

Racist discourse in the press during times of crisis

The Greek 2012 elections and the Brexit debate¹

Christopher Lees

ARISTOTLE UNIVERSITY OF THESSALONIKI

cjlees@auth.gr

Abstract

The financial crisis and political turbulence in Europe has seen the rise of extremism and far-right political parties across the continent. This paper intends to highlight how the press in both Greece and the United Kingdom use a variety of linguistic devices, such as syntactic structures and pragmatic presuppositions which led to the dissemination of racist discourse in the period leading up to and immediately after the Greek general elections of 2012 and in the years following the “Brexit referendum” of 2016 in the United Kingdom. The paper uses van Dijk’s socio-cognitive approach to Critical Discourse Analysis to show how discourse devices in articles featured in Greece’s Kathimerini and Ethnos and the UK’s The Times and Daily Mail newspapers can be linked to the wider socio-political unrest in the country at the time.

Keywords

Racist discourse

Critical Discourse Analysis

Greek elections

Brexit

Introduction

The examination of racist discourse, particularly through the lens of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), is a well established area of study in linguistics (Fairclough 1989, van Dijk 1991, 1993, Teo 2000, Richardson 2007, Wodak 2013), while there is a growing body of work which examines racist discourse in the Greek context (Polymeneas 2010, Serakioti 2012, Lees & Alfieris 2019, Archakis 2020). The advantage of using a CDA approach in examining racist discourse is that it enables the researcher to link discourse with hegemonic migrant-related ideology and perceptions in the wider social context (cf. Van Dijk 2009). For example, Teo (2000) has shown how Australian newspapers create a social dichotomy between the privileged white class and the ethnic minorities subject to stereotyping and “othering.” In the Greek context, Polymeneas (2010) has shown how the Greek word for migrant, *μετανάστης* is used in highly negative contexts in both the Greek and Cypriot press, thus allowing the researcher to gain insight into how migrants are viewed by wider society. Serakioti (2012) has looked at how word choices in Greek newspapers can influence social perceptions and promote social inequality. Archakis (2020) has also demonstrated how national Greek discourse, which often presents Greece as a homogenous society, influences the identity of migrant children articulated in their school texts.

In this paper, my focus will be on how the press in particular employs a variety of linguistic devices, such as pragmatic presuppositions and syntax structures with the effect of ‘othering’ foreign nationals and presenting them as problems for the well-being and prosperity of their host countries.² Following van Dijk’s socio-cognitive approach to Critical Discourse Analysis, I shall argue that such devices have the potential to influence readers by further establishing racist sentiment in public conscience as a result of the unequal balance of power that exists between the media and ordinary people (Fairclough 1989, van Dijk 1993). Since it has been observed that the closer news stories are to a subject related to the perceived national interest of a country, the less likely it is for the rules of professional journalism to apply (Nossek 2004), it is more likely that social dichotomies and inequality become even more apparent during times of national crisis. For this reason, I shall focus on two such defining in Greece and the UK: the 2012 Greek elections and the UK’s decision to leave the European Union in 2016.

Since the focal point of this paper is on racist discourse in the press, a concrete definition of racism will be useful. The following definition provided by van Dijk (1993: 5) is the one upon which the ensuing analysis shall be based:

[...] the everyday, mundane, negative opinions, attitudes, and ideologies, and the seemingly subtle acts and conditions of discrimination against minorities, namely, those social cognitions and social acts, processes, structures, or institutions that directly or indirectly contribute to the dominance of the white group and the subordinate position of the minorities.

I find van Dijk's definition particularly relevant for a linguistic study of racist discourse for two reasons: Firstly, it stresses that racism can be expressed through negative opinions and attitudes, thus explicitly, as well as social acts that can indirectly contribute to racist sentiment; in other words, the perpetuation of a dominant group and inferior minority groups. Secondly, its emphasis on social cognition lends itself to the approach to racist discourse I feel most comfortable with, namely the idea that specific uses of language and text structures can (re)generate xenophobic mental schemata in public conscience. Of course, it is important to clarify that the 'white group' referred to in van Dijk's definition in the context of the privileged majority no longer applies to all people of white origin in the context of our discussion. In 21st century Greek and UK societies, there exists a considerable number of migrants from white European backgrounds who have made their homes in each respective country and who have been or continue to be targets of racist discourse, both in the press and among members of the general public. The Poles and Romanians are a good example of this in the UK, whereas in Greece people of Albanian origin continue to face discrimination in Greek society (Aggelidis 2010).

