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The Discursive Legitimation of Asylum Policies in Greece and Ireland

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Thesis Submitted in Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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21 December 2009

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Abstract

This thesis explores the legitimation strategies employed by political actors in Greece and Ireland in asylum policy. The aim of the thesis is to study in comparative perspective the factors that shape the formulation of discourses on asylum in two countries with similar migration histories, as well as a number of similarities and differences in terms of socio-political and economic organisation. Further, the thesis aims at examining the reproduction of the nation state and national identities through the legitimation of asylum policy. It focuses on the period between 1996 and 2004, when the immigration and refugee laws and policies of the two states experienced significant changes.

I examine the dominant themes, linguistic features, rhetorical and argumentative strategies employed by political actors, using Critical Discourse Analysis supplemented by the use of NVivo software as a method for the analysis of documents containing political discourse. The analysis also aims at recording patterns of change in the themes entailed in the legitimation strategies over the designated period.

The thesis concludes that the legitimation strategies and discourses employed in the context of each country are influenced by the interaction of different contexts. They are shaped by already existing domestic discourses of immigration, asylum and national identity, and by the histories of migration of the two countries. Equally, they are influenced of European Union policies and discourses on the legitimation of policies at domestic level, as well as by international frameworks of protection. The specific themes that dominate legitimation strategies in the two countries should be seen as outcomes of the interaction between these contexts. Furthermore, it is argued that long-standing discourses regarding the state and the national community are both challenged and reproduced through the legitimation of asylum policies.

Abbreviations

Coding of political parties:

Ireland:

FF: Fianna Fail
FG : Fine Gael
PD: Progressive Democrats
GP: Green Party
LAB: the Labour Party
SF: Sinn Fein
IND: Independent MP

Greece:

PASOK: Panhellenic Socialist Movement
ND: New Democracy
KKE: Communist Party
SYN: Alliance of the Left
DIKKI: Democratic Movement

Abbreviations for ministers:

MC: Minister for Culture (Greece)
MFA: Minister for Foreign Affairs
MPO: Minister for Public Order (Greece)
MHW: Minister for Health and Welfare (Greece)
MJ: Minister for Justice, Equality and Law Reform (Ireland)
MHC: Minister for Health and Children (Ireland)
MMN: Minister for Merchand Navy (Greece)
MI: Minister for the Interior (Greece

Data Coding:

Countries:

IR: Ireland
GR: Greece

Type of Document:

DB: debate on legislation
OQ: oral question
LQ: leader question (Ireland only)
WA: written answer

PR: press release
PC: press conference
SP: speech
PD: policy document
AR: article
IN: interview

Speakers/Source

PL: Greek parliament
DL: Dail (Irish parliament)
FA: Minister for Foreign Affairs
MJ : Minister for Justice, Equality and Law Reform (Ireland)
GS: Government Spokesperson (Greece)
PM : Prime Minister
LO: A. Loverdos, Junior Foreign Affairs Minister (Greece)
KS: Kostas Skandalidis, General Secretary of PASOK
KK: Kostas Karamanlis, leader of New Democracy
ND: New Democracy
SY: Alliance of the Left
KK: Communist Party
AK: Anna Karamanou, MEP for PASOK

Introduction

Over the last few decades asylum seeking has become one of the most contentious social and political issues across Europe. It has been constructed by governments and the media as a series of challenges to European states. Asylum seeking been seen as a threat to the security of European states and their populations both in terms of a perceived criminality of migrants and, especially after the events of September 2001, through links to terrorism (Gibney 2006; Huysmans 2006; Schuster 2003a; Tsoukala 2005). It has been seen as a drain on the welfare systems of states, and as a threat to the employment of their citizens (Bloch and Schuster 2002; 2005; Castles 2004; Lewis and Neal 2005; Schuster 2003b). The presence of asylum seekers and other migrants has been regarded as a threat to the national identities of European states and their values and attitudes (Castles 2004; Huysmans 2006; Koopmans *et al* 2005; Schuster 2003a; Statham 2003). At the same time, the existence of asylum seeking as a phenomenon distinct from other forms of immigration has come into doubt. After the certainties of the Cold War, global inequalities and political crises combined to produce the 'asylum-migration nexus', where the causes of migration cannot be categorised as clearly as before (Castles 2004; Castles and Miller 2003; Koser 2007) . Asylum seekers have been represented as economic migrants or 'illegal immigrants' who abuse the asylum system, as 'bogus' and non-genuine (Crawley 2006; Gibney 2006; Lewis and Neal 2005; Schuster 2003b).

Yet granting asylum is a long-standing practice in European states emanating from international law. Primarily, granting asylum is seen as an obligation deriving from the Geneva Convention, which signed and ratified by states is a legally binding document. The Convention defines a refugee as

> [...] any 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' (UNHCR 1996: 16).

Article 32 of the Convention prohibits the expulsion of refugees, and grants them the right to appeal against such decisions, unless there are reasons of national security and public order. Article 33 of the convention includes the principle of non-refoulement, which prevents states from returning refugees to the country of origin and potentially to persecution (Hathaway 2005; Joppke 1998). Other articles concern the provision of political, civil and social rights to refugees, which should be at least equal to the rights enjoyed by the nationals of the host state (Hathaway 2005; UNHCR 1996).

Further, states' treatment of refugees is constrained by human rights instruments. The UN Declaration of Human Rights, which influenced the drafting of the Geneva Convention, includes the right to seek asylum (Hathaway 2005; Kjaerum 2002; Twomey and Nicholson 1999; Schuster 2003c). As the condition of being a refugee arises from violations of human rights, the international regime created by the Geneva Conventions is supposed to rectify this by rendering states responsible for the protection of refugees (Kjaerum 2002; Warner 1999; Van Selm-Thoburn 1998). Human rights instruments can provide additional safeguards regarding the treatment of refugees and asylum seekers (Hathaway 2005; Sassen 1999). Hathaway (2005) notes that the International Covenant of Civil and Political Rights bestows rights to every individual, regardless of whether they are citizens of a state or not. Article 3 of the UN Convention against Torture and the European Convention of Human Rights prevent refoulement to countries where an asylum seeker could be subjected to inhuman or degrading treatment, thus supplementing the Geneva Convention safeguards against refoulement (Guild 2005a; Kjaerum 2002; Twomey and Nicholson 1999).

While asylum continues to be granted in European states to an extent that suggests that refugee protection has not been entirely eroded, asylum policies in Europe have been geared towards prevention of entry, deterrence and the curtailment of the rights of asylum seekers and refugees (Hathaway 2005; Schuster 2003c). The access of potential asylum seekers to European states has been seriously limited by an array of measures including visa controls, carrier sanctions and increased border

controls and by measures oriented towards keeping refugees close to their country of origin –and away from western countries (Bloch and Schuster 2005; Castles 2003; Castles and Miller 2003; Gibney 2006; Schuster 2005). Refugee protection has been undermined by the introduction of 'lesser' protection statuses, such as humanitarian protection (Joly 2002; Schuster 2005). Internal controls such as deportation, detention, and the curtailment of welfare provisions have been used as deterrent measures as well as a way to encourage asylum seekers in European states to return to their countries of origin, and have been normalised to an unprecedented degree (Bloch and Schuster 2002;2005; Guild 2005a; Hathaway 2005).

For many theorists, these developments are a consequence of broader global changes. The end of the Cold War removed one of the main reasons for granting asylum: delegitimating communist states and legitimating western liberal democratic political systems (Schuster 1998; 2003a; Gibney 2006; Loescher 1990). Globalisation has become a favourite concept by which to explain developments in the field of asylum seeking. Developments in transportation facilitated movements towards European countries (Castles 2004; Papastergiadis 2000; Richmond 2002; Schuster 2005). The exacerbation of global inequalities entailed in processes of globalisation also contributed to an increase of numbers of migrants towards the West (Castles 2004; Castles and Miller 2003; Richmond 2002). In a set of parallel developments, globalisation is seen as eroding the powers of the nation state and its ability to control its territory (Castles 2004; Castles and Miller 2003; Papastergiadis 2000; Richmond 2002; Sassen 1999).

The state and asylum seeking

The state – defined here as as a territorially bounded entity with the sole control over its territory and monopoly over the means of violence - and its role in the global system are central in the developments described above (Joppke 1998; King and Kendall 2004). The refugee protection system has, since its inception, reflected the centrality of states. Refugees flee because the state of which they are citizens is

unable or unwilling to protect them (Nyers 2006; Soguk 1999). Seen from this perspective, asylum seeking upsets the state-centric organisation of the world system because it concerns a category of people that fall outside the state order (Soguk 1999). Their protection becomes then the responsibility of other states, which decide whether they grant asylum or not. For many scholars (for example Malkki 1995; Nyers 2006; Soguk 1999), this reflects the state centric nature of the international protection regime.

The concept of sovereignty means that the state has 'exclusive command over a territory' and a degree of autonomy of action (Levy and Szneider 2006:660; Biersteker and Weber 1996; Joppke 1998; King and Kendall 2004). The legitimacy and authority of the state derives from the political community, often conceived in modern states as the nation, who sanctions the political order of the state (Doty 1996; Held 1991; Levy and Szneider 2006). For this reason, it is essential that the political community is bounded (Doty 1996). Further, a core role of the state is to protect the security, interests and rights of its citizens (Castles and Miller 2003; Joppke 2003; Soguk, 1999).

At the same time, the external imposition of a system of protection limits the sovereignty of the state. We can distinguish four ways in which asylum seeking can be perceived as a threat to state sovereignty. First, the international protection system and international human rights instruments impose certain limitations on the behaviour of states and thus their sovereignty (King and Kendall 2004; Soysal 1994; Sassen 1998; 1999). Second, the obligations posed on states in relation to refugees disrupt the link between state and citizen. States are seen as having primarily obligations to their citizens - protecting their security and interests, and guaranteeing their rights – from whom they derive their legitimacy (Held 1991; Joppke 1998; Schuster 2003a). This particularist perspective contrasts with the universalist obligations to non-citizens and challenges the bond between states and citizen based on citizenship (Joppke 1998; Schuster 2003a).

Third, asylum seeking has increasingly been seen as an unauthorised type of movement in contrast to skilled labour migration which is preferred by European states (Koser 2007; Schuster 2003b). As such, it challenges the capacity of the state to control movement across its borders, which is one of the core elements of state sovereignty (Cohen 2001; Koser 2007; Salter 2008). The notion of fixed borders is crucial to the maintenance of a defined population from which the state draws its legitimacy (Doty 1996; Salter 2008; Soguk 1999). The spontaneous and uncontrolled nature of asylum seeking, which is constructed in many instances as irregular migration, pose a challenge to the perceived need to derive legitimacy from the act of regulating entry (Cohen 2001; Koser 2007; Salter 2008). Fourth, asylum seeking – and immigration in general- challenges state sovereignty because it poses a threat to the identity of the state. National identities are constructed around the idea of sharing common descent, religion, culture or certain forms of political organisation (Anderson 1991; Brubaker 1989). Migrants are often regarded as a challenge because they are seen as not sharing the core characteristics that bound the nation together, and therefore as a threat to the identity of the state (Huysmans 2006; Joppke 1998; Koopmans *et al* 2005; Soguk 1999).

These challenges render asylum seeking a field in which the state attempts to reassert its sovereignty through controlling – or appearing to control, as these policies often fail- population movements into its territory and populations of asylum seekers within it (Castles 2003; Cohen 2001; Koser 2007; Salter 2008; Soguk 1999). Soguk (1999) takes this argument a step further by claiming that asylum seeking is also a resource or opportunity to reaffirm established territorial and national orders, in the face of global challenges to the authority of the state. At the same time that the state order is upset by the existence of refugees, it is reaffirmed by placing refugees again under the protection of the state, reconnecting the refugee to a 'space of sovereignty' and the territorial order (Soguk 1999:11). Moreover, asylum seeking is also a space where national identities and the boundaries of the national community are reaffirmed through the juxtaposition of the national 'we' with the Other (Doty 1996; Koopmans *et al* 2005; Schuster 2003a; Soguk 1999; Wodak *et al* 2000). This juxtaposition can be based on differences of

culture, or on contrasting the legality of belonging to the nation with the perceived illegality and non-belonging of asylum seekers (Huysmans 2006; Chavez 2007; Willen 2007).

While it can be accepted that state sovereignty is challenged by population movements, international legal frameworks and processes of globalisation, it should also be recognised that these threats are not always clear-cut. International relation theorists recognise that the external sovereignty of the state – the sovereignty exercised in relation to other states – has always been limited by the existence of other sovereign states in the global system (Bierstaker and Weber 1996; King and Kendall 2004; Sassen 1996; 1999). Although international legal frameworks on refugee protection and human rights limit the sovereignty of states, they are also a source of legitimacy for them (Dunne and Wheeler 1999; Donnelly 1999; Levy and Schneider 2006; Schuster 2003a; Van Selm-Thoburn 1998). Further, supra-state structures that limit the sovereignty of the state in some respects might enhance it in others. The European Union is one such example, where the loss of power in some areas such as asylum and immigration policy is counterbalanced by increasing its power in others, such as the ability to control borders through co-operation with other member states (Guirondon and Lahav 2000; King and Kendall 2004; Koser 2005; Sicakkan 2008).

The aims of the thesis

This thesis explores the themes outlined above in the context of two states, Greece and Ireland. My interest in exploring the political discourse of asylum in these countries stems partly from personal experience. Living in Greece for most of the 1990s, witnessed the transformation from a country of emigration to a country of immigration and a range of reactions to it. Blatant racism – the quote *'the only good Albanian is the dead Albanian'* was uttered, often as a joke, in many social contexts – was combined with the recognition of similarities between the experiences of the newly arrived immigrants and refugees and the experiences of migration in the generations of our parents and grandparents. In the beginning of the same decade,

I spent a year in Ireland, which was still seen back then a homogeneous, white country. The politics of racism there were different. In the early 1990s, racism was still addressed to indigenous minority groups and often in a confused manner. A fellow student was committed to investigating the local history of anti-Semitism but at the same time warned students from abroad that 'tinkers[1] steal'. The transformation of Irish society became evident in later visits: the new-found diversity brought on by immigration and the economic inequalities brought on by the neo-liberal miracle of the Celtic tiger were visible in the streets of Dublin by 2002.

The decision to trace the political discourse of asylum in these two countries was a combination of these experiences with a growing academic interest in questions of migration, racism and exclusion. The main reason for choosing Greece and Ireland as the case studies for this thesis is their migration histories. Both countries started having increased immigration in the 1990s having been predominantly[2] countries of emigration (Kasimis and Kassimi 2004; Loyal 2007; Mousourou 2003; Ruhs 2004). Having been countries that exported labour from the 19th until the last quarter of the 20th century, the neo-liberal turn of their economies made necessary the import of labour (Allen 2007; Ioakimidis 2000; Loyal 2003; 2007). They both introduced legislation on asylum in the 1990s, after a long period of relying on ad-hoc and administrative frameworks, because of increased numbers of asylum seekers and the influence of the common asylum policies of the European Union. The remarkably similar histories of immigration will be analysed against a background of social, political and economic formations, which will help to explain differences and similarities in the field of discourses of asylum.

The thesis explores the political discourse of asylum and has the following aims:

- to study in comparative perspective the social, political and historical factors that shape the formulation of discourses on asylum in two countries.

---

[1] The derogatory term for the Traveller community

[2] As Chapter One will demonstrate, Greece has had a considerable history of receiving ethnically Greek populations

- To explore how the legitimation strategies of political actors reproduce core concepts of the nation state and national identity.

In order to achieve these aims, the thesis will be guided by the following objectives:

- To explore how political actors in Greece and Ireland legitimate asylum policies.
- To explore to what extent the argumentation of the speakers draws on and reflects domestic and regional contexts, and their interaction.
- To investigate the impact of political, social and historical formations on asylum and immigration policies and discourses.
- To assess the impact of the histories of migration of the two countries.
- To analyse the argumentation strategies employed by political actors.

The hypothesis is that the political actors will draw their argumentation from the particular constructions of asylum seeking that exist in the two countries, as well as from discourses in the wider context of the European Union. The previous section introduced some of the main constructions of asylum seeking – for example as a threat to security and the welfare state - discussed in the literature. One of the objectives of the thesis is to explore whether these exist in the Irish and Greek context and the reasons why they are present or absent from the asylum discourses of the two states. It is assumed that the different social, political and historical contexts will produce at least some differing constructions. At the same time, the two countries share a common context in the sense they are European states and members of the European Union, which could account for some similarities in discourse. In terms of the analysis of discursive strategies, the thesis draws on the literature on Critical Discourse Analysis. Two of the chapters of the thesis are devoted to the representation of the host community and the representations of asylum seekers, which correspond respectively to strategies of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation. For Critical Discourse Analysis, both of these are entailed in legitimation strategies (van Dijk 1993; 1997a; Triandafyllidou 2000; Van Der Valk 2003).

The second aim of the thesis is broader than the first. It explores to what extent representations of asylum seeking reproduce core conceptions of the nation state. At one level, this is a general hypothesis linking the issue of responses to immigration and the role of the state which have been discussed in the previous section. However, the thesis will also explore how constructions of asylum seeking reproduce specifically the identities of the Greek and Irish states. For example, the thesis is interested in how they reproduce conceptions of national identity and conceptions of Greece and Ireland as European, democratic states.

In order to achieve these aims, the thesis analyses a corpus of 106 documents containing political discourse from Ireland and 117 from Greece. These include parliamentary debates, press releases, speeches, press conferences, policy documents and interviews by political actors, all of which discuss asylum policies, or policies that affect asylum seeking in the two countries. The documents cover a period of eight years from 1996, when the first legislation specifically on asylum was introduced in both countries, until 2004. The corpus was analysed using Critical Discourse Analysis, supplemented by the use of the qualitative analysis software NVivo.

Structure of the thesis

The first two chapters of the thesis provide an exploration of the contexts against which the analysis of the corpus takes place. The social, political and historical contexts and their influence on asylum policy are explored in **Chapter One**, which will be divided in three parts. The first part examines the influence of political and social contexts that shape the extent of commitment to norms of protection and human rights. The second part examines the influence of the histories of migration of the two countries on current policies and attitudes towards migrants. The third part explores constructions of asylum seeking in Greece and Ireland based on an overview of the literature on representation of asylum seeking in Europe. The aim of this chapter is to provide an overview of the contexts that shape asylum discourses in the two countries and from which political actors draw their

argumentation. **Chapter Two** discusses the asylum policies that are the objects of legitimation. It outlines the major policy developments in the field of asylum and immigration in Greece and Ireland between 1996 and 2004. Based on academic sources and reports by NGOs, it discusses the main criticisms raised in terms of their effectiveness in providing protection, and issues related to the implementation of policies. Further, it examines the impact of the asylum policies of the European Union on the national policies of the two countries.

