis glossas stin Perivallontiki Ekpaidefsi [The language of the Environmental texts: Critical language awareness in Environmental Education]. *Kritiki Epistimi & Ekpedefsi* [Critical Science & Education], (4)6 (pp.45-55). <https://www.hpdst.gr/system/files/kritiki-4-06-45-stamou-paraskevopoulos.pdf>

Stevens, G. (n.d.). *A Critique of qualitative research*. Academic Writing & Research:

An online resource for students and researchers. <https://academic-writing.uk/critique-qualitative-research/>

Thravalou, E., Martinovic, B., & Verkuyten, M. (2020). Humanitarian assistance and permanent settlement of asylum seekers in Greece: The role of sympathy, perceived threat, and perceived contribution. *International Migration Review*, 55(2) (pp. 547-573). <https://doi.org/10.1177/0197918320949826>

Tomara, A. (2023). *Framing of asylum seekers, refugees, and immigrants in liberal and conservative UK newspapers: a corpus-based discourse analysis of The Daily Mail and The Guardian* [Master's dissertation, National and Kapodistrian University of Athens]. Pergamos.

<https://pergamos.lib.uoa.gr/uoa/dl/object/3312260>

Triandafyllidou, A. (2005). *Elliniki metanastefiki politiki: provlimata kai katefthinseis* [Greek immigration policy: problems and directions]. Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP).

<https://www.eliamep.gr/wp-content/uploads/2008/07/triand.pdf>

Tsekeris, C (2008). *Simioseis gia to mathima: Eisagogi stin Koinoniki Erevna II* [Notes for the subject: Introduction to Social Research II]. Panteion University of Social and Political Sciences.

<https://benincasaresources1.wordpress.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/tsekeris-themata-piotikis-erevnas.pdf>

Tsiolis, G. (2015). I shesi poiotikis kai posotikis prosegisis stin koinoniki erevna: apo ti these peri “rizikis asymvatotitas” sto syndyasmoh ti sympliromatikotita ton prosegiseon [The relationship between qualitative and quantitative approaches in social research: From the notion of “radical incompatibility” to the combination or complementarity of the approaches]. In M. Pourkos (Ed.), *Dynatotites kai oria tis mixis ton methodologion stin koinoniki kai ekpaideftiki erevna* [Possibilities and limits of mixing methodologies in social and educational research] (pp. 271–292). Ion.

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/283497432_G_Tsioles_E_schese_poiotikes_kai_posotikes_prosengises_sten_koinonike_erevna_apo_tesese_peri_rizikes_asymvatotetas_sto_syndyasmoh_e_tesympliromatikoteta_ton_prosengiseon_Sto_M_Pourkos_Epim_Dynatot

Tsiolis, G. (2018). Thematiki analysi poiotikon dedomenon [Thematic analysis of qualitative data]. In G. Zaimakis (Ed.), *Erevnitikes diadromes stis koinonikes epistimes. Theoritikes-methodologikes symvoles kai meletes periptosis* (pp. 97-125). University of Crete.

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/329363823_G_Tsioles_2018_Thematike_analyse_poiotikon_dedomenon_Sto_G_Zaimakes_epim_Ereunetikes_diadromes_stis_Koinonikes_Epistemes_Theoretikes_-_Methodologikes_Symvoles_kai_Meletes_Periptoses_Panepistemio_Krete

Tzouri, E. (2024). *On-screen approaches to the refugee crisis: A multimodal film analysis of refugees' representation in Specters are Haunting Europe*

[Master's dissertation, Hellenic Open University]. Apothesis.

<https://apothesis.eap.gr/archive/item/201313>

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (2021). *Dikaiomata kai ypohreoseis ton prosfygon* [Rights and duties of refugees].

<https://help.unhcr.org/greece/el/rights-and-duties/rights-and-duties-of-refugees/>

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (n.d). *Access to education*.

<https://help.unhcr.org/greece/living-in-greece/access-to-education/>

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (n.d). *Asylum-seekers*.