Socio-historical context: The Greek 2012 elections and Brexit

The newspaper articles that will be examined within the scope of this paper in particular were published at two very challenging times for both Greece and the United Kingdom. In Greece's case, 2012 was a year of rising unrest due to continued austerity measures brought in during Papandreou's PASOK government and a sharp decline in income and living standards, which saw 25% unemployment at the height of the crisis and 50% youth unemployment (Zeitchik 2015). The situation caused increasing social unrest and, as is usually the case in such instances (Kaika 2012, Loch & Norocel 2015), a rise in racial hate crimes and negative attitudes towards ethnic minorities living in Greece, who became a target for disillusioned citizens (see Kasimis et al. 2015). This tension perhaps explains the reason the controversial *Ragousis Law* was put at the forefront of Samaras's pre-election campaign. Samaras claimed that the law, which enabled children of legally residing immigrant parents in Greece, had turned the country into a "magnet for illegal immigrants" (TA NEA 2012) and this resonated with many supporters of right wing politics at the time.

In the United Kingdom, austerity brought with it a growing sentiment of Euroscepticism, which saw immigration from the European Union be cited as a central problem in the debate before the referendum of 2016. EU migrants were often cited as taking work from UK citizens, because they were willing to do the job for less money (Dathan 2016) and political figures as senior as the Prime Minister referring to migrants as a "swarm" (Elgot 2016). Such increased resentment resulted in 52% of British voters opting to leave the European Union as opposed to 48% who opted to remain. Since the referendum, the country has continued to be divided, just as immigration has continued to dominate the headlines with successive Prime Ministers and their ministers vowing to end freedom

of movement for EU citizens after the UK formally leaves the European Union. Theresa May's famous references to "citizens of the world" being "citizens of nowhere" (Crace 2016) and EU migrants being "queue jumpers" (Sparrow 2018) putting would-be non-EU migrants at a disadvantage being indicative of this trend.

Data and Methodology

The data in my analysis derives from a total number of 24 articles on related topics of immigration and non-nationals from two Greek newspapers (*Kathimerini* and *Ethnos*) and two UK newspapers (*Daily Mail* and *The Times*). A total number of six articles was analysed from each newspaper to form the content of a personally compiled corpus. The total number of words in each newspaper and the total number of words corresponding to the entire corpus are presented in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Corpus of newspapers

Newspaper	Number of articles	Number of words
Kathimerini	6	2,795
Ethnos	6	3,573
Total	12	6.368
Daily Mail	6	4,294
The Times	6	3,640
Total	12	7,934

These particular newspapers were selected due to their opposing political affiliations in both countries. In Greece, *Kathimerini* is a more conservative newspaper with an educated readership and a following from the centre-right of Greek politics, whereas *Ethnos* is aligned to a more centre-left liberal audience. In the UK, *Daily Mail* is a tabloid newspaper, aligned to the centre-right and whose journalism is not held in the highest regard. On the other hand, *The Times* is considered to be a newspaper with an educated readership and prides itself on being a highly trusted newspaper among the British public. The rationale behind these choices was that differences in how immigration is portrayed may arise owing to the different political affiliations of each newspaper (see van Dijk 1993 and Richardson 2007).

The articles from the Greek newspapers were taken from the period between January and November of 2012, the period running up to the victory of New Democracy's Antonis Samaras and immediately afterwards. On the other hand, the articles taken from the British newspapers derive from the period following the 2016 referendum (2016-2019) on related topics of immigration. The paper's intention is not to conduct a corpus-based statistical analysis, hence explaining the relatively small size of the corpus; rather, it will carry out a qualitative investigation of the linguistic and discourse features used in the press of both countries that can be connected to anti-immigrant racist discourse of the time.