Chapter Three deals with the main methodological issues that needed to be addressed in this thesis. It will explain the rationale for using Critical Discourse Analysis and NVivo for the analysis of the texts and discuss the selection, coding and analysis of the corpus. The overall aim of the chapter is to justify the methodologies used as well as provide an outline of how these were implemented. **Chapters Four to Seven** draw on empirical data in order to explore the aims of this thesis. Each chapter explores themes relevant to the legitimation of policies. **Chapter Four** examines how policies are justified through constructions of asylum as a 'problem' in the Greek and Irish discourses of asylum. It focuses on the main constructions emerging from the literature on asylum seeking, as well as country-specific themes which emerged from the analysis of the data. The chapter will also explore some of the linguistic aspects of problematisation, such as using metaphors of natural disasters. **Chapter Five** focuses on the legitimation of policies through represention of the host country in a (mostly) positive light. It explores first the attribution of values and attitudes by political actors to themselves, the state and the societies of the two countries. Moreover, it will look into some of the linguistic strategies employed by the actors to strengthen their arguments. **Chapter Six** examines the dominant representations of asylum seekers entailed in legitimation strategies. It explores the characteristics and behaviours attributed to asylum seekers, and the impact of the use of different labels by political actors. **Chapter Seven** examines the thematic content of the argumentation of political actors when they justify asylum policies. Moreover, it explores two discursive strategies that occur prominently in the documents – moral evaluation and authorisation by referring to the past.

Refugees, asylum seekers and illegal immigrants: An exploration of the concepts used in the thesis

The expansion of the field of refugee studies and the increasingly complicated nature of migration and policy preferences of policy makers have brought about a multiplicity of terms which are currently used in academic and non-academic contexts. The terms *refugee*, *asylum seeker*, and *forced migrant* are all used in academic and policy contexts. The question of which one is the most appropriate has been the subject of considerable debate (see for example Hathaway 2007 and the responses in the same volume). Disagreements over the employment of terms seem to evolve around two issues: which term offers the greater conceptual clarity for the purposes of academic study and which is less likely to reflect policy agendas whose interests might oppose both academic impartiality and the protection of refugees (Hathaway 2007; Hayden 2006; Turton 2003a; 2003b; Voutira and Dona 2007).

In this thesis, the term *asylum seeker* will be used to signify people seeking protection in Greece and Ireland but not having yet acquired refugee status. The term refugee, however, is employed to designate individuals and groups fleeing wars, conflicts and human rights abuses who are broadly in need of, and have a claim to, protection (Hathaway 2007). These terms are used in preference to the term *forced migrants*. The term *refugee* has been seen as too narrow to describe the multiplicity of experiences associated with involuntary migration and for that reason not appropriate for academic investigation (Malkii 1995; Turton 2003a; 2003b). The term *forced migrants* is seen as an attempt to differentiate involuntary from voluntary or economic migrants while retaining claims to protection, as well as more appropriate for referring to diverse experiences of population (Turton 2003a; 2003b). However, it is argued that it reflects policy agendas and reflects policy agendas that try to undermine protection (Hathaway 2007). The same concern is expressed about the term *refugee*, as it reflects a state-centric conception of involuntary migration (Malkki 1995; Turton 2003a; 2003b). From the perspective of this thesis, however, *forced migrant* is considered too broad to refer accurately to

the claims posed on states, while refugee has a greater resonance in terms of the need for protection (Hathaway 2007; Voutira and Dona 2007).

The term *asylum seeker* has been criticised for being a bureaucratic term whose use can be criticised for serving the interests of policy makers, and secondly, it has, in many European contexts negative connotations (Turton 2003b; Moss 2001). Even so, it has been chosen here for reasons of clarity. The thesis deals mainly with the justification of policies which prevent access to refugee status, and therefore concerns individuals seeking asylum rather than recognised refugees. Further, the two concepts are distinguished quite strongly in the Irish corpus. While adopting the term *asylum seeker* might be perceived as adopting the political agenda of the speakers, employing the term *refugee* instead of *asylum seeker* could result in confusion in the analysis of the empirical data. Moreover, *asylum seeker* is not a term used in Greek discourse where the term *illegal immigrant*, which has far more negative connotations, designates those seeking protection. As the next chapter will demonstrate, asylum seeking in Greece is framed in terms of 'illegal immigration' (Marvakis 2004; Mavrodi 2007; Sitaropoulos 2002). These particularities are a first example of how different contexts produce different discourses.

Chapter One

Constructions and contexts of asylum seeking in Greece and Ireland

The aim of this chapter is to provide an overview of the dominant constructions related to asylum seeking in Greece and Ireland. These constructions provide the discursive contexts from which political actors draw their argumentation from in order to justify restrictive policies. The introduction has outlined some of the dominant discourses regarding asylum seeking in Western European countries; this chapter will further elaborate with reference to the two case studies.

The chapter is organised in two parts. The first part discusses constructions of commitment to refugee protection and human rights and the social and political contexts that influence them. The introduction summarised the main obligations posed on states by international law and human rights instruments in what concerns refugee protection. The first section of this chapter discusses the legal obligations of Greece and Ireland towards refugees and asylum seekers based on international, legal and domestic laws. It then explores social and political contexts that shape commitment to refugee protection. The chapter also includes a discussion of the histories of migration of the two countries and their influence on how asylum seeking is perceived.

The second part explores some of the most dominant constructions regarding asylum seeking in Europe and relates them to the particular contexts of Greece and Ireland. First, it discusses the trend of presenting asylum seekers as economic migrants or 'illegal immigrants' rather than bona fide refugees. Second, it explores issues of state security. Third, it discusses again security from the perspective of criminality and fear. Fourth, it explores constructions of asylum seeking as a burden to the resources of the state. Fifth, it discusses the relation between asylum seeking and constructions of national identity. Lastly, it investigates the links between racism and asylum seeking.

These themes derive from the literature on asylum seeking in European countries and reflect discussions of perceived challenges or threats to host societies and states (Castles and Miller 2003; Schuster 2003a; 2003c; Tsardanidis and Guerra 2000; Tsoukala 2005). Tsoukala (2005), for example, categorises the arguments employed by political actors into socio-economic – relating to issues such as unemployment and the crisis of welfare - securitarian, and relating to identity. The securitarian perspective is a particularly strong one in the literature. It is influenced by the concept of societal security, introduced by the Copenhagen school, which focuses on perceptions of threat and by Foucauldian perspectives on governance (Collinson 2000; Huysmans 2006; Schuster 2003a).

All the above themes have been linked to the legitimation of asylum policies most notably policies of preventing entry, deterrence and other forms of immigration controls (Tsoukala 2005; Schuster 2003c). As Schuster (2003c:2) observes, the 'need for control' depends on the construction of material and immaterial 'goods' – such as welfare and identity - as finite. The discussion of these themes in this chapter aims to provide a background for the analysis of the data for this thesis by providing an overview of the main constructions related to asylum seeking in Greece and Ireland.

International obligations and domestic influences

Adhering to refugee protection norms and human rights is part of the attempt of western liberal states to maintain their legitimacy (Donnelly 1999; Dunne 1999; Gibney 2006; Schuster 2003a; Van Selm-Thoburn 1998). Legitimacy is achieved by having ratified binding legal instruments (Van Selm-Thoburn 1998; Gibney 2006). In addition, standards of refugee protection are an important component of the identities of liberal, democratic states, and therefore adherence to them is linked to the legitimacy of states (Levy and Szneider 2006; Schuster 2003a; Van Selm-Thoburn 1998).

Both Greece and Ireland are signatories to the main instruments relating to refugee protection and human rights. Greece is a signatory country to the Geneva Convention and the New York Protocol since 1960 and 1968 respectively, and Ireland since 1956 and 1968 (UNHCR 2008). Moreover, they have both ratified the human rights instruments pertinent to refugee protection, namely the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the International Covenant on Economic and Social Rights, the European Convention for Human Rights and the Convention against Torture (Council of Europe 2009; UN 2009). In Greece, obligations regarding refugee protection also emanate from the Greek Constitution. Article 5 states that the life, dignity and personal safety of all individuals in Greek territory are protected, without discriminating between citizens and non-nationals (Constitution of Greece 2001; Kondiadis 2007; Hatzi 2004). More pertinently to asylum seekers, the Constitution prohibits the *refoulement* of non-citizens who are 'persecuted for their struggles for freedom' (Constitution of Greece 2001; Kondiadis 2007).

Both Greece and Ireland are bound to such liberal western norms by virtue of being European states and member states of the European Union, although the extent of adherence to these norms, and the articulation of relevant discourses are different in each country. The obligations arising from the participation of Greece and Ireland to international and regional protection instruments are negotiated by the particular historical, social and political trajectories of the two countries. This section aims at providing an overview of how these shape the level of adherence to refugee protection and human rights.

Of the two states, Ireland appears to be the one with the greater proximity to western European norms related to protection. One explanation for this is that Ireland has always been close to western normative standards because of the legacy of the political and institutional legacy of British Empire (Coakley 2005a; 2005b). However, proximity to European values is better explained by the projects of modernisation and Europeanisation followed by successive governments since the 1960s. Modernisation in Ireland was a planned state project which entailed the

adoption of liberal, primarily economic policies, aimed at the industrialisation of the country through attracting foreign investment and developing a highly skilled workforce through education (Adshead 2008; Coulter 2003; McCarthy 2000). The project of Europeanisation – becoming more other western European countries in terms of values and institutions - was realised through joining the European Union in 1973 (Cleary 2005; McCarthy 2000; O'Mahony 2003). These processes are seen as a conscious effort to introduce to Ireland European institutions, practices and values, and the conscious adoption of a European identity for the Irish state (Cleary 2005; Coulter 2003; Loyal 2003; O'Mahony 2003). Coakley (2005a: 50) regards Ireland as a 'typical' western European country by the end of the 20th century. Greater participation in European and international institutions and commitment to democratic principles and international law have been attributed to modernisation and joining the European Union (Allen 2007; Loyal 2003). In turn, Loyal (2003:90) argues that this increased involvement can explain the greater importance given to refugee protection standards although this was a matter of 'image than substance', and moderated by restrictive policies and illiberal interpretations of international laws.

The adoption of western European standards in Greece is negotiated by a greater number of historical and political factors which limit the scope of adoption of liberal norms and structures. Firstly, there is a lack of a tradition of human rights (Pollis 1987; Stamoulas 2004; Tsoukalas 1995). Individualism, a concept central in western though was alien to traditional Greek structures where the basic unit of organisation was the family (Pollis 1987; Stamoulas 2004). The nation is seen as an extension of the family and the role of the state is to protect it (Pollis 1987; Tzanelli 2006). In this context, human rights were seen as emanating from the state rather than being individual and inalienable, and the judiciary has interpreted and implemented legislation in a manner which serves state power rather than defend the rights of individuals and groups (Pollis 1987). Thus, while democratic structures and international legal instruments were adopted by the Greek state, their provisions were often contravened by the practices of the state authorities and the judiciary (Pollis 1987).

A second formation distancing Greek from western European societies is the underdevelopment of the civil society (Mouzelis and Pagoulatos 2005; Tsoukalis 1999). Until the 1990s, the growth of civil society in Greece was stunted due to the autocratic and centralised nature of the Greek state (Mouzelis and Pagoulatos 2005; Tsoukalis 1999). Until the end of the dictatorship in 1974, political activity by left-wing parties, organisations and trade unions was suppressed by the predominantly right wing governments of the time (Mouzelis and Pagoulatos 2005). Associations, especially those associated with minorities, were controlled by the state (Mouzelis and Pagoulatos 2005; Pollis 1987). Authoritarianism and the absence of civil society did not allow for independent organisation promoting and safeguarding human rights (Mouzelis and Pagoulatos 2005).

A third feature that interferes with the acceptance of norms of protection and human rights in Greece is its ambivalent stance towards European identities and values, which has been central in the formation of the Greek state and its identity (Mouzelis 1995; Tsoukalas 1999; 2002). The idea of Modern Greece is, in a way, a product of western Enlightenment thinking, which constructed Ancient Greece as a precursor of civilised Europe, and which was internalised in the nationalist ideologies of the nascent Greek state (Friedman 1992; Herzfeld 1987; Kitromilides 1997; Tsoukalas 2002). This construction underpins both anti-western and pro-western tendencies in Greece. The former see Greek culture as informed by Byzantine history and Christian Orthodox religion, legacies which give Greek society a different set of beliefs than Western Europe (Gropas and Triandafyllidou 2007a; Tsoukalas 1999; 2002). Pro-western tendencies, on the other hand, are aimed at the adoption of liberal western standards in Greek political and social life (Mouzelis 1995; Tsoukalas 2002). In the second half of the 20th century, the westernising tendencies within the Greek state were expressed through joining the European Union and participation to other western liberal institutions (Ioakimidis 2001; Mavrodi 2007). Gropas and Triandafyllidou (2007a) also argue that EU membership also consolidated the idea of belonging to Europe and facilitated the shaping of a more inclusive identity open to multiculturalism and diversity.

These competing discourses and social structures meant that the process of modernisation and the adoption of European norms and practices have been problematic and met with resistance by the Greek population (Tsoukalas 1995). This resistance is still evident in the authoritarian and centralised nature of the Greek state (Ioakimidis 2001; Sitaropoulos 2000; Tsibiridou 2004). It is also expressed in the reluctance to accept European institutions and values (Tsoukalas 1995). This suspicion has affected the acceptance of western conceptions of human rights, which are seen as a tool for undermining the Greek state (Tsoukalas 1995). In short, what can be observed in Greece is an 'oscillation between subordination to European demands and resistance to them' (Tzanelli 2006: 34). From another perspective, these differences between Greek and European social formations and institutions point towards an incomplete process of rationalisation within the context of Greek modernity (Mouzelis 1995; Tsoukalas 1995).

The influence of histories of emigration and immigration

The histories of emigration and immigration of the two countries provide a social and historical context that shapes how asylum seeking is constructed. This section will attempt to demonstrate how these shape contemporary attitudes to asylum seeking as well as policy preferences.

Emigration was a strong feature of Greek society in the 19th and 20th centuries. A first wave of emigration took place in the late 19th century and early 20th, following an economic crisis in 1893, when nearly one-sixth of the Greek population emigrated to Europe, Egypt and the USA (Kasimis and Kassimi 2004; Mousourou 2003). A second wave of emigration took place between the end of the second World War and the 1970s, when around an estimated million Greeks emigrated to European countries – mostly to Germany- , the US, Australia and Canada (Kasimis and Kassimi 2004; Lianos 1993; Mousourou 2003). Emigration to European states took place on the basis of bilateral agreements with Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands and France (Lianos 2003; Mousourou 2003). Labour migration was encouraged by the state in order to alleviate pressures by unemployment and to aid

economic development through remittances (Lianos 2003; Mousourou 2003). Moreover, around 65.000 Greeks became refugees in Eastern bloc countries, being on the losing side of the Greek Civil War (Kasimis and Kassimi 2004; Kiprianos *et al* 2003; Mousourou 2003). Smaller numbers of Greeks took refuge in European countries following the military dictatorship of 1967 (Kasimis and Kassimi, 2004; Mousourou 2003). In short, a large part of the Greek population has personal or family experiences of labour or refugee migration (Black 1994a).

This history of emigration sometimes obscures a particular history of reception which nevertheless shapes Greek discourses on migration and identity, and constitutes part of the Greek experience of migration. It included Greek Pontic populations leaving Turkey in the late 19th and 20th centuries during the nation-building processes there and, more significantly, the arrival of approximately 1.5 million refugees from Asia Minor following the defeat of the irredentist military expedition of the Greek army and the consequent Greek-Turkish exchange of populations in 1923 (Voutira 2003a; 2003b; Triantafilopoulos 2003).

Despite initial difficulties and hostile attitudes, the successful settlement and integration of the Asia Minor refugees integration lead to a 'remarkable consensus among scholars, politicians and refugees on the post 1923 settlement as a major 'success' case' (Voutira, 2003a:71; 2003b; Triantafilopoulos 2003). Moreover, the dominant narrations of the successful integration of Greek refugees were intrinsically linked to the construction of a homogenised Greek national identity. One of the intended effects of the settlement of refugees in Northern Greece was the homogenisation of the population, which, in the context of nation building efforts and foreign policy considerations was considered a positive outcome (Kontogiorgi 2003; Voutira 2003a). The achievements of Asia Minor refugees are in turn constructed as collective and part of the Greek national identity through official versions of history and commemorations of the events leading to displacement of the Asia Minor refugees (Voutira 2003a). The positive construction of refugee integration and contributions of Asia Minor refugees to the economic and social life of Greece have resulted in a construction of a refugee identity specific

to the Greek reality. Voutira (2003a) argues that the refugee concept has positive connotations, in contrast to the possibly negative connotations it carries in other European contexts. Voutira (2003a: 65) terms this construction of refugeeness in Greece as 'emic'- 'predicated on an archetypal reference to flight or forced migration as an essential component of refugeeness independently of the other criteria that apply in determining refugee status' as opposed to an 'etic' one, referring to the legal definition of refugees found in the Geneva Convention.

These historical events have had a significant impact on the perception of refugees and immigrants. Identifying the refugee experience with the national experience can exclude asylum seekers who are not ethnically Greek (Voutira 2003a). While 'true' refugees are assumed to be Greek in ethnicity, refugees and asylum seekers without such a claim are treated suspicion and hostility, and protection granted on the basis of the Geneva Convention is limited (Voutira 2003a). Moreover, these perceptions have also had a significant impact on current immigration policies, especially towards immigrants of ethnic Greek origin (Triandafyllidou and Veikou 2002; Voutira 2003a; Voutira 2003b). Ethnic Greek immigrants to Greece were differentiated in law from 'foreign' ones and aided by policies addressed specifically to them (Triandafyllidou and Veikou 2002; Voutira 2003a; Voutira 2003b). They were offered, for example, assistance with accommodation, employment and Greek language courses which were not available to non-ethnically Greek migrants (Triandafyllidou and Veikou 2002). More importantly, the state encouraged the naturalisation of ethnically Greek immigrants, but made it extremely difficult for non- ethnically Greek immigrants to acquire citizenship (Christopoulos 2007; Gropas and Triandafyllidou 2005).

At the same time, the Greek experience of emigration and of being a refugee has been employed in favour of more inclusive attitudes and policies. There is some evidence that this approach has been used in centre leftist media and politicians (Christopoulos 2004; Tzanelli 2006). Moreover, some research on the attitudes of Greeks towards immigrants shows that references to own and collective experience of emigration are used to urge a more positive stance towards immigrants

(Christopoulos 2004; Sapountzis 2006). However, responses to such arguments, as Tzanelli (2006) shows, allude to the difference between the experiences of Greek migrants and immigrants to Greece. Overall, own experiences of emigration and being a refugee have not always translated into positive attitudes towards immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers (Triandafyllidou 2000).