<https://www.unhcr.org/about-unhcr/who-we-protect/asylum-seekers>

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (n.d.). *Text of the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees – Text of the 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees – Resolution 2198 (XXI) adopted by the United Nations General Assembly*.

https://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/generalassembly/docs/globalcompact/A_CONF.2_108.pdf

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (n.d.). *The 1951 Refugee*

Convention. <https://www.unhcr.org/about-unhcr/overview/1951-refugee-convention>

- van Dijk, T. A. (1991). *Racism and the press*. Routledge. <https://discourses.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/06/Teun-A.-van-Dijk-1991-Racism-And-the-Press.pdf>
- van Dijk, T. A. (1992). Discourse and the denial of racism. *Discourse & Society*, 3(1) (pp. 87-118). <https://discourses.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/07/Teun-A.-van-Dijk-1992-Discourse-and-the-denial-of-racism.pdf>
- van Dijk, T. A. (1993). *Elite Discourse and Racism*. Sage. <https://discourses.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/06/Teun-A.-van-Dijk-1993-Elite-Discourse-And-Racism.pdf>
- van Dijk, T. A. (Ed.) (1997). *Discourse Studies*. Sage.
- van Dijk, T. A. (1998). *News as discourse*. Routledge. <https://discourses.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/06/Teun-A.-van-Dijk-1988-News-As-Discourse.pdf>
- van Dijk, T. A. (2000). New(s) Racism: A discourse analytical approach. In S. Cottle (Ed.), *Ethnic Minorities and the Media* (pp. 211-226). Open University Press. <https://discourses.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/07/Teun-A.-van-Dijk-2000-News-racism-A-discourse-analytical-approach.pdf>
- van Dijk, T. A. (2001). Critical Discourse Analysis. In D. Schiffrin, D. Tannen & H. E. Hamilton (Eds.), *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis* (pp. 352-371). Blackwell.
- van Dijk, T. A. (2006). Ideology and Discourse Analysis. *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 11(2) (pp.115–140).

Voutira, E. (2004). Ethnic Greeks from the Former Soviet Union as ‘privileged return migrants’. *Espace populations sociétés*, 2004(3) (pp. 533-544).

<https://journals.openedition.org/eps/364?lang=en>

Wahl-Jorgensen, K., Berry, M., Garcia-Blanco, I., Bennett, L., & Cable, J. (2017). Rethinking balance and impartiality in journalism? How the BBC attempted and failed to change the paradigm. *Journalism*, 18(7) (pp. 781–800).

<https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884916648094>

Weber, M., & Meimarakis, V. (2023, September 28). Arthro Weber-Meimaraki: Den ine prosfyges, ine ikonomikoi metanastes, prepí na tous stelnoume piso [Weber-Meimarakis article: They are not refugees, they are economic migrants, we must send them back]. *iefimerida*.

<https://www.iefimerida.gr/politiki/arthro-bemper-meimaraki-gia-metanastes>

Whincup, S. (2023, October 20). Hartlepool MP Jill Mortimer criticized for asylum seeker claim. *BBC*. <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-tees-67171536>

Williamson, K., Given, L. & Scifleet, P. (2018). Qualitative data analysis. In K. Williamson & G. Johanson (Eds.), *Research Methods: Information, Systems, and Contexts* (2nd ed.) (pp. 453-476). Elsevier Ltd.

<https://doi.org/10.1016/C2016-0-03932-3>

Wodak, R. (2001). What Critical Discourse Analysis is about – A summary of its history, important concepts and its developments. In R. Wodak & M. Michael (Eds.), *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis* (pp. 1-13). Sage.

- Wodak, R. (2009). *The Discourse of politics in action. Politics as usual*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Wodak, R., & Busch, B. (2004). Approaches to media texts. In: J. Downing, D. McQuail, P. Schlesinger, & E. Wartella (Eds.), *Handbook of Media Studies* (pp.105-123). Sage.
- Wodak, R., & Koller, V. (Eds.) (2008). *Handbook of communication in the public sphere*. Mouton de Gruyter.
- Wodak, R., & Meyer, M. (Eds.) (2001). *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*. SAGE.
- Zappe, A. C. (2021). Professional Migration Coverage: Best Practices and Ethical Dimensions. In S. Fengler, M. Lengauer, & A. C. Zappe (Eds.), *Reporting on Migrants and Refugees. Handbook for Journalism Educators* (pp. 223-241). United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).
<https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000377890>
- Zisi, R. E. (2021). 'Bye bye Moria'. *Critical Discourse Analysis of the Greek and European press concerning the arson at Moria camp* [Master's dissertation, Hellenic Open University]. Apothesis.
<https://apothesis.eap.gr/archive/item/71136>