Since the aim of the paper is to highlight the relationship between the hegemonic anti-migrant discourse during the two periods mentioned and the language used in the press during the same period, van Dijk's (1993, 2009, 2014) socio-cognitive approach is used in an attempt to draw parallels between hegemonic public discourse and the language of the press. Moreover, the linguistic features and devices presented in this paper should not be confused with racist devices; merely, how they may be adopted in order to facilitate racist discourse. As van Dijk (1993: 12) points out, "these structures are not racist as such: They may have a racist function only within specific contexts; in other contexts the same structures may well have different and even anti-racist functions." Therefore, discourse was deemed to be anti-migrant or racist in instances where non-Greek or non-British minorities were presented as 'others' (see van Dijk 1993, Triantafyllidou 1998 and Richardson 2007) or discriminated against on the basis of their non-indigenous origin.

Analysis

In this section, we shall look at examples of the four main discourse devices which were identified during the qualitative analysis of all 24 articles: thematic content, where immigration or migrants are typically presented in a negative light; syntax, where migrants are typically "foregrounded" (see Langacker 2008) in subject position, so as to assume the thematic role of agent and, by extension, the individuals responsible for any negative activity, vocabulary, including words that characterise immigration or migrants, and finally, pragmatic devices, such as presuppositions and implicatures that indirectly present immigration as a general problem for both countries.

In both Greek newspapers, the articles related to immigration selected topics that were related to criminality, threats to security, and to the well-being of the nation. This is common practice in newspapers and has been well documented (van Dijk 1993, Richardson 2007, Polymeneas 2010). The same also applies to the British paper, *Daily Mail*, although *The Times* noticeably adopts a more balanced and seemingly impartial stance.³ As Bell (1991) points out, article headlines are a good indication of the stance of a newspaper on a specific topic. The following headlines are indicative of the trends outlined above.

1. «Ανοιξε ξανά η «πύλη» του Αιγαίου»
(*Kathimerini*, 29th August 2012)
2. «Νυχτερινό λουκέτο στο Πεδίον του Αρεως μετά την περιφραξη»
(*Kathimerini*, 3rd November 2012)
3. «Σαμαράς: Μαζικές απελάσεις παράνομων μεταναστών»
(*Kathimerini*, 13th June 2012)
4. "Migration is 'behind 82% of UK's population growth' as Labour's open door policy added 5.4m new arrivals in just 15 years, says report"
(*Daily Mail*, 23rd August 2018)

5. “Hostile environment: Home Office makes £500m from immigration fees”
(*The Times*, 11th August 2019)
6. “We missed 240,000 EU migrants, admit the people who count them”
(*The Times*, 22nd August 2019)

It is quite apparent from the headlines above that the dichotomy between ‘us’ and ‘them’ (Richardson 2007, Triantafyllidou 1998) is a prevalent one. In all examples, with the exception perhaps of 4 and 6, the headlines generate a sense of fear, the idea that immigration poses a threat. The use of the noun *πύλη*, ‘gateway’ in Greek is particularly interesting, as, in terms of semiotics, it connotes (cf. Barthes 1967) the idea of an entity, in this case a country, protected by a gate which, when open, allows the country to be infiltrated by unwanted intruders, or, as they have been described recently in the context of the Greek-Turkish border crisis by senior members of the Greek government, *εισβολείς*, ‘invaders’ (Demetis 2020). The term ‘gateway’ also invokes the ‘state as containers’ metaphor (cf. Lees & Alferis 2019). For instance, McEntee-Atalianis and Zappettini (2014) refer to this metaphor to talk about representations of ‘Europeanness’ in political discourse and how the deconstruction of the container metaphor represents nation states opening up their borders to embrace one of the key pillars of European integration, freedom of movement.⁴ This metaphor is also present in Example 2 with the use of the nouns *λουκέτο*, ‘lock’ and *περίφραξη*, ‘fence,’ referring to the need to “lock up” one of Athens’s central parks, where many migrants congregated during the early years of the economic crisis. The same notion of protection is created through the explicit use of the word *ασφάλεια*, ‘security’ in Example 3, where Samaras is assigned the thematic role of agent, thus being presented as the person who will offer security to Greek citizens against “illegal” immigrants.