Like Greece, Ireland has been considered, until the 1990s, as predominantly a country of emigration. An estimated 8.5 million left Ireland between 1846 and 1925, an emigration trend triggered in the 19th century by the Irish Famine of 1845-48 (De Boer-Ashworth 2003; MacLauglin 1997a). A further 220,540 emigrated between 1926 and 1989 (MacLauglin 1997a; Irish Centre for Migration Studies 1999). The emigration trend was so strong until the 1960s that the annual net emigration surpassed the rate of natural increase of the population which resulted in the overall decrease of the Irish population (Mac Éinrí 2001; Ruhs 2004). The emigration trend continued well into the 1980s triggered by the persistent unemployment caused by the lagging economy and, in the 1980s, by the restructuring that resulted from joining the European Union (Mac Éinrí 2001; Ruhs 2004).

Constructions of Irish emigration have also shaped the way immigration is regarded in Ireland. I would distinguish three main discursive constructions of the emigrant experience, roughly corresponding to Carroll's (2003:2) three approaches to history in Ireland: nationalist traditionalism, 'the blithe narrative of modernisation' and post-colonial studies. Nationalist perspectives construct emigration as a traumatic phenomenon (Crowley *et at* 2006; Gray 2004; King 2001; Miller 1990). While largely economic, post-Famine emigration is constructed as involuntary,

> [...] obliged by forces beyond both individual choice and communal control: sometimes fate or destiny, but usually by the political and economic consequences of 'British misgovernment', 'Protestant ascendancy' and 'landlord tyranny. (Miller 1990:92)

Similarly, Gray (2004:15) notes that the experience of emigration has transmitted and understood through 'a rhetoric of pain and loss'.

Modernisation discourses emerged as a reaction to nationalist constructions of emigration (Mac Laughlin 1997b). They construct emigration as primarily voluntaristic and attribute it to 'socio-psychological attributes and aspirations of young Irish adults' (Mac Laughlin 1997b: 181). Emigration of young adults is 'naturalised' and is regarded as culturally ingrained in the Irish psyche (MacLaughlin 1997b). Fanning and Mutwarasibo (2007: 441) argue that this view of migration is underlined by 'Malthusian fatalism', which sees emigration as a sign of overpopulation. In that sense, emigration was a safety valve for the state, since it allowed early welfare policies by 'the exclusion of 'surplus' population.'

Constructing emigration as traumatic experience is not exclusive to nationalist discourses, but a central feature of contemporary post-modern and post-colonial understanding of Irish emigration (for example Gray 2004; Lentin 2001). Cohen (1997), for instance, categorises Irish diaspora as 'victim', driven out, at least partly, by the plans of the British Colonial powers to control the population and modernise the Irish economy. Lentin (2001) sees emigration as a 'wound still festering' and believes that the emigrant experience should be brought to the fore and discussed in order to create a more inclusive Irish identity.

A significant influence of Irish emigration on current attitudes on asylum seekers and refugees is located in the 'historical duty' argument. This suggests that the Irish experience of migration should render Irish people sympathetic to the experiences of current refugees and asylum seekers (Frost 2006; Garner 2004; Loyal 2003). The employment of this argument is widespread in Irish society; it has been employed by opposition parties, pro-immigration and anti-racist groups, and business groups in favour of immigration (Fanning 2002; Garner 2004). Conway (2006) suggests that experiences of migration are drawn upon by the print media to promote a more inclusive conception of Irish identity; however, he supports his argument with evidence from a single broadsheet, *The Irish Times*, which has a liberal view on immigration and asylum seeking. Further, a form of the historical duty argument is employed by academics such as Lentin (2001; 2003) who argue that looking at the

Irish experience of emigration and racism could be conducive to a more positive attitude towards migrants.

At the same time, constructions of the Irish experience of emigration are employed to support restrictions to migration (Frost 2006; Guerin 2002). The counter argument to this is the belief in 'Irish exceptionality', that Irish migrants were different, more hard-working and law abiding than immigrants and asylum seeker in contemporary Ireland, a construction which draws on presenting Irish migration as a success story (Garner 2004; Mac an Ghaill 2002). For Crowley *et al* (2006:10), the *planned* nature of Irish emigration can partly explain negative reactions to current spontaneous immigration. Further, the voluntarist perceptions of Irish emigration might underpin current beliefs that immigration is primarily economic and temporary and not consisting of asylum seeking (Fanning and Mutwarasibo 2007; Loyal 2007). Thus, experiences of migration have not necessarily translated into inclusive attitudes or policies (Crowley *et al* 2006).

Changing perceptions of asylum seeking

A recurrent theme in much of the literature concerns challenges to the *nature* of asylum seeking. A very dominant theme in the discourses of many European states is the claim that asylum seekers are in fact economic migrants and not 'real' refugees fleeing persecution migrants (Crawley 2006; Gibney 2006; Lewis and Neal 2005; Richmond 2002; Schuster 2003b; Tsoukala 2005). In other words, the whole process of asylum seeking is thrown under doubt by political elites and media.

One factor influencing such constructions is that the conceptual boundaries between asylum seeking and economic migration have become increasingly blurred in what has become known as the asylum-migration nexus (Castles 2003; 2004; Castles and Miller 2003; Geddes 2006; Koser 2007). However, the complexity of the causes underpinning asylum seeking is often at odds with the protection framework provided by the Geneva Convention (Castles 2003; Hayden 2006; Richmond 1994). The Geneva Convention, influenced by the experiences of persecution and the

Second World War in Europe, and later the Cold war, configured persecution solely on political and individual grounds. The end of the Cold War meant that this clear image of the refugee disappeared, while asylum seeking from developing countries, which increased since the 1970s, remained a significant part of migration to European countries (Gibney 2006). Granting asylum, in this context, did not have the political advantages of bestowing legitimacy to western states as was the case in the Cold War (Favell and Hansen 2002; Gibney 2006; Schuster 2003a; 1998). Further, changes occurred in the field of economic policy. Immigration policies of the European Union and of individual member states have favoured skilled migration which was seen as necessary for economic development (Favell and Hansen 2002; Ette and Feist 2007; Lewis and Neal 2005; Schuster 2003b). In this respect, European states and the European Union favour controlled, or 'managed' migration (Flynn 2005; Lewis and Neal 2006; Schuster 2003b).

In contrast, asylum seeking and irregular migration are presented as undesirable because of their spontaneous nature (Koser 2007; Schuster 2003b). As the Introduction discussed, this is perceived as a threat to the sovereignty of the state (Cohen 2001; Koser 2007; Salter 2008). In political discourse, these concerns are often expressed in through talk of the rise in the numbers of asylum seekers and through a language of natural disasters, using words such as 'floods' 'tides' and 'being swamped' (Bigo 2005a; Bralo and Morrison 2005; Van der Valk 2003). The issue of rising numbers is partly rooted in reality as numbers of asylum seekers from the South did rise during the 1970s and the 1980s (Castles and Miller 2003; Gibney 2006). However, perceptions of threat owe more to the policy priorities of European states in the post-cold war environment discussed in the previous paragraph. The response of European states was policies and discourses that emphasised border and internal controls, non-arrival measures and deterrence, and policies preventing irregular migration and smuggling (Bloch and Schuster 2005; Castles 2003; Castles and Miller 2003; Gibney 2006; Lewis and Neal 2005; Schuster 2005).

A further reaction to the new configurations of migration has been, as Lewis and Neal (2005:426) argue, to 'harden the distinction between proliferating categories, even while such a distinction is increasingly meaningless'. This distinction might indeed be meaningless in a sociological sense, since the motivations for migrating are increasingly complex and difficult to disentangle (Castles 2003; 2004; Castles and Miller 2003; Koser 2007; Zetter 2007). However, attempting to place migrants into neat categories can facilitate the exercise of control over migration (Lewis and Neal 2005; Zetter 2007). In discursive terms, placing migrants into categories such as 'illegal immigrant' legitimates practices which limit their access to protection (Story 2005; Zetter 2007).

A related theme is that of abuse (Gibney 2006). This theme is widespread in the discourses of European countries (Gibney 2006; Flynn 2005; Lynn and Lea 2003; Schuster 2003a; Van Selm 2003). The perception of abuse hinges on the assumption the asylum seekers are predominantly economic migrants who use asylum systems to gain entry into a country by avoiding legitimate controls (Gibney 2006; Van Selm 2003). Apart from assuming the primacy of economic reasons, this argument tends to ignore the lack of legitimate ways of entering for unskilled economic migrants and the mixed nature of political and economic motives (Van Selm 2003). Gibney (2006: 158) also observes that this perception of abuse is due to a 'narrow interpretation of eligibility for refugee status.' Discourses of abuse, however, separate asylum seekers into 'deserving' and 'undeserving ones', with only the first being entitled to protection (Anderson 2008; Sales 2002; Tsoukala 2005).

The belief that asylum seekers are in fact economic migrants appears to be widespread among state authorities and the media in Ireland (Garner 2004; Haynes *et al* 2004; Loyal 2007; Prieto Ramos 2004). Failure to get refugee status is interpreted as a proof of the lack of validity of claims, and this contributes to constructions of 'deserving' and 'undeserving' refugees and asylum seekers (Haynes *et al* 2004; Loyal 2003). This distinction can be seen as a continuation of discourses regarding 'deserving' and 'undeserving' poor (Devereux and Breen 2004; Garner 2004). Research also shows that concerns over rising numbers were

widespread in the press in the second half of the 1990s (Guerin 2002; McGee 2003). Coverage of asylum issues in the media was characterised by the use of the language of natural disasters, especially the 'flood' metaphor (Guerin 2002; Prieto Ramos 2004; Van der Valk 2003).

The theme of abuse is also prevalent in Irish public discourse (Devereux and Breen 2004; Loyal 2003; McGee 2003; Prieto Ramos 2004). Both in political discourse and the media, it is strongly suggested that the asylum system is being used in order to facilitate entry for labour migrants rather than refugees (Devereux and Breen 2004; Haynes *et al* 2004; Loyal 2003; McGee 2003; Prieto Ramos 2004). More specifically, Prieto Ramos' (2004) research into representations of migrants shows that the categories *asylum seekers* and *economic migrants* have been extensively associated with abuse in the Irish press. The theme of abuse also permeated the debates on the Citizenship referendum and subsequent citizenship law. In these, the use of maternity services of Dublin hospitals was framed in terms of misuse of the citizenship provisions for Irish-born children in order to gain residence in the country (Brandi 2007; Frost 2006; Haynes *et al* 2004; Tormey 2007).

Asylum seeking in Greece is framed predominantly in terms of 'illegal' immigration on the one hand and economic migration on the other. Immigrants to Greece are constructed in political and media discourse as economic migrants rather than refugees (Pavlou 2004; Petrakou 2001). This is shaped by the particular immigration history of Greece, where immigrants arriving from the Balkan countries and the former Soviet republics following the collapse of communist regimes were considered, in terms of policy, economic migrants (Pavlou 2004; Petrakou 2001). The term 'illegal immigrants' has been used extensively in Greek discourse to refer to all immigrants to Greece, whether their primary motivation for moving is economic or political (Pavlou 2001; Sitaropoulos 2002; Skordas and Sitaropoulos 2004). Framing asylum and immigration debates in such a manner reflects the aims of Greek immigration and asylum policies, which focus on the prevention of entry into the European Union, and the control of the external borders of the Union (Geddes 2003; 2007; Marvakis 2004; Mavrodi 2007). The emphasis on preventing

entry and the illegal immigration framing have serious implications on how asylum seeking is understood in the Greek context. Issues of protection and rights according to international and European law are often ignored or considered less important than preventing irregular migration (Marvakis 2004; Petrakou 2001; Skordas and Sitaropoulos 2004).

The theme of abuse does not feature strongly in the Greek literature discussing public discourses on asylum seeking. This might be explained by the some of the particularities of the Greek case. One of the focal points of themes of abuse is the asylum system as a network of procedures which are misused by asylum seekers in order to gain entry into a country. Greece has been lacking a fully developed asylum system and the practices of the Greek authorities have significantly limited access to the asylum procedure itself.

Asylum seeking and state security

Refugee movements, from a historical perspective have always been associated with concerns over the security of states (Loescher 1992; Schuster 2003a). Huysmans (2006:4) defines national security as a concept that refers 'to defending the national territory and the citizens of a state from external aggression.' This traditional conception of security is closely associated with realist theories of international relations, where the state system is seen as anarchic and the 'collective security of citizens depends on state survival in an inherently competitive and self interested international system' (Waltz, cited in Story 2005:5; Huysmans 2006; Newman 2003).

Such perceptions of security have been prevalent during the Cold War era. Refugee movements have been seen as a threat and destabilising factor to the security of the host state as well as being used as such a tool by the sending state (Benard 1984; Huysmans, 2006; Teitelbaum 1984). For instance, refugees could destabilise the host state by taking military action against their state of origin (Huysmans 2006; Loescher 1992). With the rise of asylum applications from developing countries,

threats from terrorists and about political activists who could try to overthrow the regime of their country of origin became an issue of concern (Keely 2001). Moreover, it was believed that communist states facilitate refugee movements towards the West in order to destabilise their political and economic systems, for example by putting pressure on their welfare systems, while refugee policies of western states were also seen as implicated in destabilising communist states (Benard 1984; Teitelbaum 1984; Keely 2001; Loescher 1990).

In the post Cold-War period, asylum is also presented as a threat for the security agenda of the European Union (Gibney 2003; Huysmans 2006). The traditional view of security as military threats to the state underpins current associations of asylum seeking with, for example, the threat of terrorism. This discourse has gained weight since the events of 11 September 2001 and the current policies of the war on terrorism (Gibney 2006). In recent years, combating terrorism has moved up in the agenda of the European Union and measures aimed at protecting the EU from terrorism are linked to refugee protection (Gibney 2002; Huysmans 2006). Illegal immigration and smuggling have been explicitly linked to asylum policy in EU documents, such as the Amsterdam Treaty (Bendel 2007; Bigo 2005; Huysmans 2006; Morrison and Crossland 2001; Nadig 2002)

The perception of asylum seeking as a threat to state security is particularly relevant to Greece. For a long time, the relations of the Greek state with neighbouring ones have been tense, especially in what concerns relations with Turkey. At one level, the enmity between the two countries until the late 1990s could be attributed to specific objective grievances: the treatment of ethnic minorities in either country, disagreements over the maritime border and the Cyprus issue (Heraclides 1997; Koliopoulos and Veremis 2007). However, relations with Turkey also have a symbolic dimension. Turkey plays the role of the Other in constructions of national identity and, as the successor state of the Ottoman Empire, of which Greece was a part, is still constructed as an enemy trying to harm Greek interests (Gropas and Triandafyllidou 2007a; Koliopoulos and Veremis 2007; Lazaridis and Koumandraki 2001). One significant element in this relationship is the juxtaposition of the

Christian religion of the Greek population and the Muslim one of the Turkish, to the extent that any Islamic population is seen as a natural ally of Turkey (Gropas and Triandafyllidou 2007a). This perception is also shaped by the existence of a Muslim, predominantly ethnically Turkish minority in Thrace, which has been regarded as foreign policy tool of the Turkish state (Gropas and Triandafyllidou 2007a; Heraclides 1997). Relations between the two states improved in the 1990s, signalling a period of *rapprochement* which involved greater economic and political cooperation, although relations remained ambivalent (Baldwin-Edwards 2006; Koliopoulos and Veremis 2007; Rumelili 2007). The improvement in the relations of the two countries was also influenced by Turkey's application to join the European Union and initiatives to promote European integration through co-operation in the region (Gropas and Triandafyllidou 2007a; Baldwin Edwards 2004; Rumelili 2007).

These dynamics have an impact on asylum policies in Greece. A first example is the treatment of Kurdish and left-wing Turkish refugees seeking asylum in Greece. Until the *rapprochement*, the Greek government had a liberal stance towards them, either granting asylum or formally or informally allowing their residence in the country (Black 1994a; Papadopoulou 2004; Papassiopi-Passia 1994). Kurdish and Turkish refugees, in this context, were seen as foreign policy tools, used to delegitimate an enemy state. The *rapprochement* with Turkey and the closer alignment with the European Union rendered this policy redundant, and created another set of obligations to combat 'terrorist' movements. This, in terms of asylum policy, meant that granting protection to Kurdish and Turkish applicants was reduced. This policy shift was also epitomised in the so-called Ocalan affair[3], where the Greek government was unwilling to grant asylum to the leader of the PKK party, Abdullah Ocalan, as this would have been against both the *rapprochement* efforts and the policy trends in the European Union. However, perceptions of threat persist. The refusal to accept refugees from Kosovo was at least partly because of their Muslim religion, which in Greece associated them with the interests of the Turkish state (Thielmann 2003). There is a widespread perception among the Greek

[3] The Greek government opted to smuggle Ocalan out of the country to Kenya where he was kidnapped by Turkish security forces, allegedly with the complicity of their Greek counterparts.

media and security forces and politicians that the increased migration to Greece serves Turkish interests (Gropas and Triandafyllidou 2007a).

While theoretical perspectives of state security seem to be enlightening with regard to Greek asylum policy, they seem to be less so in the Irish context. Unlike in Greece, perceptions of threat to state security by other states are absent in the Irish context. Irish foreign policy since independence has been has been guided by the doctrine of neutrality (Comerford 2003; Laffan and Tonra 2005). This was initially aimed at avoiding participation in what was seen as British wars, but later developed into an approach that was seen as crucial for ensuring an advantageous place for Ireland in the world stage during the Cold War (Adshead *et al* 2008; Comerford 2003).

Asylum seeking and crime

The association between crime and asylum seeking is another aspect related to fears over security. Concerns related to crime and illegality are broader than those related to state security in so far they concern the security of the citizens and the maintenance of order among the population. In the literature, these themes are theoretically informed by perspectives on security introduced by the Copenhagen School (Huysmans 2006; Schuster 2006; Story 2005). The securitization approach of the Copenhagen School shifted the focus from objective aspects of security threats to discursive ones: how certain phenomena are constructed as security threats (Huysmans 2006; Story 2005). Theoretical perspectives on security consider the criminalisation of asylum seekers as part of the governance strategies of European states and thus a valuable tool for asserting the legitimacy and sovereignty of the state as the protector of the population (Huysmans 2006; Bigo 2005; Tsoukala 2005).

Asylum seekers have been extensively constructed in political and media discourse as the perpetrators of criminal acts. These include, on the one hand, claims that they are responsible for the rise in crimes against the person or property, or that

they are implicated in forms of organised crime, such as smuggling, trafficking, irregular labour networks or drug trafficking (Tsoukala 2005). Secondly, the criminalisation of asylum seekers is related to immigration offences such as entering irregularly or without appropriate documentation (Tsoukala 2005). These constructions appear in the media and political discourses of individual states, but also manifest themselves in the discourses of the European Union where irregular migration and crime have been constructed as interlinked phenomena (Bigo 2005; Huysmans 2006; Tsoukala 2005).