The British *Daily Mail* also adopts a similar stance, choosing topics that see immigration as a problem for the country’s well-being. It should perhaps be noted that the *Daily Mail*, aside from being a tabloid newspaper with conservative affiliations, was well documented as being a staunch supporter of the Leave campaign and, following the 2016 referendum, the government’s approach to Brexit. In fact, in November 2016, it even branded the judges behind the High Court’s decision that the UK needed parliament’s backing to legislate to leave the European Union as the “enemies of the people.” As we have already discussed, immigration was and remains at the heart of the Brexit debate, and, as a result, the headline in Example 4 is perhaps not surprising, in effectively “blaming” migrants for the increase in the UK’s population and criticising the previous former Labour government’s “open door policy,” again invoking the container metaphor. The reference to the Labour government as responsible for the “problem” of immigration is also a clear hint at the newspaper’s political allegiance. The newspaper’s opposition to Labour, and the invocation of the container metaphor can clearly be seen in Example 7:

7. “The number of children born in England and Wales with at least one parent born overseas has soared to a record 33 per cent – up from just 21.2 per cent in 2000, when Tony Blair’s government was opening the gates to mass migration from Eastern Europe.”
(*Daily Mail*, 1st December 2016).

In this example, Tony Blair’s Labour government is criticised for ‘opening the gates to mass migration.’ Aside from invoking the container metaphor by presenting the UK as a vulnerable entity, whose security was comprised by supposedly detrimental politics on Labour’s part, there is a specific reference to migration from Eastern Europe, one of the main points raised during the Brexit debate related to uncontrolled migration from EU-migrants, particularly from Eastern European countries. The negative hegemonic discourse and social cognition of the general public is, in this way, recycled and reinforced. Conversely, *The Times* makes reference to the UK’s “hostile environment,” a term used to describe the former Prime Minister, Theresa May’s policies which created a feeling of anti-immigrant sentiment and led to a great deal of public discourse on how EU migrants to the UK were being made to feel unappreciated and unwelcome. Similarly, in Example 6, as opposed to blaming the migrants, the newspaper creates a dichotomy of “us and them,” by using the pronoun *we*⁵ together with *migrants* and *them*, but to portray the UK as being the responsible party for the increase in immigration which is being cited as a key social problem.

As we saw in Example 3, syntax plays an important role in the meaning of a message. As Richardson (2007: 54) notes regarding transitivity, ‘transitivity forms the very heart of representation, describing the relationships between participants and the roles they play in the process described in reporting.’ Examples 8 and 9 are indicative of this.

8. «Επεισόδια, για μία ακόμη φορά, σημειώθηκαν σήμερα το μεσημέρι έξω από το Οικονομικό Πανεπιστήμιο, με συνέπεια να κλείσει η Πατησίων και να σημειωθούν κυκλοφορικά προβλήματα. Πρωταγωνιστής αυτή τη φορά ήταν Αλβανός υπήκοος και ο ανιψιός του, οι οποίοι συνεπλάκισαν με άτομα τα οποία «πείραξαν» τη σύζυγο του πρώτου».
(*Ethnos*, 22nd May 2012)
9. “‘Get to Britain before Brexit’: 21 MORE migrants are caught trying to cross Channel in tiny dinghys a day after record 93 made the journey as people smugglers tell them border will close after UK leaves the EU.”
(*Daily Mail*, 11th September 2019)

In Example 8, The Albanian citizen and his nephew are presented in subject position in the second sentence. As a result, they form the focal point of the reader and take on the thematic role of agents, therefore, those responsible for the ensuing fight. On the other hand, the people whose origin is not disclosed and who allegedly insulted the Albanian citizen’s wife are placed in secondary, or landmark, position (see Langacker 2008 & Panaretou 2011). Their role in the fight therefore connotes reduced importance, even though it could easily be assumed by means of careful and critical reading, that the un-

disclosed participants in the fight, who could easily be Greek citizens, were actually the instigators and not the Albanian citizen himself. However, the fact that the ‘other people’ are not identified could easily lead the reader to conclude that these people are also Albanian citizens, who were all involved in a fight with the ‘protagonist’ and his nephew, thus reinforcing the notion that foreigners are problematic and pose a threat to social cohesion (Lees & Alfieris 2019). In a similar way, Example 9 makes use of the passive voice to place the migrants, the patients in terms of syntax, in subject position, thereby focusing attention on them in conjunction with the past form of the verb *catch*, which cognitively reinforces the idea of migrants association with criminality. The same applies with the placing of ‘people smugglers’ in subject position in the subordinate clause.