At the level of representation, Greek media and political discourse has over the last decade constructed migrants as responsible for the perceived rise in serious and violent crime (Georgoulas 2001; Gropas and Triandafyllidou 2007b; Kiprianos *et al* 2003; Panousis 2007; Pavlou 2001; Triandafyllidou and Veikou 2002; Tsoukala 2005). Moreover, considerable emphasis has been given to organised crime networks, often constructed as mafias, which have been associated with irregular migration (Kiprianos *et al* 2003; Tsoukala 2005). Such beliefs are shared by the Greek public and are very likely shaped by negative representations in the media (Baldwin-Edwards and Safilios Rothchild 1999; Karydis 2004; Kiprianos *et al* 2003; Lazaridis and Koumandraki; Panousis 2007; Pavlou 2001). The identification of increase in crime with migration is attributed by Lazaridis (1999) to the contemporary rise in the rates of crime in Greek society and the rise in the numbers of migrants. In addition, public discourse in Greece equates the category of criminal with that of the *illegal immigrant*, which encompasses a variety of legal statuses including those of the refugee or asylum seeker (Karydis 2004; Kourtovik 2001).

In terms of practice, research has shown that migrants are more likely to be convicted for offences against immigration law (Baldwin-Edwards 2001; Karydis 2004; Kourtovik 2001). The disproportionate representation of migrants in the justice system can be attributed to a variety of factors such as the greater willingness of the host population to report criminal offences committed by migrants, the stricter policing of immigrant communities, the lack of legal aid, the increased likelihood for immigrants to be given a custodial sentence, and anti-

immigrant prejudice in the police and justice systems (Baldwin-Edwards 2001; Karydis 2004; Kourtovik 2001). More broadly, criminality among immigrants could be attributed to the disadvantaged conditions they live in (Baldwin-Edwards 2001; Geddes 2003; Karydis 2004).

One difficulty with the Greek literature dealing with crime and migration is that it focuses on labour migrants rather than on asylum seekers. This is to be expected, as criminality has been extensively associated with the former group, and especially Albanian migrants (Lazaridis and Koumandraki 1999; Triandafyllidou and Veikou 2002). Further, the identification of asylum seekers with 'illegal immigrants' makes it difficult to discuss representations of criminality specifically associated with asylum seekers. It can be argued, however, that some of these negative representations of migrants affect all categories of non-ethnically Greeks persons.

The Irish literature on crime and asylum seeking is more limited. Some articles refer to themes of crime in the media. King (1999:52) talks about 'burgeoning criminality' reported in the Irish press, but his assertion does not seem to be backed up by empirical research. Haynes *et al* (2004) have found that Irish media link refugees to 'terrorism, war crimes, riots and street violence', themes which betray a rather different set of concerns regarding crime than in Greece. Nevertheless, there is little to suggest the same extent of preoccupation in Irish society with violent crimes against the person or property that feature so strongly in Greek discourse. Prieto Ramos (2004), based on the analysis of a larger corpus of news items, does not consider crime a major theme of asylum discourses. Beyond media discourses, O'Donnell and O'Sullivan (2003) observe that the numbers of non-Irish prisoners – which would indicate the extent to which immigrants are involved in crime or the attitudes of the justice system towards them – are low in Ireland. However, they also note that the study of crime in Ireland is underdeveloped, which might account for the limited amount of research in relation to asylum seeking (also O'Donnell 2005).

Asylum seeking as a burden and threats to common resources and employment

One of the most prominent themes in the literature concerns perceptions in European states that asylum seeking poses a challenge and a burden on the welfare system (Bloch and Schuster 2002; Duvell and Jordan 2002; Castles 2004; Lewis and Neal 2005; Schuster 2003a). This perception is linked to broader concerns over the impact of immigrant employment to the employment of citizens. Further, such concerns have been linked to the impact of migration on state sovereignty (Bloch and Schuster 2002; Geddes 2003; Joppke 1998).

The construction of asylum seeking as a threat to the welfare state is related to broader developments in welfare policies. First, the economic crisis of the 1970s brought about cuts in public spending which were intensified in the following decades with the introduction of neo-liberal policies (Castles 2003; Jessop 2003; Koppe 2003; Schuster 2003a). In the UK, for example, cuts in the welfare provision for asylum seekers were part of Conservative and Labour policies promoting individual responsibility, privatisation and reductions in public spending (Sales 2002; Schuster 2003a). In Germany, welfare cuts were a consequence of the economic costs of reunification (Schuster 2003a).

Against this backdrop of the shrinkage of the welfare state, representations of asylum seekers as a burden to it increased. Asylum seekers have been perceived as a drain on resources allocated to housing, health, education and unemployment benefits (Schuster 2003a). Welfare provisions are constructed as a 'finite good' that should be reserved for those who have claims to citizenship, legal residency or nationality (Schuster 2003b:2; Bloch and Schuster 2002; Duvall and Jordan 2002). Asylum seekers are not seen as 'deserving' of such entitlements, since they are thought to be in reality economic migrants and therefore not entitled to protection (Lynn and Lea 2003; Schuster 2003a). Moreover, as access to employment for asylum seekers has been significantly curtailed in many European countries, they

have been often constructed as a burden to welfare systems since they cannot make contributions to them (Bloch and Schuster 2002; Geddes 2003; Sales 2002).

Concerns regarding the welfare state are often justified by referring to two kinds of consequences. First, the weakening of the welfare state is claimed to affect social cohesion and the well-being of a state's own disadvantaged population groups (Lewis and Neal 2005; Schuster 2003b). This has led to questioning the entitlement of asylum seekers to receiving welfare support from the host state and pitches their claims against the rights of the citizens of the state (Duvell and Jordan 2002; Gibney 2006; Huysmans 1996; Richmond 2002). Cuts to the welfare provision, in this sense, act as a mechanism for the inclusion or exclusion of population groups (Bloch and Schuster 2002). From this perspective, deciding who is entitled to welfare can be seen as an act of the demarcation of the boundaries of the nation-state and the national community and thus an act of exercising sovereignty (Bloch and Schuster 2002; Geddes 2003). Second, in terms of asylum policy generous welfare provisions to asylum seekers have been presented as a pull factor, even if there is little research evidence to support this claim (Bloch and Schuster 2002; Sales 2002; Schuster 2003a). This claim has been used as a justification for restrictive measures, as well as in favour of the harmonisation of welfare systems across Europe (Duvell and Jordan 2002; Bloch and Schuster 2002).

Similar perceptions of threat concern the relation of asylum seeking and employment policies of European countries. Migrants are often perceived as threats to the employment of citizens, a reaction that can be traced back to the economic crisis of the 1970s (Castles 2003; den Boer 1996). Admittedly, this argument is more relevant to labour migration than asylum seeking. However, access to employment for asylum seekers has also been curtailed because it is, like welfare, considered to be a pull factor for asylum seekers (Bloch and Schuster 2002; Duvell and Jordan 2002). Asylum seeking in itself is seen as a threat to the controlled labour migration preferred by the European Union and European states, precisely because of its unauthorised nature (Bendel 2007; Duvell and Jordan 2002).

Since the 1960s, the welfare state in Ireland has provided universal benefits to citizens, similarly to the British welfare system upon which it was modelled (Katrougalos and Lazaridis 2003; Millar 2008; Thorton 2007). Welfare provision in Ireland has been seen as universal in so far as both the constitution and the welfare legislation extend the right to welfare to non-citizens based on residence (Fanning 2007; Thornton 2007). Nevertheless, these provisions were of a minimal nature in practice, and in the case of healthcare and education, with a parallel private system of provision (Millar 2007). Coinciding with the emergence of the Celtic Tiger economy, economic policies in the 1990s shifted towards neo-liberalism and emphasising individual responsibility for inclusion in the labour market (Allen 2007; Millar 2007). Neoliberal policies involved a weakening of social provisions – especially on welfare and housing - and an accentuation of inequalities between those relying on universal provisions and those who could afford to use the private sector (Fanning and Mutwarasibo 2007; Frost 2006; Millar 2007; Tormey 2007). The provision of welfare to asylum seekers followed a similar process of restriction: while welfare was provided within a universal welfare system for refugees arriving in Ireland before 1999, most of the provision after that date became part of the asylum system (Thorton 2007). The introduction of dispersal and direct provision policies which reduced the number of welfare benefits available for asylum seekers (McGee 2003; O' Mahony 2003; Thorton 2007).

Asylum seekers in Ireland have been widely represented as posing a threat to the welfare state. Such perceptions have been widely documented in the media, political discourse as well as in attitudinal surveys (Fanning and Mutwarasibo 2007; Haynes *et al* 2004; Lentin 2007; McGee 2003; O'Mahony, J. 2003; Thorton 2007). They are based partly on the – erroneous - perception that asylum seekers and other immigrants have priority to housing and other forms of welfare at the expense of Irish citizens, especially those in the most disadvantaged sections of the population (Fanning and Mutwarasibo 2007; Frost 2006; Garner 2004; Haynes *et al* 2004; Loyal 2003; Prieto Ramos 2004; Tormey 2007). Similarly to debates in other European countries, Irish discourses on the impact of asylum seeking on the welfare state are characterised by the juxtaposition of the claims of citizens to those of

asylum seekers, and the perception that welfare acts as a pull factor for asylum seekers (Fanning and Mutwarasibo 2007; Thorton 2007; Tormey 2007). Moreover, this belief is also framed in terms of abuse of the welfare system, as asylum seekers are also constructed as not truly entitled to protection (Fanning 2002; Garner 2004). One of the arguments for changing the citizenship provisions was the perceived burden placed on the maternity services of Dublin hospitals by pregnant asylum seeking mothers (Fanning and Mutwarasibo 2007; Lentin 2007; Tormey 2007). While this accusation was refuted by doctors working in the maternity services, the government's position suggested that 'undeserving' asylum seekers were 'abusing' services to which Irish citizens should be entitled (Fanning and Mutwarasibo 2007; Lentin 2007; Tormey 2007).

Similar restrictions were placed on access to employment. The economic development of Ireland in the 1990s, under neo-liberal policies, necessitated cheap, flexible labour, which was provided largely by immigrants (Allen 2007; Crowley *et al* 2006; Fanning and Mutwarasibo 2007; Loyal 2007; Messina 2009). The stance adopted by the Irish governments was to encourage regulated temporary economic migration (Crowley *et al* 2006; Fanning and Mutwarasibo 2007; Lentin 2007; Mac Éinrí 2007). The need for labour influenced asylum policy as well. In 1999, after pressures by business and asylum seeker support groups, asylum seekers who had been in the country more than a year before 26 July 1999 were allowed to work (Allen 2007; Garner 2004; Loyal and Staunton 2001; Messina 2009). Nevertheless, this measure served the industry more than asylum seekers as work permits tied them to a specific employer (Garner 2004; Loyal and Staunton 2001). After 1999, asylum seekers were prevented from taking up employment as a ban on employment had been introduced in the 1996 Refugee Act (Garner 2004; Fanning 2002; Thornton 2007).

As with the curtailment of welfare, restrictions of employment can be seen as symptomatic of the tensions between the entitlements of citizens and those of asylum seekers. The fear that refugees could take employment away from Irish citizens goes back to the reception of refugee groups before 1990s, as at that time

unemployment in Ireland was much higher (Thornton 2007). A further incentive for these restrictions was the objectives of Irish immigration policy. The aim of such measures was to deter immigration to Ireland and, in the context of common asylum policies of the European Union, to make it a less attractive destination than other countries (Garner 2004; Mac Éinrí 2007; Messina 2009; O'Mahony, P. 2003; Thornton 2007).

In contrast to Ireland, constructing asylum seeking as a threat to the welfare state seems less relevant to Greece. Compared to western European countries, the welfare state in Greece – and other Southern European countries – has been characterised as underdeveloped (Bloch and Schuster 2002). While there is universal entitlement to healthcare, education and unemployment benefits the level of provision is low and supplemented by recourse to the family or the private sector (Katrougalos and Lazaridis 2003; Psimmenos and Kassimati 2003; Venieris 2003). Welfare provision to asylum seekers has long been a problematic and widely criticised area of policy, since the standard of provisions is extremely low (Black 1994b; Sitaropoulos 2002). Moreover, the policy preference of Greek administrations has been to leave the provision of welfare to non-governmental organisations and churches (Black 1994b; Sitaropoulos 2000). Both Greek citizens and migrants – including asylum seekers - are more likely to earn a livelihood in the large informal economy sector rather than rely on unemployment benefits or other forms of social provision (Black 1994b; Rombolis 2007). However, it should be noted that there is little research focusing on the relation between asylum seeking and the welfare state.

It is threats to employment rather than welfare that are emphasised in Greek discourse. Constructions presenting labour migration as a threat to the entitlements and jobs of Greek workers have been prevalent in public and media discourse since the mid-1990s (Ioakeimoglou 2001; Kiprianos *et al* 2003; Triandafyllidou 2000). Similarly, surveys have shown that the belief that immigration increases unemployment is strong among the Greek public (Baldwin-Edwards and Safilios-Rothchild 1999; Kiprianos *et al* 2003). In contrast to the above, a parallel utilitarian

discourse, especially among government officials and business interests, stresses the benefits from migrant labour for the Greek economy (Ioakeimoglou 2001; Liargovias 2007; Marvakis *et al* 2001; Psimennos 2001). This is supported by academic research that has broadly suggested this is true, even if only because the often unregulated, informal nature of labour employment provides a cheap and flexible labour force (Georgoulas 2001; Gropas and Triandafyllidou 2005; Liargovias 2007; Psimmenos 2001; Ventoura 2004).

Asylum seeking as a threat to national identity

One of the most salient arguments regarding the restriction of immigration in Europe concerns the perceived challenges it poses to national identity, a theme that was developed by the Copenhagen School of security studies (Collinson 2000; Schuster 2003a). National identity in that respect is constructed as a 'common good' that is threatened by, and needs to be protected from, immigration (Schuster 2003c:241). While much of the literature on this theme concerns established immigrant communities in Europe, discourses around threats to national identity influence perceptions of asylum seeking.

The challenge to national identity is presented at least partly as a demographic one associated with processes of globalisation which are thought to have given 'rise to greater ethno-cultural diversity' (Castles 2004: 211; Castles and Davidson 2000; Koopmans *et al* 2005). Migrants are seen as threatening the national and ethnic identity of the state with different cultures, including customs, religion and language (Huysmans 2006). The importance given to identity threats in political discourse is related to the organisation of the modern national state. National states are 'imagined communities', held together by the sharing of national myths of descent and culture, common cultural features such as language and religion, as well as particular forms of political organisation (Anderson 1991; Brubacker 1989; Guiberneau 2007; Koopmans *et al* 2005; Statham 2003). Further, membership to a

national community suggests the existence of 'others' who are not members and who reinforce the distinctiveness of the national community (Guiberneau 2007).

While homogeineity has rarely been a feature of modern states, the *myth* of homogeneity has been central in the identity of modern national state, as it allows the formation of a bounded community, from which the state draws its legitimacy (Castles and Miller 2003; Held 1989; Guiberneau 2007). Despite the varied cleavages that exist in every society, myths of national identity and homogeneity allow states to draw on 'an underlying cultural consensus which allows agreement on the values or interests of the people' (Castles and Miller 2003: 40; also Guiberneau 2007). Immigration is presented as a threat because of high numbers of immigrants challenge the homogeneity and the 'cultural self-understanding of a nation' (Huysmans 2006; Koopmans *et al* 2005:4).

The importance of national identities in that respect is that they define membership to the nation and in extension citizenship (Brubacker 1989; Statham 2003). In modern, territorial nation states, nationality – belonging to a community of shared culture – confers citizenship, which is membership to the political community of the nation state (Castles and Davidson 2000). Citizenship, in turn, confers rights which can be enjoyed by members of the 'nation' only, and therefore excludes non-members. Immigration, in that respect, challenges citizenship because it presents claims to membership that are not based on shared national identities, but draw on universalist sources of rights (Castles and Davidson 2000; Sassen 1998; Soysal 1994). Further, they challenge conceptions of citizenship as a universalist principle itself, which takes priority over cultural membership (Castles and Davidson 2000).

In the face of these challenges and in order to maintain its sovereignty, the state attempts to draw the boundaries of the community, as well as to physically prevent those who are deemed different from entering the national community (Guild 2005b). For Schuster and Solomos (2002:39), the boundary keeping function of the state begins at the borders. 'It is at the point of entry' they argue, 'that distinctions between those who 'belong', who have an absolute right to enter and 'others' are

drawn'. Maintaining the boundaries of the community – both in terms of entry and culture - has implications for the sovereignty and legitimacy of states. States draw their legitimacy from the claim that they represent and protect the interests of the national community (Castles and Davidson 2000; Castles and Miller 2003; Joppke 1998; Statham 2003). Therefore controlling the boundaries of the national community is seen as a core sovereign function of states. Moreover, constructing asylum seekers and refugees as a threatening 'Other' helps to reinforce the boundaries between 'us ' and 'them' and 'reaffirm the identity of the nation states'(Tsoukala 2005:167; Bigo 2005; Koopmans *et al* 2005; Schuster 2003a; Triandafyllidou 2000).

Greek national identity is defined primarily in terms of culture and common descent which links modern Greece with an idealised ancient Greek past through the Byzantine and Ottoman periods (Gropas and Triandafyllidou 2007a; Just 1989; Kitromilidis 1997; Petrakou 2001; Veremis 1997; Tsoukalas 1999). These constructions are encapsulated in Citizenship Law, where citizenship is primarily defined by *jus sanguinis* (Baltsiotis 2004; Gropas and Triandafyllidou 2007a; Petrakou 2001; Ventoura 2004). Religion and language are two ethnicity markers that prove the continuity of descent (Petrakou 2001). Christian Orthodox religion is considered an indispensable part of Greek identity, and one that distinguishes Greeks from other European and non-Europeans (Gropas and Triandafyllidou 2007a; Stamoulas 2004; Tzanelli 2006). The close links between national identity and religion are reflected in the lack of separation between the Greek state and the Greek Church (Stamoulas 2004). Language also became an ethnicity marker in the process of homogenisation of the population in Greek territories. The Greek state opposed the use of languages other than Greek and persecuted minorities whose first language was not Greek (Baltsiotis 2004; Trudgill 2000; Tsoukalas 1999).

This construction of Greek identity has resulted in the exclusion of minority groups that did not fulfill the criteria of descent and culture since the establishment of the Greek state (Christopoulos 2004; Ventoura 2004). Greek citizens belonging to other faiths and Christian denominations have long faced discrimination – and to an

extent persecution - by the Greek state, and have often been regarded as not being 'properly' Greek (Stamoulas 2004). Greek policy towards minorities has been one of assimilation, where minorities were required to shed their particular linguistic, religious or cultural characteristics in order to become part of the national community (Christopoulos 2001; 2004). Since this project was largely successful for the Greek state – with minorities either emigrating from Greece or assimilating - assimilation became the dominant paradigm for relating with minority populations in Greece (Christopoulos 2004; Tzanelli 2006). The successful – for the Greek state - assimilation of minorities further consolidated cultural and religious homogeneity as a core myth of the Greek 'imagined community' (Anderson 1991; Christopoulos 2004). A further exclusionary construction in Greek identity concerns the association of Islam with Turkey. As has been already mentioned, Turkey constitutes the significant 'other' in Greek national identity, a relation which was shaped in the context of the Ottoman Empire (Antoniou 2003; Gropas and Triandafyllidou 2007a; Triandafyllidou and Mikrakis 1995). One of the differentiating factors between Greek and Turkish identities is the juxtaposition of Christianity of the former to the Islamic religion of the latter (Gropas and Triandafyllidou 2007a).

Immigration, and the diversity it brought, has challenged cultural and religious homogeneity as a core myth of national identity (Christopoulos 2001; Gropas and Triandafyllidou 2007a; Kiprianos *et al* 2003; Pavlou 2004; Petrakou 2001). Tzanelli (2006) argues that immigration from countries less developed than Greece – including the Balkans – is also at odds with its claims to a European identity. Others suggest that increased immigration has demonstrated the deficiencies of the dominant assimilatory mode which has been used in the past in terms of relations between minorities and the Greek state (Christopoulos 2004; Pavlou 2004). A perceived threat has been alluded to in an earlier section on state security: the threat to identity is seen as a threat to the existence of the Greek nation, often guided by enemy interests (Heraclidis 1997; Petrakou 2001).

The literature is divided on the matter of responses to challenges to national identity. On the one hand, the reaction of the Greek state and public is seen as

defensive, guided by nationalism and assimilatory tendencies, and unwilling to accept or discuss the emergence of multicultural Greek society (Kiprianos *et al* 2003; Pavlou 2004). The emphasis on common descent and 'blood' which is central in the construction of Greek identity renders it extremely difficult to accept as potential citizens immigrants who do not have claims to Greek origin or who are seen as too culturally different to integrate (Christopoulos 2004; Tsibiridou 2004; Ventoura 2004). In terms of religion, Islam, often the religion of new immigrants to Greece, is considered 'backward' and associated with Turkey and the interests of the Turkish state (Tsitselikis 2004). This perception shapes current attitudes to Muslim immigrants and asylum seekers, who are seen as a threat to Greek identity and security because of the identification of Islam with Turkey (Gropas and Triandafyllidou 2007a).

On the other hand, immigration redefines the boundaries of Greek identity with the partial inclusion of migrant groups considered ethnically Greek (Triandafyllidou and Veikou 2002). Gropas and Triandafyllidou (2007a) offer a more optimistic assessment, arguing that inclusive forms of identity are emerging slowly, aided by the increasing closeness to the European Union and anti-racist and pro-diversity initiatives. This is expressed by a turn to civic forms of nationalism among political elites in recent debates on citizenship (Tzanelli 2006). However, there is little indication that these tendencies have had any influence on policy during the period of interest for this project (Christopoulos 2007; Gropas and Triandafyllidou 2007a; Papatheodorou 2007).

Irish national identity has been constructed as white, Catholic and mono-cultural (Fanning and Mutwarasibo 2007; Hickman 2007; McVeigh and Lentin 2002; Loyal 2003; Mac Laughlin 1999). Largely, these components of Irish national identity were developed through a process of self-ascription and as a reaction to the Anglo-Saxon, Protestant identities of the British Empire (Fanning 2002; Garner 2004; Loyal 2003). The emphasis put on Catholicism, Irish language and culture by the nationalist movement and the authorities of the independent Irish state aimed at creating a coherent, homogenising identity which differentiated Ireland from the identities of

the British rulers, but also presented Irish identity as equal to British identity (Garner 2004). Nationalist discourses of identity also contained a strong assimilatory element. Unlike constructions of Greek identity, the assimilatory element is not located in the assimilation of minorities – such as the Travellers, the Jews and Protestants – which remained distinct and excluded from hegemonic constructions of identity. The construction of the 'Irish' relies on the perception that Irishness 'absorbed' the cultures of successive arrivals to the island throughout history (Garner 2004; Kiberd 2001; Mac an Ghaill 2002).

Irish cultural nationalism also 'equated nation with the Irish race' (Fanning and Mutwarasibo 2007:449; Garner 2004). Lentin (2007: 612), following Goldberg's theory, argues that Ireland has been a racial state 'in which 'race' and 'nation' are defined in terms of each other'. The racialisation of the Irish has its roots in the colonial history of the country and its history of emigration in that context. Within the British Empire, McVeigh and Lentin (2002:8) observe, 'we see Ireland and Irishness racialised in different and contradictory ways' (also Mac an Ghaill 2002). On the one hand, the Irish were racialised as inferior in the structures and institutions of the British Empire (Garner 2004; McVeigh and Lentin 2002). On the other hand, Irishness was identified with being European and white – and therefore superior to other non-white peoples, especially in what concerned Irish populations in colonies or places of emigration like the USA (Garner 2004; Lentin and McVeigh and Lentin 2002).

Post-Celtic Tiger immigration reshaped Irish identity. Increased migration and globalisation are seen as a challenge to Irish culture and core components of national identity (Hickman 2007; Keogh 2000; McVeigh and Lentin 2002; Loyal 2003; Mac an Ghaill 2002; Titley 2004). One reaction was the development of a kind of multiculturalism which sees diversity as a new and exciting phenomenon in Irish society, although this is strongly contested in some of the literature (for example Crowley *et al* 2006; Fanning 2002; Garner 2004; McVeigh and Lentin 2002; Titley 2004). Irish culture and the national community have been re-emphasised and juxtaposed to the 'new' cultures of the immigrants, suggesting a continuation of

nationalist constructions of identity based on descent and culture (Crowley *et al* 206; Frost 2006; Kirby 2004; Loyal 2003; Mac an Ghaill 2002; Titley 2004). While the Irish nation was re-constructed as a diasporic one, most famously by President Mary Robinson, its dominant construction remained mono-cultural and mono-ethnic (Hickman 2007; Fanning and Mutwarasibo 2007). In terms of policy, the reaffirmation of national identity was enacted in the 2004 Citizenship Act, which defined Irishness on the basis of descent rather than birth and excluded immigrants from the national community (Crowley *et al* 2006; Fanning and Mutwarasibo 2007; Lentin 2007; Tormey 2006). However, O'Mahony and Delanty (1998) consider contemporary Irish nationalism different from its older expressions, in so far as it focuses on collective culture and cultural achievements rather than Catholicism.

One commonality between the academic accounts of national identity in Greece and Ireland is the increasing emphasis they put on already existing diversity. Revisionist[4] and sociological accounts argue that the constructing Irish identity as culturally homogeneous obscures the diversity of Irish society before migration (O'Mahony and Delanty 1998; Garner 2004; McVeigh and Lentin 2002; Loyal 2007). Although this notion is not as widespread in the Greek literature, it sometimes occurs. For example, Christopoulos (2004; 2007) argues that the discourse of homogeneity hides the diversity of Greek society. There are also suggestions that the recognition of previous diversity will help the inclusion of migrants. For example, Christopoulos (2004) suggests that the Greek history of assimilating minority population during the formation of the Greek state could encourage the acceptance of current immigrant populations through the realisation that mixedness has always been part of Greek history. Similarly, Kiberd (2001) argues that recognition of previous forms of diversity, and the successful assimilation of other cultures into constructions of Irishness could help the inclusion of current immigrants and asylum seekers.

[4] Revisionism is a strand of Irish historical studies which rejects nationalist account of Irish History (McCarthy 2000)

Asylum seeking and racism

The constructions of asylum seeking discussed in the previous sections often interrelate in the relevant literature with the issue of racism. Generally, discussions of racism in the literature of migration and asylum encompass several interrelated themes and several different conceptualisations of racism. For reasons of clarity, the focus of this section will be on two themes: the understanding of racism in political elite discourse and the theoretical perspective that sees racism as the discriminatory and exclusionary treatment of asylum seekers as a distinct group.

From the perspective of political discourse, the rise of racism and xenophobia among the host population is significant insofar as it constitutes as a threat to public order and social cohesion of the society (Lewis and Neal 2005; Schuster 2003). Racism in political discourse is often perceived in a narrow manner, as individual acts of violence or discrimination or hate speech (Garner 2004; Lentin 2004). Rather than being structural or institutional, racism is often perceived as individual and owning to ignorance and fear of diversity (Lentin 2004; Van Dijk 1993; 1997a). Further, racism is constructed as a consequence of increased immigration. The population of the host country reacts to the increased diversity of formerly homogeneous societies in a way that is often defined by political actors as xenophobia, the fear of all strangers and the culturally unknown than racism - which is perceived in terms of beliefs about racial inferiority (Bralo and Morrison 2005; Fanning 2002; Richmond 2002; Schuster 2003c). At the same time, political elites are likely to deny racist attitudes or practices among themselves (Balibar 1991a; Solomos and Back 1996; Van Dijk 1993; 1997a; Van der Valk 2003).

The literature on asylum seeking offers perspectives that challenge common sense understanding of racism. Racism is a theoretical concept incorporates several meanings converging around discriminatory beliefs and practices (see, for example Balibar 1991a), which inform different strands of the literature on immigration and asylum. The literature tends to see racism as 'the unequal treatment of asylum seekers by governments, their subjection to practices that would be wholly

unacceptable in respect of citizens' (Schuster 2003c:244; 2003b; Castles and Miller 2003; Huysmans 2006). This conceptualisation of racism draws on definitions that define it as an ideology that is used to justify discrimination and inequality against certain groups (Huysmans 2006; Miles 1989; Schuster 2003c).

Most authors draw on perceptions of cultural difference[5] to justify the exclusion of asylum seekers and immigrants (Castles and Miller 2003; Huysmans 2006). Racism towards migrants is configured in most of the literature as based on culture rather than on race as a biological category, in the tradition of 'new racism' theoretical perspectives (Balibar 1991a; 1991b; Solomos and Back 1996). It reflects sociological discussions which see varied racisms discriminating on the basis of ethnicity and culture rather than purely race as a biological category, and as rooted in specific socio-political contexts (Balibar 1991a; 1991b; Miles 1989; Solomos and Back 1996; Solomos 2003; Wallenstein 1991). Phenotypical differences, or rather their social construction, are seen as part of new racisms since they are still important in what concerns racist attitudes in European countries (Balibar 1991a; Castles and Miller 2003; Huysmans 2006). Exclusionary practices are also approached through the concept of racialisation, referring to

> [...] those instances where social relations social relations between people have been structured by the signification of human biological characteristics in such a way as to define and construct differentiated social collectivities (Miles 1989:75)

The definition of racialisation suggests that a range of social and political problems are constructed as a 'natural consequence of certain ascribed physical and cultural characteristics' (Castles and Miller 2003; also Lentin 2007). Thus, asylum seekers – and immigrants - are seen as responsible for a range of problems such as crime, poor housing and so on (Balibar 1991b; Lentin 2007).

These perspectives are reflected in public and academic conceptualisation of racism in Greece and Ireland. In the public domain, racism towards immigrants in Ireland

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[5] Culture is considered the main concept used in modern racism, a view adopted widely in the literature. One exception is Huysmans, who sees exclusion based on culture as different from exclusion based on racism, which he defines as a biologically- based discrimination. (Huysmans 2006 p.74)

has been understood in a narrow manner – as isolated incidents of 'attacks, hate speech and overt acts of discrimination' (Fanning 2002: 178). This construction of racism presents as marginal in Irish society, and allows for claims that racism is not part of the mainstream or institutional cultures of the country (Brandi 2007; Fanning 2007). Moreover, racism is constructed as an expected and justified reaction of the population to the increasing diversity of Irish society (Fanning 2002; Guerin 2002; Lentin 2007; McVeigh and Lentin 2002; Wilson and Donnan 2006). As Wilson and Donnan (2006:145) comment, racism in Ireland is based on the perception that 'incomers, whether migrants, refugees or tourists, bring the causes of racism with them.' Further, Fanning (2002) observes that this new racism is sometimes presented in official discourse as xenophobia, a term more acceptable to Irish elites. In terms of representation, asylum seekers have become the primary a group to which negative connotations and racism are addressed (Crowley *et al* 2006; Garner 2004). Racism against asylum seekers is largely based on the perception that they threaten the welfare state and the entitlements of citizens to it, as well as the employment available to citizens (Crowley *et al* 2006; Fanning and Mutwarasibo 2007; Garner 2004; Loyal 2003). Negative representations also rely on the perception that asylum seekers abuse the asylum system (Crowley *et al* 2006; Fanning 2002).

Research on racism in Ireland, however, presents racism as a far more complex phenomenon and tends to use the concept of racialisation in order to explain Irish racisms. They are seen, first, as a continuation of persisting exclusionary constructions of Irish identity as monocultural, white and Catholic (Fanning and Mutwarasibo 2007; Garner 2004; McVeigh and Lentin 2002). Drawing on conceptions of racism as based on culture and ethnicity, they see a history of Irish racisms which have excluded minority groups within Ireland – Protestants, Jews and Travellers (Fanning 2002; Garner 2004; McVeigh and Lentin 2002; Mac an Ghaill 2002; Reddy 2008).

Second, they locate Irish racism in a history of racialising non-white groups with which the Irish came into context through colonisation and emigration (Fanning

2002; McVeigh and Lentin 2002; Mac an Ghaill 2002). The construction of other groups as inferior or different has its roots in a historical past where the Irish were simultaneously constructed as inferior colonised subjects of the British Empire and superior to other immigrant groups and indigenous peoples with whom they came into contact through missionary activities and emigration (Fanning 2002; Garner 2004; McVeigh and Lentin 2002). Irish diasporas, in this context, are seen as crucial in importing ideologies of race and racist practices from their countries of settlement (McVeigh 1992; McVeigh and Lentin 2002; Mac an Ghaill 2002).

An overview of the literature on Irish racism points to three interlinked manifestations of racism. First, asylum seekers in Ireland have been racialised as black, drawing on biological conceptions of racism (Crawley *et al* 2006; Fanning and Mutwarasibo 2007; Garner 2004; Mac an Ghaill 2002). From this perspective, a legal category – asylum seekers- has been identified with not being white and Irish (Fanning and Mutwarasibo 2007; Lyons *et al* 2008; White 2002). For others, 'questions of culture, nation and belonging' have become central to racist discourses in Ireland, and draw on representations of immigration as a threat to national identity (Mac an Ghaill 2002:105). Thirdly, exclusionary discourses and practices focus on the distinction between 'national' and 'non-national', a category used to describe new immigrants to Ireland (Fanning 2007; Fanning and Mutwarasibo 2007; Garner 2004). A pertinent observation regarding racism in Ireland regards the discrepancy between legislation and policy. Legislation against discrimination and anti-racist initiatives co-exist with policies and practices that discriminate against asylum seekers and other immigrants and exclude them from Irish society (Crawley *et al* 2006; Fanning 2007).

Racism in Greece presents some similarities to the Irish constructions. One very strong feature is the widespread denial among Greek politicians and the public that racism exists, or that they are racist (Christopoulos 2001; Figgou and Condor 2006; Kiprianos *et al* 2003; Lazaridis and Koumandraki 2001; Triandafyllidou 2000; Tsibiridou 2004; Troumbeta 2000). The denial of racism is linked to the myth of hospitality as a national characteristic and to the lack of racist movements or parties

(Georgoulas 2001; Figgou and Condor 2006; Kiprianos *et al* 2003; Lazaridis and Koumandraki 2001; Ventoura 2007). However, surveys and research suggest that levels of racism and xenophobia are high (Gorodzeiki and Semyonov 2009; Kiprianos *et al* 2003). Further, social surveys and academic research demonstrate a widespread belief that immigrants are too culturally different to integrate into Greek society (Anthopoulos 2007; Psimmenos and Kassimati 2003; Triandafyllidou 2000). In addition, racism in Greek society has been attributed to the rise of the numbers of immigrants, fears over crime and unemployment, and the lack of preparedness of Greek authorities in what concerns migration (Figgou and Condor 2006; Christopoulos 2004; Anthopoulos 2007; Laliotou 2007; Triandafyllidou 2000).

Research points out three main representations of immigrants in Greek racism. Firstly, racism is expressed through the perception that immigrants are responsible for the rise in criminality and unemployment in Greece (Anthopoulos 2007; Gropas and Triandafyllidou 2007b; Kiprianos *et al* 2003; Lazaridis and Koumandraki 2001; Pavlou 2001; Triantafyllidou and Veikou 2002). A second component of Greek racism is the fear about competition over entitlements. This fear is often more about employment and the perception that immigrants take jobs that belong to Greek nationals (Ventoura 2004). Moreover, racism is associated with the perception that the presence of immigrants threatens the homogeneity of Greek identity (Mavrodi 2007; Petrakou 2001; Triantafyllidou and Veikou 2002). Immigrants are constructed as a culturally different 'other', and are considered to be culturally inferior to ethnic Greeks, 'backward' and dangerous for Greek society (Anthopoulos 2007; Lazaridis and Koumandraki 2001; Psimmenos and Kassimati 2003; Ventoura 2004).

From an academic perspective, research on racism in Greece is not always explicit about its theoretical conceptualisation of racism. Most of the recent literature appears to conceptualise racism in Greece as differentialist – based on the perception that immigrants are culturally different which justifies exclusionary constructions and practices (Anthopoulos 2007). Racism towards other groups, for example Albanians or immigrants from the former Soviet Republics, is defined as

cultural racism, informed by perceived differences in ethnicity and culture (Anthopoulos 2007; Lazaridis and Koumandraki 2001; Mavrodi 2007). It is also connected to the rise of nationalism during the 1990s, which occurred through the geopolitical developments in the Balkan area (Black 1994a; Gropas and Triandafyllidou 2007a).

These constructions, like in Ireland, result in a number of exclusionary practices (Ventoura 2004). One example of these is the distinction of immigrants into 'ethnically Greek' and 'foreign-born' immigrants, which privileges the first group in terms of settlement and inclusion into Greek society (Christopoulos 2004; Trandafyllidou and Veikou 2002; Ventoura 2004). Based on the biological understanding of Greek identity, immigrants are required to 'become Greek', to assimilate into Greek culture, in order to be entitled to membership of the Greek nation (Ventoura 2004:191; Tzanelli 2006). Widespread discrimination has been recorded in the domains of employment, education and accommodation and welfare (Lazaridis and Koumandraki 2001; Psimmenos and Kassimati 2003). Lazaridis and Koumandraki's (2001) research shows that immigrants are discriminated against in what concerns the provision of services to them, as well as in their employment. Moreover, migration policies perpetuate exclusionary regimes by treating them as temporary labour migrants or irregular migrants and offering few opportunities for the acquisition of legal statuses which would afford the protection of human rights of immigrants and refugees (Christopoulos 2004; Hatzi 2004; Ventoura 2004).