The choices of vocabulary and pragmatic devices used in the articles are also indicative of anti-immigrant and racist sentiment, particularly in the way that they characterise immigrants themselves.⁶ Examples 10 and 11 illustrate this point.

10. «[...] ο δημόσιος χώρος **καταλαμβάνεται** από **περιθωριακά στοιχεία**, ιδίως τις βραδινές ώρες. Χρήση ναρκωτικών ουσιών από παρέες, **κυρίως αλλοδαπών** και ανδρική πορνεία είναι φαινόμενα των τελευταίων ετών.» (Kathimerini, 3rd November 2012)

11. “Immigration is **responsible** for more than four fifths of the **unprecedented surge** in Britain’s population this century.” (Daily Mail, 23rd August 2013)⁷

As far as Example 10 is concerned, two details are worth noting. Firstly, the juxtaposition of the phrase *δημόσιος χώρος*, ‘public space’ and *περιθωριακά στοιχεία*, ‘people from the fringes of society’ reaffirms the ‘us and them’ narrative (van Dijk 1993, Teo 2000, Richardson 2007) and serves to reinforce the notion of Greek public space being threatened by *αλλοδαπούς*, ‘foreigners,’ who are characterised here as being on the fringes of society; in other words, dangerous and undesirable. Secondly, the use of the word ‘foreigners’ is used in this context could be regarded as unnecessary, as the subject of interest is the use of the park in question for illegal activities. There are also pragmatic devices at play here. For example, the qualifier *κυρίως*, ‘mainly’ implies (see Levinson 1983) that it is not just foreigners who make use of the park, but “non-foreigners” as well. In that sense, the use of the word here could be seen as an example of *over-lexicalisation* (see Talbot et al 2003), in other words, a seemingly redundant use of a word. However, the context in which it is used here has the potential to influence the social cognition of the papers readers (cf. Van Dijk 1993) and to reinforce the association of foreign nationals with criminality. Example 11 shows similar features, in that the adjective *responsible* presents immigration, and by extension, migrants as blameful for the *unprecedented surge* in the population. Of course, the use of these words implies a social problem that has never been faced before in the country and one for which immigration and immigration alone is responsible. Moreover, the use of the definite article *the* functions as a presupposition that presents the “unprec-

edented surge” as an undisputable fact. As Richardson (2007: 63) notes, ‘A presupposition is a taken-for-granted, implicit claim embedded within the explicit meaning of a text or utterance.’ He goes on to say that definite articles, as well as possessive articles, trigger presuppositions. Once again, then, such contextualised uses of vocabulary further reinforces the negative hegemonic discourse surrounding immigration and migrants and has the potential to contribute to negative public attitudes.

Conclusions

The purpose of this paper was to show how various discursive and linguistic devices are used in the press to present foreign nationals in an unfavourable light. Specifically, we saw how the topics in which reference is made to foreign nationals and immigration typically revolve around criminality, social unrest and threatened national security in the Greek case, and social problems arising from an increase in the population and changing demographics in the UK’s case. A common theme that runs throughout the articles of both countries’ newspapers is the discourse of fear. This fear is achieved through a variety of devices, such as specific syntactic choices, where foreigners are assigned the thematic role of agent, thus presenting them as culpable of a variety of crimes and social problems, such as the ones we saw in Examples 8, 9, and 10. Moreover, foreign nationals are often negatively characterised in the press, where characterisations such as ‘fringes of society’ and ‘surge’ are used. Metaphors are also used, a common one in the press of both countries being the allusion to states as containers; in other words, protected entities by means of borders that are now threatened as a result of immigration. Finally, we saw how pragmatic devices such as implicatures and presuppositions are used to subtly imply things that portray foreigners in a negative way. For instance, we saw how the use of the definite article in the phrase ‘the unprecedented surge’ portrays the ‘surge’ as an undisputed taken-as-given fact. Such devices may be challenged by the reader, but may easily be taken at face value, serving to further reinforce negative perceptions of foreigners and, as a result, fuel further racist discourse.