Conclusion

The first part of the chapter outlined the obligations regarding protection arising from the conventions to which the two countries are signatories as well as sources of domestic law and argued that they have a legal and normative influence to which the two countries are bound being western liberal states. The impact of these norms is negotiated by historical, political and social contexts. The colonial legacy of Ireland, as well as the commitment of the state to the processes of modernization

and Europeanisation allow for a greater proximity to norms of protection and human rights. In Greece, the lack of a tradition of human rights, the absence of civil society and the ambivalent attitude towards modernity and Europe render adherence to norms of protection and human rights more difficult.

The histories of migration of the two countries also shape attitudes to asylum seeking. Both countries have been countries of emigration, and both have experienced – albeit in different ways – refugee migration. These experiences feed into arguments that allow for both positive and negative constructions of asylum seeking, which in turn shape political discourse and public attitudes. In addition, the collective experience of being a refugee in Greece has created conditions which identify the concept with the national experience. This has had concrete consequences on policies, which prioritise ethnically Greek over non-ethnically Greek immigrants, and render it more difficult to recognise the experiences of asylum seekers.

This chapter also explored a contextualisation of the main issues and constructions regarding asylum seeking. To an extent, these are pertinent to the analysis of political discourses of asylum seeking in both countries. Constructing asylum seeking as irregular migration and claiming that is in fact labour migration have been located in both countries, as are concerns over the rise of numbers of migrants. Constructions presenting asylum seeking as a challenge to the security, economic well being and identity of the state are also to an extent relevant to both countries. A reason for the prevalence of these themes can be their centrality for the state. Questions of unwanted migration and its control, of identity and membership to a national community, of entitlements of the citizens and non-citizens go to the heart of the modern state and the exercise of sovereignty.

The overview of the literature also reveals considerable differences as certain themes are far less prominent in one country but not the other. The theme of abuse, which is strongly present in Irish discourse - as well as in the discourses of European countries – is rarely mentioned in discussions of Greek discourse on

asylum. Conversely, the issue of crime features very strongly in Greek political discourse but very little in Irish discourse. Some of these discrepancies can be attributed to different social political and economic contexts – for example, the absence of a strong welfare state in Greece.

Further, one conclusion that can be drawn from the discussion of Greek discourses on asylum is that they are not as autonomous as in other European countries. Greek debates are dominated by concerns over labour migration rather than asylum seeking per se while asylum seeking in Ireland is discussed separately from immigration in general and labour migration. This difference is reflected in the literature since research on immigration in Greece seems to be focused on labour migration, and there is little specifically on asylum seeking. As a result, some of the themes that dominate the literature on western European countries have not been explored extensively in the Greek context.

As stated in the introduction of this chapter, the themes developed here provide the meanings which political speakers are expected to draw from in order to legitimate policy choices. The analysis of the document sets of the two countries will attempt to explore further whether the themes discussed in this chapter are present in the texts, and why absences might occur in one or both countries. Before this, the next chapter will provide an overview of the developments in asylum policy in Greece and Ireland.

Chapter Two

The development of asylum policy in Greece and Ireland 1996-2004

The aim of this chapter is to provide an overview of the main policy developments in Greece and Ireland between 1996 and 2004. The policy developments discussed here constitute, in their majority, the object of the debates included in the data sets for this thesis. For that reason an extensive discussion of such developments and of issues concerning their implementation, can be helpful in understanding the argumentation of political speakers.

The chapter is divided in three parts. It first provides a short summary of immigration to Greece and Ireland focusing mainly in the post 1990 period. The second part discusses the main policy developments in the two countries especially in terms of new legislation that was introduced between 1996 and 2004. It also reviews the main concerns regarding the implications of these policies for protection and their implementation. Lastly, the chapter discusses the influence of external factors, namely the policies of the European Union and in the case of Ireland the Common Travel Area shared with the United Kingdom.

The policies discussed in the chapter were passed by governments with differing political affiliations. In Greece, the ruling party was the Panhellenic Socialist Party (hereafter PASOK) which formed single party governments after elections in 1996 and 2000 (Ministry of the Interior 2009). PASOK started its political history as a radical socialist party in the 1970s and took on a strong populist element in the 1980s under the leadership of Andreas Papandreou (Koliopoulos and Veremis 2007). In the 1990s, it adopted a more centre-left, pro- European orientation under the leadership of Konstantinos Simitis. The main opposition party during the period of interest was New Democracy, an economically liberal and socially conservative centre-right party. It is worth noting that some of the MPs of these parties did hold nationalist and often racist views that are identified with the extreme right in western European contexts. The smaller opposition parties at the time were the

Communist Party of Greece (KKE), a traditional communist party with nationalist and anti-European tendencies; the Alliance of the Left and Progress (SYN), a European left party; and the Democratic Social Movement (DIKKI), a small populist and nationalist left wing party of former PASOK MPs.

Ireland, on the other hand, was lead by a series of coalition governments elected in 1992, 1997 and 2002 (Department of the Taoisaigh 2009). The first was a coalition government between the Labour party, Fine Gael and the Democratic Left. The next two governments were lead by Fianna Fail with the Progressive Democrats party as the junior partner. There are fewer divisions in terms of ideology among the main Irish parties. Fianna Fail, the main government party for much of the history of Ireland, and Fianna Gael, the main opposition party in the period of interest, are both centre right to centre left parties with few differences in terms of economic and social beliefs, and pro- European orientation (Messina 2009). Their differences are mainly rooted in history, as they originated from the Pro- and Anti- Treaty sides in the Irish Civil War (Chubb 1992; Coakley 2005b; Mair and Weeks 2005). The Labour Party has traditionally represented the interests of the lower socio-economic strata and its political orientation is centre-left (Mair and Weeks 2005; Messina 2009). The Progressive Democrats are a centre-right party with strong associations with business interests and neo-liberal policies (Mair and Weeks 2005). The Democratic Left, the Green Part and Sinn Fein are smaller opposition parties after 1997 and are all in the left of the political spectrum. Unlike in other European countries, left-wing parties in Ireland have limited appeal to the electorate (Mair and Weeks 2005).

Immigration in Greece and Ireland in the 1990s

The 1990s were a turning point for both countries, since immigration became noticeable for the first time. One of the reasons for this was that the immigrant population was ethnically different and often from countries beyond Europe, as opposed to return migration of co-ethnics or immigration from other European countries.

In Greece, immigration in the 1990s comprised several distinct groups. The first was ethnically Greek migrants, who started returning to Greece in the 1970s, when their labour was no longer needed in the countries where they were employed (Gropas and Triandafyllidou 2005; Mousourou 2004). Moreover, Greek refugees residing in Eastern bloc countries started returning in the same period, a trend which was facilitated by laws introduced in the 1980s (Kiprianos *et al* 2003; Mousourou 2003). Ethnically Greek immigrants from the Soviet Republics and the Balkans made up a considerable part of the newly arrived immigrant population in the 1990s (Black 1994; Gropas and Triandafyllidou 2005; 2007a). As has been mentioned in the previous chapter, these groups received preferential treatment from the Greek Government, even if social attitudes towards them were often negative (Triandafyllidou and Veikou 2002). Non-ethnic Greek immigrants in the 1990s were also in their majority from the collapsed Eastern bloc countries, notably Albania and Poland (Baldwin Edwards 2004; Kasimis and Kassimi 2004; Gropas and Triandafyllidou 2005). Smaller numbers of labour migrants come from non-European countries, notably Pakistan – from where a community was established in Greece since the 1970s- and India (Gropas and Triandafyllidou 2005; Triandafyllidou and Maroufof 2008). It should be noted that a large proportion of these migrants were undocumented as there were few legal channels to enter Greece (Baldwin-Edwards 2001; Gropas and Triandafyllidou 2007a).

In terms of policy and its implementation, asylum seekers were allowed to remain in Greece informally without entering the official asylum procedure. Those from Eastern European countries were resettled in the US, Canada and Australia, all of which operated immigration offices in Athens. Assistance for applications and welfare assistance were provided by non-governmental organisations, mainly by the UNHCR with the involvement of the International Catholic Migration Committee (ICMC) and the World Council of Churches (WCC) (Black 1994). Those asylum seekers who were not resettled in western states would remain in Greece informally, with no specified legal status and largely employed in the black economy, with the exception being Kurdish refugees from Turkey who would be granted asylum officially (Black 1994a; Pappasiopi-Passia 1994). Until 1990, there

Table 2.1: Asylum applications in Greece 1987-1996

Year	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
Asylum applications	8400	3000	6,166	2,672	1,850	813	1,303	1,312	1,643	4,376	2,953	1,528	3,083	5,499	5,664	8,178	4,469
Convention status	230	290	170	120	60	40	90	200	163	130	156	146	222	147	36	3	11
Convention Recognition Rates	29.8%	26.5%	6.8%	2.3%	3.3%	5.3%	11.9%	16.1%	12.2%	9.5%	11.3%	32.2%	20.2%	22.5%	1.1%	0.6%	0.9%
Humanitarian status	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	66	94	287	407	160	148	64	25	22
UNHCR Mandate status	2,320	1,345	974	211	141	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

Source: UNHCR Statistical Yearbook 2001;2005

were two procedures for granting asylum operating, one by the Greek state and one by the UNHCR for mandate refugees (Skordas and Sitaropoulos 2004). The asylum policy of Greece until the 1990s has been characterised as liberal because of this informality (Black 1994a). However, its liberality was due to the perception of Greece as a transit country, rather than due to adherence to the Geneva Convention (Black 1994a).

As Table 2.1 shows, asylum seeking to Greece also increased in the 1990s. Applications rose in the mid-1990s and then from 2000 onwards (Papadopoulou 2004). The geographical position of Greece meant that numbers increased as it was on the route to other European countries (Baldwin-Edwards 2001; Black 1994a; Kiprianos *et al* 2003). It is difficult, however, to know the full extent of asylum seeking. The information above is based on asylum applications but does not include large numbers of irregular migrants who might choose not apply for asylum and move on to other European countries (Black 1994a; Papadopoulou 2004). Asylum seeking accounts for a small part of overall immigration and was therefore seen as a less important policy issue (Black 1994a; 1994b; Kiprianos *et al*; Voutira 2003a). It also became evident that asylum seekers came from Asian and African countries with protracted conflicts or conditions of human rights abuses. The majority of asylum seekers in Greece are from Iraq, Afghanistan and Iran, with smaller numbers coming from African countries. Numbers of Turkish asylum seekers, which were high in the 1990s, have declined, partly due to the improvement of Greek-Turkish relations (Kiprianos *et al* 2003). The majority of asylum seekers in Greece in the beginning of the 1990s were Iraqi Kurds fleeing the conflict in Northern Iraq (Black 1994a; Papadopoulou 2004).

While predominantly an emigration country, Ireland has had some experience of receiving small numbers of migrants and refugees before the 1990s. The settlement of small numbers of Huguenots in the 19th century following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes is often constructed as an early example of refugee reception (Ludington 2006). In the 20th century, the first significant event in terms of

Table 2.2 Asylum statistics in Ireland 1990-2004

Year	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
Asylum applications	31	39	91	362	424	1,179	3,883	4,626	7,724	10,938	10,325	11,634	7,900	4,769
Convention Status	N/A	7	9	18	14	36	209	128	160	211	456	893	345	430
Convention Recognition Rates	N/A	19.4%	24.3%	11.1%	22.7%	56.8%	52%	10.5%	6.3%	4.2%	10.4%	14.4%	5.9%	7.9%
Humanitarian Status	N/A	7	5	5	2	6	120	27	-	40	69	111	-	-

Source: UNHCR Statistical Yearbook 2001; 2005

reception was the refusal to accept Jewish refugees fleeing Germany (Fanning 2002). In the post war years, Ireland received a number of programme refugees – refugees already recognised by the UNHCR and formally invited by the Irish state– from Hungary, Chile and Vietnam, as well as a small number of Jewish refugees after the Second World War (Fanning 2002; Garner 2004; Harvey and Fraser 2003; O'Mahony, P. 2003). Welfare provisions for Jewish and Hungarian refugees were minimal and they were encouraged to resettle in other countries (O'Mahony, P. 2003). However, Chilean and Vietnamese refugees were accepted on the understanding that they would settle permanently in Ireland and therefore provisions for them were more extensive (O'Mahony, P. 2003).

Since Ireland has not had colonial ties and no need for labour migrants, it remained a country of emigration until the 1990s (Messina 2009; Ruhs 2004). At that time, both labour migration and asylum seeking increased. Labour migration was necessary to sustain the economic growth of Ireland (Fanning and Mutwarasibo 2007; Loyal 2007; Messina 2009). The first preference of the government was to attract members of the Irish diaspora back to Ireland, guided by the assumption that they would 'fit in better' than those with no ties to Ireland (Hayward and Howard 2007; Messina 2009). While this initiative was successful, the numbers of returnees were not sufficient to cover the labour needs of the country (Messina 2009). For that reason, a system of work permits for unskilled migrants and work visas for skilled professionals was introduced (Loyal 2003; Messina 2009). While the latter attracted individuals predominantly from rich western countries such as South Africa, the United States and Australia, work permits were issued to individuals from the Philippines, India and former Eastern Bloc countries such as Russia, Slovakia, the Baltic Republics and Poland (Loyal 2003; 2007).

At the same time, asylum seeking to Ireland began to increase as well. While numbers remained low compared to other European countries and constituted only 10% of overall migration in Ireland, they rose noticeably after 1996, as Table 2.2 indicates (Loyal 2003; 2007). The main countries of origin of asylum seekers were Nigeria, Romania Moldova and the Democratic Republic of Congo (Loyal 2003). In

1999 the Irish government accepted 1000 Kosovar refugees for permanent resettlement, although with minimum provisions (O'Mahony, P. 2003). While the number of applications was low compared to other EU states, Ireland was fifth in the EU in terms of applications per capita (Loyal 2007).

The development of Greek asylum policy

Until the 1990s, Greece did not have a developed legal framework regulating the granting of asylum. Prior to the introduction of the Aliens Law 1975 in 1991, the procedures concerning asylum applications were based on two ministerial decisions which were found to have no legal validity by the Council of the State (the Greek Supreme Court) (Skordas 2000). However, the Geneva Convention had been ratified in 1959 and the 1974 constitution contained a clause about protecting those "fighting for freedom" (Black 1994a; Pappassiopi-Passia 1994).

A number of reasons explain the change towards more restrictive asylum policy in the 1990s. There was pressure from increasing numbers of labour immigrants as applications for in the early 1990s were comparatively low, and even lower than in the late 1980s (see Table 2.1). The end of resettlement policies of the UNHCR meant that refugees stayed in Greece rather than move on to other western countries (Black 1994a). This, in addition to the growing numbers of asylum seekers arriving from Middle Eastern countries meant that Greece was transformed from a transit to a host country (Black 1994a). Further, membership of the European Union brought on a number of policy objectives and pressures, which will be discussed in length in a later section (Baldwin-Edwards 2001; Black 1994a).

The first legislation on immigration was introduced in 1991. Law 1975 of 1991 contained two articles which regulated the procedures for applying for and granting asylum. Article 24 adopted the definition of refugee as that of the Geneva Convention, whose provisions for refugees were broadly referred to (Pappasiopi-Passia 1994; Sitaropoulos and Skordas 2004; Skordas 1999; Toxopeus 1997). The law is heavily criticised in the literature for introducing very strict admissibility

criteria (Mavrodi 2007; Sitaropoulos and Skordas 2004; Skordas 1999; Toxopeus 1997). For claims to be considered they had to be lodged immediately upon entry and the applicant has to arrive directly from the country they were fleeing (Mavrodi 2007; Sitaropoulos and Skordas 2004; Skordas 1999). Consequently many applications were summarily refused, which was blatantly contravening the non-refoulement principle stated in Article 31 of the Geneva Convention (Sitaropoulos and Skordas 2004; Skordas 1999). Moreover, the law and the presidential decrees that implemented it were criticised for the short time limits given for appeals, and the lack for an appeals mechanism for manifestly unfounded procedures (Papassiopi-Passia 1994; Skordas 1999; Skordas and Sitaropoulos 2004; Toxopeus 1997).

In 1996, Law 2452 replaced Law 1975 and follow developments in European asylum policy and its provisions were implemented by presidential decree 61/1999. It established a revised procedure for asylum claims. The main points of these procedures included the possibility for a written or oral claim, which had to be submitted to and processed by the Ministry for Public Order – the Greek police – either in country or at port (Skordas and Sitaropoulos 2004). It introduced both normal and accelerated procedures for processing claims, the latter based on the EU resolutions on manifestly unfounded applications and the safe third countries concept (ECRE 2003; Mavrodi 2007; Skordas 1999; Skordas and Sitaropoulos 2004). Appeals provisions were made for both procedures but with very short time limits (ECRE 2003; Skordas and Sitaropoulos 2004). The law provided for Humanitarian status which could be granted after the application for asylum has been deemed unsuccessful and the asylum seeker cannot be removed to the country of origin (Skordas and Sitaropoulos 2004). The Decree also provides for information being available in a language the asylum seeker understands and for interpreters at all stages of the claim (Amnesty International 2004; Skordas 1999).

Two other Presidential Decrees were introduced. Decree No 189/1998 regulates employment of refugees and asylum seekers. It allows asylum seekers to obtain work permits, a measure which is seen as compensatory for the lack of welfare

provision by the Greek state (Papadimitriou and Papastergiou 2005). However, several restrictions are imposed: the asylum seeker must have already acquired a pink card; s/he must not be a resident at the Lavrion accommodation centre; s/can only apply for temporary work (Sitaropoulos and Skordas 2004). Priority was given to nationals, EU citizens, recognised refugees and repatriates (Amnesty International 2005; Sitaropoulos and Skordas 2004). In practice, it is believed that legal employment –with the exception of self-employment as street sellers – is unlikely (Sitaropoulos and Skordas 2004). Presidential decree 266/1999 provided free healthcare for refugees, asylum seekers and humanitarian refugees, although this is again inhibited by delays in granting pink cards, and regulates the provision of accommodation (Mavrodi 2007; Sitaropoulos 2002). While accommodation was the responsibility of the Ministry of Public Health and Welfare, in reality it is provided by NGOs funded by the European Union or the UNCHR, due to the lack of an adequate welfare system in Greece (Sitaropoulos 2002). The exception was the Lavrion reception centre, which was state-run (ECRE 2003). NGOs also provide financial assistance to asylum seekers (ECRE 2003; Skordas and Sitaropoulos 2004).