We also saw how, in the Greek case, the different political allegiances of the two newspapers had no bearing on the extent to which racist discourse was present in the respective articles. However, this was not the case in the UK newspapers, as *The Times*, was notably impartial in its journalism, avoiding language that be construed as biased and, despite its supposed conservative affiliation, holding the government to account over matters of immigration management and the treatment of migrants, such as in Examples 5 and 6.

However, there are some practical limitations to this paper which make generalisations impossible. For instance, owing to the small size of the corpus and the selection of articles on the topic of immigration, this paper cannot present an overall picture of the Greek and UK press in connection with racist discourse –indeed, this was not the intention. That said,

a larger corpus-based study incorporating randomly selected articles over a longer period of time would be useful in outlining the frequency of any trends in racist discourse. In the case of this paper, the examples discussed provide an insight into the discourse associated with specific socio-historical events. A diachronic corpus study, which would produce a combination of quantitative and qualitative data, would be able to shed light on any potential changes to discourse in the press and hegemonic public discourse. Finally, another area that should be explored is the reception of some of the linguistic and discursive devices presented in this paper by the newspapers' readers. This is easier to do nowadays than in the past, particularly in the case of online newspapers, as readers are able to comment on the content they have read. Such an investigation would provide us with a valuable insight into how readers critically analyse the content they read and to what extent the devices outlined here influence readers. Finally, it would help us provide some robust findings of how social cognition really is formed by analysing the language of the producer and the receiver. As Richardson (2007: 39) notes, 'this aspect of CDA remains the most under-developed.'

Endnotes

1. The theoretical framework of this article, including the data presented in relation to racist discourse in the Greek press, is based on research published in Lees & Alfieris (2019).
2. In the Greek context in particular, Triatntafyllidou (1998) sees this example of 'othering' as an integral part of national identity, postulating that an any one time a nation has a 'significant other,' which forms a conflict situation between the 'in-group' and the 'other.'
3. If we subscribe to Nossek's (2004) position concerning the links between topics of national interest and a tendency for less professional journalism, we could say that *The Times* adopts a professional and impartial stance to its journalism, even on matters of perceived national interest.
4. In discourse on Brexit, it is precisely this "opening up" of borders that has been criticised, while discourse on "taking back control of our borders" invokes the container metaphor again; in this case to assert the necessity of being a protected container.
5. The use of the pronoun *we* here shows that the writer indexes themselves as a member of the group which 'missed' the migrants, therefore sharing responsibility (see Bucholtz & Hall 2005 for a related discussion).
6. In the framework of Appraisal Theory, such characterisations could be said to fall into the category of judgement, in that they effectively evaluate the migrants and their behaviour (see Martin & White 2005).
7. The bold wording is my own and has been used to highlight the words of interest.

References

- Aggelidis, Dimitris. 2010. 'Ratsistika minimata apo OYK stin parelasi tis 25^{is} Martiou.' [Racist messages from navy seals at the 25th March parade]. *Eleftherotipia*. 26th March 2010. Available at: <https://bit.ly/3KYnJvV> (Accessed 15 January 2020).
- Archakis, Argyris. 2020. Apo ton ethniko ston meta-ethniko logo: Metanasteutikes tautotites kai kritiki ekpaideusi. [From National to Post-national Discourse: Migrant Texts and Critical Pedagogy]. Athens: Patakis.
- Barthes, Roland. 1967. *Elements of Semiology*. London: Jonathan Cape.
- Bell, Allan. 1991. *The Language of the News Media*. Oxford: Blackwell.