The Immigration Bill of 2001, regulating the entry, residence and employment of aliens in Greece, specifically mentions that it does not apply to refugees or asylum seekers. However, asylum seekers can be affected by regulations concerning the entry of aliens into Greek territory. 'Aliens' are required to present legal documents, such as visas and passports, and in cases of illegal entry they are to be detained or returned to their point of arrival. Confusion also seems to arise from articles regarding detention and deportation. Under the 'unwanted aliens' provision, the authorities can prohibit entry to persons who hold visas but are included in the 'unwanted' aliens list of the MPO, or who are considered a danger to public order or health, or have irregular documentation (ECRE 2003; Gropas and Triandafyllidou 2005; Skordas 2002). This contradicts the provisions for access to the asylum procedures as set by presidential decree 61/1999 (Amnesty International 2004). Further, due to the practice of Greek authorities of not distinguishing between illegal immigrants and asylum seekers, these provisions can have an adverse effect

on the treatment of the latter, since they do not provide any specifications for asylum seekers.

Two further significant measures were introduced at that time. Firstly, a readmission agreement was signed with Turkey in 2001, which allowed the Greek authorities to return illegal immigrants to Turkey immediately upon their arrest (International Helsinki Federation 2002; Papadopoulou 2004). Following the pressure the UNHCR and NGOs to include references to the Geneva Convention and to asylum seekers, the agreement guaranteed access to asylum procedure (Amnesty International 2004; Papadopoulou 2004). This development was influenced by an improvement in Greek Turkish relations. Secondly, a body of Border Guards was established in 1998 with the aim to prevent entry of irregular migrants into Greek territory, and to arrest and detain them within Greek territory (Rigakos and Papanikolaou 2003).

Policy implementation and the treatment of asylum seekers in Greece

Asylum policy in Greece has been criticised on a variety of grounds. In this section I will focus on aspects that have been extensively criticised by academics, NGOs, parts of the Greek media, and even, in the last year the EU and governments of the member states.

A first area of criticisms concerns the asylum framework itself in the period of interest. While not altogether different from the ones of other European states, it suffers from a particularly Greek disease, that of the inadequate separation of powers (Pollis 1987). The asylum procedure was handled exclusively by the then Ministry of Public Order – specifically by the police authorities- and not by a specialised state agency or an independent body (Amnesty International 2005; Papadimitriou and Papastergiou 2005). Both first instance and appeal decisions

were taken by the then Ministry of Public Order[6]. There was very little scope for judicial review, a practice in

> [...] sharp contrast to international human rights and refugee law, as well as the fundamental principle of objectivity and impartiality that should characterise all aspects of the asylum process (Skordas and Sitaropoulos 2004:40)

and which runs contrary to practices recommended by the EU (Amnesty International 2005; Skordas and Sitaropoulos 2004). Moreover, the Council of State could only examine appeals in relation to administrative aspects and cannot order the re-examination of an application (Amnesty International 2005; Skordas and Sitaropoulos 2004).

A second area of criticism concerns the implementation of policies, which has often resulted in preventing access to the asylum procedure and limiting the scope of protection. The authorities –the police, the border guards and the maritime police – have refused to accept applications for asylum, claiming that it is not within their responsibility (Amnesty International 2004). NGOs refer to instances when asylum seekers are given documents to sign giving up their right to asylum, often in a language they do not understand (Amnesty International 2005; International Helsinki Federation 2002). Furthermore, detention has been a tool for impeding the lodging of applications, since asylum seekers are not always aware of their rights and often not allowed to contact lawyers or NGOs for assistance (Amnesty International 2004).

A further example of restricting access to procedures is the practice of Greek authorities to 'interrupt' the examination of applications of asylum seekers returned under the Dublin II regulation, which usually leads to their complete rejection. Such interruptions are based on Presidential decree 61/1999, which allows for this practice if the applicant changes his or her residence without informing the authorities, even if it is well known that the nature of offered accommodation is temporary (Amnesty International 2005; Mavrodi 2007;

[6] The Ministry of Public order merged with the Ministry of the Interior in 2007

Papadimitriou and Papastergiou 2005). As a result, asylum applications do not undergo a substantive examination in any European state, which contravenes the Geneva Convention and 'amounts to indirect *refoulement*' (Papadimitriou and Papastergiou 2005:314). Delays in the asylum process have been observed especially in the Athens area, due to the lack of personnel, and can result in the interview can be postponed several times. During this time, asylum seekers are

> [...] in a legal limbo, since they are protected from refoulement, but they do not enjoy the social rights accorded to asylum seekers for whom the examination of their application has already begun' (Papadimitriou and Papageorgiou 2005: 304)

Furthermore, there have been well-documented cases of mistreatment of asylum seekers –and immigrants in general- by the security forces, which are often denied by their members and politicians (Amnesty International 2004; International Helsinki Federation 2005; Triandafyllidou and Maroufof 2008). This suggests an insufficiently studied and addressed institutional racism, partly due to the criminalizing of asylum seekers and their identification with illegal immigrants (Amnesty International 2004; International Helsinki Federation 2005). Equally, the conditions of detention in 'reception' centres and prisons often amount to mistreatment due to overcrowding, lack of sanitation and access to medical care (Amnesty International 2005; International Helsinki Federation 2005; Mavrodi 2007). The strict border controls deny access to procedures and put of lives of asylum seekers in danger, since they are forced to take very high risks to enter Greek territory[7] (Amnesty International 2004; 2005 Triandafyllidou and Maroufof 2008). Since asylum seekers are in law considered illegal immigrants when entering illegally, and given the readmission agreement with Turkey, current policy and practice allows that they are prevented from reaching Greek soil, or if they do so, that they are expelled (often to Turkey) even after they have lodged an application. NGOs have recorded numerous incidents of asylum seekers violently expelled to Turkey by being made to cross the river Evros (Amnesty International 2004; 2005; Balwin-Edwards 2006; Triandafyllidou and Maroufof 2008).

[7] There are several cases were asylum seekers or irregular migrants have drowned or blown up in the minefield on the Greek/ Turkish borders (Amnesty International 2004;2005)

The low recognition rates have also been regarded as an indication of the unwillingness of the Greek authorities to keep asylum granting to a minimum. Greece has the lowest recognition rates among European states -0.3% in 2002, 0.6% in 2003, and 0.9% in 2004 - for both refugee and humanitarian status, with very few applicants being granted refugee status at first instance (Amnesty International 2005; 2004; Skordas and Sitaropoulos 2004; UNHCR 2005). This is rightly considered as an indication of the unwillingness of the Greek state to grant asylum due to the restrictive policy followed (Amnesty International 2005; Papadimitriou and Papastergiou 2005). A further indication of this has been the practice of the MPO to give standard reasons of refusal for rejected applications rather than justify the decisions on an case-by-case basis (Amnesty International 2004;2005; Papadimitriou and Papastergiou 2005; Skordas and Sitaropoulos 2004)

This is exacerbated by a widespread lack of knowledge and interest in asylum and refugee issues among government circles and the public (Sitaropoulos 2000; Skordas and Sitaropoulos 2004). It has also been pointed out that this indifference often hides a widespread ignorance of asylum issues, which underlies the conflation of immigration with asylum, the belief that asylum seekers are in fact economic migrants, and the framing of the asylum issues as 'illegal immigration (Papadimitriou and Papastergiou 2005; Sitaropoulos 2000; Skordas and Sitaropoulos 2004). This attitude has an adverse effect on the asylum procedure and accounts for the low number of applications granted asylum (Papadimitriou and Papastergiou 2005).

Overall, Greek asylum and immigration policy has been driven by an emphasis on controlling immigration (Mavrodi 2007; Trandafyllidou and Veikou 2002). In the field of asylum, these controls focus on the prevention of entry, often presented as preventing irregular migration (Mavrodi 2007). The emphasis on preventing entry and keeping the numbers of immigrants low has had a significant impact on the implementation of asylum policies. The problems discussed in the above sections stem from prioritising control over providing protection.

The development of asylum policy in Ireland

Being country of emigration, until the early nineties Ireland did not have any specific legislation on asylum or immigration (Barcroft 1995; Messina 2009). Despite being a signatory to the Geneva Convention, it was not incorporated into domestic law and 'could not be relied on, therefore, by individuals seeking asylum in Ireland' (Mullally 2001: 18-19; Barcroft 1995). Under these conditions, refugee matters were dealt under the Aliens Act of 1935, and to a lesser extent, the Nationality and Citizenship Act of 1935. The most notable characteristic of the former was the extent of the executive powers granted to the Minister for Justice, who was given the right to decide on most matters regarding non-Irish residents (Fanning 2000; Macinri 2001). The Minister was given powers to forbid the arrival and entry of 'aliens', to deport them or order them not to leave, as well as to order them to live or not in particular locations and to require them to comply with conditions concerning registration, change of address, employment (Loyal and Staunton 2001; Mac Éinrí 2001). When decisions were made, the burden of proof was on the 'alien' and there was no right to appeal, and no requirement for the minister to justify the decisions. The powers were often implemented in an arbitrary and racist manner; it is worth noting that Jewish refugees from Germany in the 1930s were not granted entry on the basis of this Act (Fanning 2000; Loyal and Staunton 2001). Moreover, asylum seekers could be prevented from entering the country if they did not possess proper documentation (Fanning 2000; Loyal and Staunton 2001; Mullally 2001). The same act also limited rights to work for 'aliens' (Loyal and Staunton 2001; Mac Éinrí 2001).

Ireland has been a signatory to the Geneva Convention since 1956 and the 1967 Protocol in relation to the status of refugees, which created an obligation to admit refugees under the criteria laid by the Convention and grant them rights according the Convention (Barcroft 1995; Fanning 2000). However, since the Convention was not incorporated into domestic law by the Oireachtas (Parliament) until 1996, and in reality not implemented until 2000, the rights conferred to refugees by the existed in theory rather than in practice (Barcroft 1995; Fanning 2002). Because of

the small numbers of refugees, the legal incorporation of the Convention was not seen as necessary, and obligations arising from the Geneva Convention were implemented at an administrative level (Fanning 2000).

Administrative procedures for granting asylum were formalised by the Von Arnim letter –named after the UNHCR representative in London- with which the Minister for Justice accepted a ten-point procedure for determining asylum claims in accordance with the Geneva Convention (Barcroft 1995; Fanning 2002; Kenny 2003; Prutz Phiri 2003). While asylum applications were to be examined by immigration officers –usually members of the Gardai, the Irish police- the UNHCR was heavily involved in consultation and making representations on the cases (Fanning 2000; Ingoldsby 2001; Kenny 2003). Nevertheless, the Von Arnim letter did not provide for an appeals procedure, for procedures regarding deportations or welfare matters (Fanning 2000; Ingoldsby 2001; Kenny 2003). It was also unilaterally recognised that the small numbers of refugees did not necessitate the incorporation of the procedures into domestic law (Fanning 2000; Prutz Phiri 2003). Still, because of the administrative rather than legal nature of refugee and asylum procedures, in practice asylum applications and relevant matters were dealt with under the Aliens Act (Fanning 2000). Because of the strong executive powers granted by the Aliens Act, the Ministry for Justice had the power to order, for instance, the deportation or detention of asylum seekers even in contravention of the agreed procedures.

After an attempt to introduce legislation in 1993, which failed because of the resignation of the then government, the first law on asylum was introduced in 1996. The Refugee Act 1996 has been considered as a fairly progressive piece of legislation, drawing on international good practice (Fanning 2000; Ingoldsby 2001; Loyal 2007). The Act set out a comprehensive range of measures, covering most aspects of asylum policy. It incorporated several aspects of the Geneva Convention provisions, including the definition of refugee, which in the Act was to include membership to a trade union, persecution on grounds of gender and sexual orientation- and the principle of non-refoulement (Fanning 2000; Ingolsby 2001). It guaranteed social rights equal to citizens, although entitlements to asylum seekers

did not include the right to work or legal aid. A right to family reunification was also established. The Act also created the role of a Commissioner for refugees to examine applications, a Refugee Appeals Board with an independent Chairperson, and had provisions for the establishment of a Refugee Advisory Board with a consultative role to the government and powers to revise the act if necessary (ECRE 2000; Mullally 2001; Refugee Act 1996).

The Act established the procedures for asylum claims. Applications could be lodged in country and at port and received by the Minister of Justice, Equality and Law Reform, but forwarded and decided by the Commissioner. An application could also be lodged by a person already in the territory of the state, whether lawfully or unlawfully. An asylum seeker was permitted to enter and remain in the state until the application was decided and entitled to an interview with an immigration officer, to consult a solicitor and have the services of an interpreter (Refugee Act 1996). Provisions were made for both normal and accelerated procedures. The Act included an exhaustive list of criteria for manifestly unfounded procedures, which created a danger for a disproportionately high number of applications to be excluded from the normal determination procedure (ECRE 2000). Provision was made for an appeals procedure, giving a time limit of 21 days for the normal procedure and 14 for the accelerated one (Kenny 2003; Mullally 2001; Refugee Act 1996). Asylum seekers were prohibited from leaving the country, getting employment and were obliged to remain in specified areas of the state or to report to the police at regular intervals. Contravening these rules was punishable with a fine, imprisonment or both. The applicant can appeal against a decision within 21 days, either in writing or by an oral hearing.

In both procedures, the minister has the right to refuse refugee status for reasons of public order (Refugee Act 1996). An asylum seeker could be detained if s/he posed a threat to national security or public order, had committed a crime, had destroyed his/her documents, tried to avoid removal or leave the country unlawfully, or had not 'made reasonable efforts to establish his or her identity' (Refugee Act 1996:8). Moreover, destroying documents is made an offence,

punishable by (hefty) fines and/or imprisonment and detention and fingerprinting measures for asylum seekers were also introduced (ECRE 2000; Refugee Act 1996).

However, the Act was only partially implemented on the grounds that it was not sufficient to respond to the rise in applications which took place after the Bill was drafted. In 1997, an order was issued to commence the sections on refugee definition, prohibition of refoulement, the Dublin Convention and extraditions (Fanning 2002; Ingoldsby 2001; Mullally 2001). In practice, it meant that the UNCHR was to continue examine applications for asylum. Another communication with the Minister for Justice, the Hanlan letter, agreed a more detailed interim administrative scheme 'in the spirit of the Refugee Act' until the Act came into power, authorising the personnel of the Ministry of Justice, Equality and Law Reform to examine asylum applications (Prutz Phiri 2003). Moreover, on their last day in office, the outgoing government introduced amendments to the Aliens Act which gave immigration officers the power to decide on non-citizens, including those coming from the United Kingdom, entering the country (Fanning 2002; Kenny 2003; Mullally 2001).

A proliferation of restrictive measures in asylum policy occurred in the next few years. In 1999, powers of deportation granted to the Minister by the Aliens Act, which had been legally challenged on several occasions and finally deemed unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in the Laurentiu case, were restored in the Immigration Act of that year which was passed for this specific purpose (Barcroft 1995; Fanning 2002; Ingoldsby 2001; Mullally 2001). The Act restored extensive powers to arrest, detain and deport, among others, failed asylum seekers to the Minister and to immigration officers, and no provision was made for judicial review (Immigration Act 1999; ECRE Country Report 2001). The Act also introduced the fingerprinting of all asylum seekers over the age of 14; asylum seekers over 18 can be detained if they refuse to provide fingerprints (ECRE 2001; Kenny 2003). Moreover, it established the Refugee Appeals Tribunal, which replaced the Refugee Appeals Board of the 1996 Refugee Act, and a Refugee Advisory Board to inform the Minister on asylum policy (ECRE 2001; Harvey and Fraser 2003; Kenny 2003). It is

thought that these measures were partly in response to criticisms on the effectiveness of the asylum system - which, at one instance, came from Liz O'Donnell, an Immigration minister- and were justified on the grounds that they allowed the implementation of the Refugee Act (Fanning 2002; O'Mahony 2007).

In the same year policies of direct provision and dispersal were introduced, and the Directorate for Asylum Support services was set up (Loyal and Staunton 2001; O'Mahony, P. 2003; Prutz Phiri 2003; Thornton 2007). These were in response to two developments. First, the increase in applications caused an accommodation crisis in Dublin, which, as suggested in the previous chapter, was entangled in negative representations of asylum seeking and perceptions that the indigenous disadvantaged groups were ignored (O'Mahony, P. 2003; Prutz Phiri 2003). Second, these policies had already been introduced in the UK –as well as in other EU member states, and the Irish government feared that more generous provisions would make Ireland a more attractive destination for asylum seekers than other European countries (Thornton 2007). Moreover, the government allowed asylum seekers who have been resident in Ireland for more than one year to work using a non transferable work permit scheme (Fanning *et al* 2000; Loyal and Staunton 2001). At a later stage, the non-transferability of the work permit was scrapped, and refugees are barred from employment despite calls to the opposite from the business and voluntary sectors (Fanning *et al* 2000; Loyal and Staunton 2001). In addition, no provisions were made for education, language courses or professional training (Fanning *et al* 2000; Loyal 2003; ECRE 2002).

The trend towards restricting asylum claims became more evident in the Illegal Immigrants Act 2000. While it was initially presented as an Act regulating carrier liability, the government added a number of controversial amendments during its discussion in the Oireachtas, which considerably expanded the scope of the Act (Mullally 2001). The Act holds that immigration officers can detain failed asylum seekers who are about to be deported, without any requirement for judicial review. Apart from amendments to the deportation process, the Act proposed sanctions against those entering the state illegally and without proper documents, allowed

carriers to prohibit entry and imposed sanctions to those who might assist them (Fanning 2002). The Act also set out guidelines for judicial reviews of decisions of asylum claims (Fanning 2002; ECRE 2000). Despite concerns over the short periods of time should take place, which could affect the rights of non-national, the Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the Bill on the grounds that the rights of non-nationals do not always coincide with those of nationals (ECRE 2000; Mullally 2001).

Yet another Immigration Act was introduced in 2003, dealing mostly with carrier liability and accelerated procedures. With regard to the former, it introduced the concept of carriers' liability for transporting improperly documented immigrants. With regard to the latter, it introduced accelerated procedures specifically for 3rd country nationals on the basis of country 'white' lists (Immigration Act 2003). It also introduced further criteria for the appeals procedure which have been criticised for lacking in procedural safeguards, ignoring individual persecution and discriminating against asylum seekers from specific countries (Amnesty International 2004; Kenny 2003). In the same period, the Irish government signed readmission agreements with Bulgaria, Poland and Nigeria, all states from whose applicants asylum applications were high (Amnesty International 2004).