- Bucholtz, Mary & Hall, Kira. 2005. 'Identity and interaction: A sociocultural linguistic approach'. *Discourse Studies*, 7(4): 585–614.
- Crace, John. 2016. Theresa May treads the Brexit path of empathy and righteousness. *The Guardian*. 5th October 2016. Available at: <https://bit.ly/3vvxjzE> (Accessed 31st May 2020).
- Dathan, Matt. 2016. The true cost of our open borders revealed: EU migrants are MORE likely to have a job in the UK than British citizens. *Daily Mail*. 7th June 2016. Available at: <https://bit.ly/3uS608E> (Accessed on 31st May 2020).
- Demetis, Christos. 2020. Den einai eisboleis einai anthropoid [They're not invaders; they're human beings]. *News247*. 3rd March 2020. Available at: <https://bit.ly/37n73zK> (Accessed 31st May 2020).
- Elgot, Jessica. 2016. How David Cameron's language on refugees has provoked anger. *The Guardian*. 27th January 2016. Available at: <https://bit.ly/3JVwdCv> (Accessed 31st May 2020).
- Fairclough, Norman. 1989. *Language and power*. London: Longman.
- Kaika, Maria. 2012. 'The economic crisis seen from the everyday: Europe's nouveau poor and the global affective implications of a 'local' debt crisis'. *City: analysis of urban trends, culture, theory, policy, action*, 16(4): 422–430.
- Kasimis, Charalambos, Papadopoulos, Apostolos and Zografakis, Stavros. 2015. 'The Precarious Status of Migrant Labour in Greece: Evidence from Rural Areas', in *The new social division: making and unmaking precariousness*, Donotella della Porta, Sakari Hänninen, Martti Siisiäinen and Tiina Silvas-ti, eds. New York: Palgrave Macmillan: Palgrave studies in European political sociology, 101–119.
- Loch, Dietmar and Norocel, Ov Christian. 2015. 'The Populist Radical Right in Europe: A Xenophobic Voice in the Global Economic Crisis', in *Europe's Prolonged Crisis: The Making or the Unmaking of a Political Union*, Hans-Jörg Trenz, Carlo Ruzza and Virginie Guiraudon, eds. London: Springer, Palgrave Macmillan, 251–69.
- Langacker, Ronald. 2008. *Cognitive Grammar: A basic introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lees, Christopher and Alfieris, Antonis. 2019. 'Racist discourse in the years of the Greek financial crisis: Evidence from the Greek press'. *Journal of Greek Media and Culture*, 5 (1): 45–67.
- Levinson, Stephen. 1983. *Pragmatics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Martin, James and White, Peter. 2005. *The Language of Evaluation: Appraisal in English*. Basingstoke & New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- McEntee-Atalianis, Lisa and Zappettini, Franco. 2014. 'Networked identities: Changing representations of Europeaness'. *Critical Discourse Studies* 11(4): 397–415.
- Nossek, Hillel. 2004. Our News and their News: The Role of National Identity in the Coverage of Foreign News. *Journalism*, 5(3): 343–368.
- Panaretou, E. 2011. *Zitimata gnosiakis glossologias* [Themes in cognitive linguistics]. Athens: Papazisis.
- Polymeneas, Giorgos. 2010. 'Simasiologiki protimisi kai prosodia tou METANASTIS ston elliniko kai kupriako tipo.' [Semantic preference and prosody of METANASTIS in the Greek and Cypriot press]. *Proceedings of the 5th Athens Postgraduate Conference of the Faculty of Philology*, 243–253.
- Richardson, John. 2007. *Analysing Newspapers: An Approach from Critical Discourse Analysis*. Houndsmills: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Serakioti, Dimitra. 2012. 'Kritiki analisi logou se keimena pou proothoun tis koinonikes anisotites.' [Critical Discourse Analysis in texts which promote social inequalities]. Available at: <https://bit.ly/3BMOlh7> (Accessed 12th October 2020).
- Sparrow, Andrew. 2018. Corbyn claims EU will be willing to renegotiate Brexit deal at 11th hour - as it happened. *The Guardian*. 19th November 2018. Available at: <https://bit.ly/3xEH8yc> (Accessed 19th May 2020).
- TA NEA 2012. Ta dodeka metra tis ND gia tin asfaleia [New Democracy's twelve measures for security]. *TA NEA*. 12th June 2020. Available at: <https://bit.ly/3UoXlAy> (accessed 31st May 2020).

- Talbot, Mary, Atkinson, Karen, Atkinson, David. 2003. *Language and Power in the Modern World*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Teo, Peter. 2000. Racism in the News: A Critical Discourse Analysis of News Reporting in Two Australian Newspapers. *Discourse & Society*, 11(1): 7–49.
- Triandafyllidou, Anna. 1998. National identity and the “other”. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 21(4): 593–61.
- vanDijk, Teun. 1991. *Racism and the Press*. London: Routledge.
- van Dijk, Teun. 1993. *Elite Discourse and Racism*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- van Dijk, Teun. 2001. ‘Critical discourse analysis.’, in *Handbook of discourse analysis*, Deborah Tannen, Deborah Schiffrin, and Heidi Hamilton, eds. Oxford: Blackwell, 352–371.
- van Dijk, Teun. 2009. *Society and Discourse: How Social Contexts Influence Text and Talk*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- van Dijk, Teun. 2014. *Discourse and Knowledge: A Socio-Cognitive Approach*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wodak, Ruth. 2013. ‘Anything Goes’ - The Haiderization of Europe’, in *Rightwing Populism in Europe: Politics and Discourse*, Ruth Wodak, Majid Khosravini and Brigitte Mral, eds. London: Bloomsbury, 23–38.
- Zeitchik, Steven. 2015. ‘With jobless rate above 50%, disillusioned Greek youths becoming a ‘lost generation.’ *Los Angeles Times*. 2nd June 2015. Available at: <https://lat.ms/3BnUEGF> (accessed 31st May 2020).

Newspaper references

- Daily Mail 2016. 70 per cent of newborns in London have at least one foreign parent - and the figure is 33 per cent across the rest of England and Wales. *Daily Mail*. 1st December 2016. Available at: <https://bit.ly/3xuXaCL>. (Accessed 31st May 2020).
- Daily Mail 2018. Migration is ‘behind 82% of UK’s population growth’ as Labour’s open door policy added 5.4m new arrivals in just 15 years, says report. *Daily Mail*. 23rd August 2018. Available at: <https://bit.ly/3dnn4bE> (Accessed on 31st May 2020).
- Daily Mail 2019. Get to Britain before Brexit’: 21 MORE migrants are caught trying to cross Channel in tiny dinghys a day after record 93 made the journey as people smugglers tell them border will close after UK leaves the EU. *Daily Mail*. 11th September 2019. Available at: <https://bit.ly/3LrndYd> (Accessed 31st May 2020).
- Ethnos 2012. Episodiaexo apo to OikonomikoPanepistimio [Trouble outside the University of Economics]. *Ethnos*. 22nd May 2012. Available at: <https://bit.ly/3LrnHr> (accessed 2 January 2015).
- Kathimerini 2012. Anixexanai “pili” tu Egeo: Meta th “sfragisi” ton sinoron ston Evro, i lathro metanastes erxonte apo ti thalassa. [The Aegean sea gateway opens again: After closing the boarders at Evros, the illegal immigrants come via the sea]. *Kathimerini*. 29th August 2012. Available at: <https://bit.ly/3Swuk4b> (accessed 3rd September 2012).
- Kathimerini 2012. Nichterino luketo sto Pedion tu Areos meta thn perifraxi. [Pedion tu Areos Park to be closed at night after being fenced off]. *Kathimerini*. 3rd November 2012. Available at: <https://bit.ly/3DAFbWc> (accessed 31st May 2020).
- Kathimerini 2012. Samaras: Mazikes apelaseis paranomon metanaston [Samaras: Mass deportations of illegal immigrants]. *Kathimerini* 13th June 2012. Available at: <https://bit.ly/3RV9jQF> (Accessed 31st May 2020).
- The Times 2019. Hostile environment: Home Office makes £500m from immigration fees. *The Times*. 11th August 2019. Available at: <https://bit.ly/3Ukmaxl> (Accessed on 31st May 2020).
- The Times 2019. We missed 240,000 EU migrants, admit the people who count them. *The Times*. 22nd August 2019. Available at: <https://bit.ly/3Bt0A0R> (Accessed on 31st May 2020).