The Immigration Act of 2004 regulated the presence of non-nationals in the state. Although it does not refer specifically to asylum seekers, it can affect them considerably since the Act gives immigration officers the power to stop and search, upon entry, anyone who they 'reasonably suspect to be a non-national' (Immigration Act 2004; International Helsinki Federation 2005). Furthermore, entry can be refused to non-nationals who cannot not prove that they can support themselves and any dependants; do not have a visa or an employment permit; who have been convicted of offences punishable for more than one year in another country; have a deportation or exclusion order against them. The Minister can also prohibit entry for reasons of 'the public good' or national security, or if s/he suspects them of lying about the reasons of their visit (Immigration Act 2004). There is the right to an appeal against an immigration officer's decision lodged to a court

within 14 days but no internal or independent appeal system (Immigrant Council *et al* 2004). Moreover, the Act granted powers to detain non-nationals to officers of ships, obliges hotel keepers to maintain a register of non-nationals, and requires non-nationals to produce identity documents 'on demand' (Immigration Act 2004: 12). Even more controversially, entry can be denied on health grounds that include mental illness and disabilities, although this clause was rephrased (Immigration Act 2004; Immigrant Council *et al* 2004).

An important issue in the Irish debates on asylum has been the case of Irish-born children. According to the Irish Constitution as amended by the 1998 Good Friday Agreement, a child born in Irish soil was an Irish citizen (Lentin 2007). The Fajujonu ruling by the Supreme Court established a right to residency for the parents of Irish born children (Garner 2007; Lentin 2007). Similarly, the Citizenship Act 2001 established a provision where anyone born in Ireland had a claim to citizenship (Garner 2007). In 2003, however, the High Court nullified the Fajujonu ruling after challenges brought to the Court by the Government (Garner 2007). The Court ruled in favour of the state deciding residency claims on a case-by-case basis, taking into account length of stay, circumstances and the 'common good' (Garner 2007; Lentin 2007). The following year the government held a referendum to remove the *jus soli* provision of the 2001 Citizenship Act from non-nationals, which was accepted by a large majority of 79 per cent (Garner 2007; Lentin 2007; Ruhs 2004). These developments were followed by the Citizenship Act of 2004, formalising the result of the referendum (International Helsinki Federation 2005).

An assessment of the Irish asylum policy

The recent legislative framework of asylum granting in Ireland had a rather interesting trajectory: it started with an Act that was generally considered a progressive one – although it contained some rather restrictionist clauses- and then took a steep downwards spiral towards restrictionism and securitisation. In many ways, this hardly unusual compared to the policies and legislation of other European states and the policies of the European Union (Loyal 2003).

Many of the criticisms addressed to the Irish asylum system concern provisions in the legislation. One of the areas that have been the target of criticism is the procedure for manifestly unfounded applications. Mullally (2003) argued that it is too complex, over-emphasises the credibility of the applicant and lacks procedural safeguards. Similarly, the time limits for appeals against decisions of manifestly unfounded claims are too short (Mullally 2003). Further, the over-reliance on safe third country white lists excludes large numbers of application from proper examination (Mullally 2003).

Other criticisms concern the implementation and use of legal provisions. Loyal notes the increasing use of deportation since 1999 (Loyal 2007). A lack of safeguards has been observed also in the application of the safe third country concept (Mullally 2003; Loyal 2007). Moreover, Lentin (2007) argues that immigration law in Ireland priviledges the executive and leaves little space for scrutiny by the parliament and the judiciary.

A broader criticism addressed at the Irish asylum system overall is that it puts too much emphasis on speed and efficiency (Garner 2004; Lentin 2007; Mullally 2003). This endangers the quality of decisions and consequently the scope for protection as identifying those in need of protection is subjugated to the imperative of maintaining the integrity of the asylum system (Lentin 2007:617; Mullally 2003). For Garner (2004), the emphasis on efficient procedures results in the de-humanisation of the asylum system in Ireland. Drawing on Weber, he sees this as symptomatic of a process of modernisation of Ireland, which emphasises rationalisation of the Irish bureaucracy.

Moreover, the emphasis on preventing entry and irregular immigration has had an adverse effect on policy. As with the Greek Immigration Act of 2001, the measures concerning irregular migrants can affect asylum seekers without proper documentation (Fanning 2002). These can disproportionately affect asylum seekers, who are likely to have been convicted for political reasons in their country of origin, do not have the necessary documentation and are likely to be subjected to 'racial

profiling' at the point of entry (Immigrant Council *et al* 2004). The restrictive nature of the legislation, including the lack of provisions for employment, education and training reinforces the exclusion of asylum seekers from the Irish society (Garner 2004; Loyal 2003). Moreover, the restrictiveness of the measures is thought to act as a deterrent to asylum seekers, as is the prohibition of employment when an application is pending, in the context of the perceived rise in asylum applications (Fanning 2002; Garner 2004; Loyal 2003).

The implementation of such controls has been criticised for amounting to racial discrimination not against refugees and asylum seekers, but also against non-white British and Irish citizens (Fanning 2002; Garner 2004; Mac Éinrí 2002). In practice, the current immigration controls mean that officers often stop people who look 'different', in effect leading to racial profiling and certainly confirming theories considering all immigration controls as racist (Fanning 2002; Garner 2004; Loyal 2003). It has also been pointed out that this racism is also present in the treatment of asylum seekers by the authorities during the determination procedure (Fanning *et al* 2000).

In terms of implementation some of the above problems have been exacerbated by the lack of resources and training. Asylum and refugee services in Ireland have been chronically underfunded. Insufficient fund meant that legal representation was not always provided and there were cases where the UNHCR was not informed (Boccardi 2002). Moreover, the insufficient training means that that often immigration officers do not have adequate knowledge of asylum seekers in order to assess applications properly (Loyal 2003). A further example of this is offered by Kenny (2003) who points out that members of the Refugee Appeals Tribunal are not required to have knowledge of refugee and asylum issues.

The influence of the European Union's policies on asylum

The influence of European Union policies on asylum and immigration has been considerable in both countries. Since Greece joining the European Union, there has

been a continuous effort to harmonise its immigration policies and practices with those of the EU (Mavrodi 2007; Voutira 2003a). Mavrodi (2007) discusses three ways by which EU asylum policies entered Greek legislation: conditionality, formal obligation and voluntary incorporation and framing. Conforming to EU policies on border controls, illegal immigration and visa policies was a necessary condition for entering the Schengen zone (Mavrodi 2007; Samatas 2003). As a member state, Greece also has an obligation to incorporate into its domestic law the four Asylum directives. Moreover, EU soft law measures, such as the Resolutions of 1992, were incorporated voluntarily into Greek law. The Refugee Act of 1996 adopted the concept of safe third countries and the procedures for manifestly unfounded applications were derived from the London resolutions[8] (Mavrodi 2007). Similarly, the presidential decree 61/1999 adopted the relevant guidelines on procedures for the determination of refugee status[9] (Mavrodi 2007).

However, the most significant influence of European Union policies can be located in the prioritisation of controlling the external borders of the Union. This was an outcome of the creation of a common trade and free movement zone, established by the Single European Act. The abolition of internal borders was seen by governments as a threat to the security of states (Boccardi 2002; Lavenex 2001; Kostakopoulou 2000). European governments, -especially the interior ministries of the member states- started to examine the feasibility of common immigration and asylum policies so as to guarantee control over the movement of people, particularly from outside the European Union (Boccardi 2002; Geddes 2003; Guild 1999; Lavenex 2001). These early attempts at regulation of movement resulted in

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[8] *The Resolution on manifestly unfounded applications* established fast-track procedures for applications falling under three broad categories: those which lacked substance in the sense of Geneva Convention or there was no indication of fear of persecution; those seen as involving deception; those by applicants having committed an offence or are a threat to public security (Boccardi 2002). *The Resolution on a Harmonised Approach to Host Third Countries* relies on the concept of 'safe third country', agreed by the Ad Hoc Group on Immigration in 1992, which dictates that if an asylum seeker has passed through a 'safe third country' before the country of asylum, s/he may be returned to that country. Host –or safe- third countries were defined as those with no practices of torture or degrading treatment, respect for the law and for refugee rights and asylum procedures *The Conclusions on safe countries of origin* provided guidelines for the assessment of whether a country could be considered a safe country of origin. These were based on certain criteria, including formal and actual human rights records, the existence of democratic institutions and stability, and numbers of refugees and asylum recognition rates (Boccardi 2002).

[9] *The Joint position on the harmonised application of the definition of the term 'refugee'* aimed at harmonising the interpretation and application of the term refugee among the member states. *The Resolution on Minimum Guarantees* provided certain safeguards with regard to the procedures followed.

the Schengen Agreement, which established external border controls, surveillance and co-operation on information exchange (Boccardi 2002; Geddes 2003; Guild 1999; Lavenex 2001). The focus on controlling the external borders of the Union and restricting entry was reiterated in the Tampere meeting following the establishment of the Amsterdam Treaty (Boccardi 2002; Boswell 2003; Geddes 2003).

These policies have also had an effect on how asylum and immigration issues were seen within the European Union. Firstly, from the early stages of policy development migration was linked to crime, thus securitising the whole issue (Bigo 2005; Huysmans 2006, Kostakopoulou 2000; Tsoukala 2005). Secondly, the emphasis shifted from providing protection to the control of the external borders and population movements from outside the European Union, with an emphasis on preventing irregular migration and smuggling (Bendel 2007; Nadig 2002). The Amsterdam Treaty, for instance, perceives asylum as a threat to the concept of European Union as an area of 'freedom, security and justice' with an emphasis on potential 'crisis' situations, on border controls and the association of irregular migration with crime reflected in the inclusion of the Schengen *acquis* in the Treaty (Kostakopoulou 2000; Lavenex 2001).

The geographical position of Greece placed it in the intersection of routes of entry to Europe, in addition to being a state with external borders of the Union. Thus, from early in the 1990s Greece, like other Mediterranean states, took on the responsibility of guarding the external borders of the Union in order to prevent entry of 3rd country nationals into the EU. The aim of controlling borders and preventing entry into the European Union has shaped the restrictive nature of asylum policy and implementation (Geddes 2003; Papadimitriou and Papastergiou 2005). These pressures contributed, first, to the strong emphasis on security measures such as the establishment of Border Guards and readmission agreements. Second, some of the most questionable practices, such as the prevention of access to the asylum procedure and the practice of interrupted claims have been attributed to the disproportionate pressure in which Greece finds itself (Mavrodi

2007; Papadimitriou and Papastergiou 2004). The impact of the EU legislation itself, in combination with increasing numbers of asylum seekers, has had an adverse effect on standards of protection. The practice of interrupted claims, for example, has been linked to the operation of the Dublin Convention and the Dublin II regulation, which caused an increase in the application for which Greece is responsible for their examination (Mavrodi 2007; Papadimitriou and Papastergiou 2005).

However, the accession to the European Union has had a significant, if slow, impact on the development of institutions relevant to human rights and the awareness of such norms in Greek society. The harmonisation with EU requirements for democracy involved the development of civil society in Greece, which, ironically enough, was spearheaded by the Greek government (Ioakimidis 2001; Sitaropoulos 2000). It entailed the establishment of NGOs such as the Ombudsman's Office and the National Committee for Human rights, whose task was to oversee the implementation of human rights conventions and legislation, and monitor the actions of the government (Sitaropoulos 2000). Initiatives to combat racism and promote diversity are also funded by the EU (Gropas and Triandafyllidou 2005). The drive towards harmonisation with European laws and norms challenged, to an extent, Greek policies and perceptions of human rights, minorities and immigrants (Gropas and Triandafyllidou 2007a; Tsibiridou 2004).

The impact of EU policies has been significant in Ireland although not necessarily to the extent they have influenced Greek policies. One of the reasons for the lesser influence is that EU commitments are negotiated by the existence of a Common Travel Area (hereafter CTA) with the UK. Its creation dates back to the establishment of the Irish state and whose purpose was to 'control of aliens in general and 'Bolshevists' in particular' (Ryan 2001:856). The reasons for the establishment of the CTA were the physical difficulties of policing the borders between the UK and Ireland (Ryan 2001; Mac Éinrí 2002). Moreover, maintaining free movement between the two states served the economic interests of both

countries (Mac Éinrí 2002; Ryan 2001). As Ryan (2001) illustrates, statements by Irish politicians show that they still wish to maintain the CTA for these reasons.

The CTA has largely shaped Irish immigration policy, especially in the context of increased applications for asylum. For example, the Aliens Amendement (No.3) Act was introduced in order to compensate for the lack of controls between the two countries and prevent irregular migration into Ireland (Brochmann 1999; Ryan 2001). Both the 1996 Refugee Act and the 2000 Illegal immigrants act included measures to prevent unauthorised entry into the UK (Brochmann 1999; Ryan 2001). Further, Irish asylum and Immigration policy follows closely analogous developments in the UK (Hickman 2007; Loyal 2007; Ryan 2001). The introduction of direct provision and dispersal policies in 1998 mirrored developments in the UK and was attributed to the imperative of maintaining the CTA (Ryan 2001; Thornton 2007). Legislation criminalising smuggling and irregular immigration was also influenced by UK legislation (Ryan 2001). Even more importantly, the maintenance of the CTA was the reason the Irish governments opted out of the Schengen zone, common asylum policy, and later the Common European Asylum System because of concerns over border controls and maintaining the CTA (Mac Éinrí 2002; Ryan 2001; Thornton 2007). While the maintenance of the CTA appears the main reason for the Irish opt-out, Messina (2009) suggests that there is a preference among Irish policy makers and publics to maintain national sovereignty over matters of asylum and immigration. This contradicts the claim by Adshead *et al* (2008) that the positive perceptions of the European Union among policy makers and public mean that the EU influence on policy is not seen as a threat to sovereignty.

Despite the influence of the CTA, developments in EU policy do have an impact on Irish asylum policy. As it has been argued in the previous chapter, membership to the European Union has always been of great importance for the Irish state, both in terms of economic advantages and of identity (Cleary 2005; O'Mahony, P. 2003). The aim of the 1996 Refugee Act was to bring Irish legislation into conformity with the legislation of other EU members (Barcroft 1996; Ingoldsby 2001). Similarly, policies on manifestly unfounded applications and safe third countries were

imported from the London Resolutions. Ireland also adopted other aspects of EU policy such as the Dublin Convention and Dublin II, and has always conformed to the broader objectives of EU common asylum policy (Mac Éinrí 2002).

Another development influenced by the EU was the adoption of anti-discrimination measures (Frost 2006; Bartley and Kitchin 2003). For Bartley and Kitchin (2003:124), Ireland's membership to the European Union entailed measures 'to combat discrimination and disadvantage'. Anti-racist and anti-discrimination legislation and initiatives introduced in the end of 1990s (Adshead 2005; Boucher 2002; Fanning 2002) – including the establishment of the National Consultative Committee on Racism and Interculturalism (NCCRI) - could be considered as part of the harmonisation with European laws and requirements.

Conclusion

This chapter has traced the development of asylum policy in Greece and Ireland, following their transformation from countries of emigration to countries of immigration. In both cases immigration increased in the 1990s and consisted predominantly of labour migration. Asylum seekers account for a small percentage of overall immigration in both countries. Even so, increase in their numbers triggered developments in the policy field.

The comparison of the policy framework reveals certain similarities and differences. Legislation specifically on refugees and asylum seeking appeared in both countries in 1996. The relative lateness of their introduction is often used as an explanation for their shortcomings (Black 1994a; Fanning 2002; Loyal 2003; Loyal and Staunton 2001; Skordas and Sitaropoulos 2004; Sitaropoulos 2000). The asylum and immigration policies of both countries have been criticised for being ad hoc and reactive (Baldwin-Edwards 2003; Cavounides 2002; Fanning 2002; Garner 2004; Geddes 2003). Moreover, the restrictiveness of the policy is reflected in, and reinforced by its implementation. It has been shown that in both countries, asylum policies have been implemented in a way aimed at restricting the number of

applications lodged and number of successful applications. Their implementation has also been marked by exclusionary and racist tendencies towards asylum seekers. Both sets of literature see ignorance of asylum issues and lack of training asylum officials at all levels as contributory factors to such attitudes (Fanning 2002; Garner 2004; Loyal 2003; Papadimitriou and Papastergiou 2005; Skordas and Sitaropoulos 2004)

Further, asylum policy in both countries has been influenced by developments in EU asylum policy. It is clear that policies thought out in the European Union fora, such as safe third countries and manifestly unfounded applications were incorporated in the legislation of the two countries. Both ratified the Dublin Convention and the Dublin II regulation. Moreover, both countries follow the restrictive tendencies in EU policies in focusing on prevention of entry and irregular migration, deterrence of asylum seekers and immigration controls. One difference at the level of external influences is that Irish asylum policy is shaped by UK immigration and asylum policy to an equal if not greater degree than by EU policy, because of the benefits of the CTA. Asylum policy in Greece is much more influenced by EU developments as its geographical position places it on migration routes to Europe and entails the obligation to guard the external borders of the Union. Further, the Dublin Convention and the Dublin regulation have had a stronger impact on Greek policy, as it is more likely to be a first country of asylum.

The combination of geographical position and external pressures explain why the biggest difference between the two countries can be located at the level of implementation. While there are certainly issues with Irish asylum policy, they are not as extensive as the problems widely reported on Greece. The issues that have been outlined above – human rights abuses, prevention of access to the asylum procedure, inadequate standards of reception – have been widely reported and criticised by NGOs and academics and can be attributed to the aims of minimising entry and numbers of asylum seekers and refugees in Greece. The situation in Greece could also be exacerbated by the lack of a tradition of human rights and the

authoritarian legacy of the Greek state, which were discussed in the previous chapter.

The policies discussed in this chapter provide a background for the analysis of discourses of asylum in the two countries. The methodological aspects of it will be explored in the following chapter, followed by four chapters analysing the how political actors construct asylum seeking in order to legitimate the policies discussed in this chapter.

Chapter Three

Methodology and the research process

This chapter focuses on the methodological aspects of the research project. It explains the methodological choices and outlines the research process for this project. The aim of the chapter is to provide a detailed account so as to ensure that the methodological aspects of the research project are as transparent as possible (Bringer *et al* 2004*).*

The first part of the chapter outlines the core concepts of Critical Discourse Analysis (hereafter CDA) as an approach for the study of social phenomena and gives the reasons why this was chosen in preference to other Discourse Analysis (DA) approaches. It outlines the research aims of CDA and the main criticisms addressed to it. Further, it discusses why NVivo was used in order to compensate for some of the weaknesses of CDA, and the advantages and disadvantages it presents for research. The second part of the chapter outlines the main stages of the research process. It starts with the process of compiling a corpus and explains how searches for texts were performed. It then outlines how a coding scheme was produced, and how the actual coding was performed. Further, it provides an account of the themes that were taken into account during the analysis of the data, and relates them to the research agenda of CDA. The contribution of NVivo to the research is also explored. NVivo was crucial in the management of the selected texts, and added a more concrete, quantitative dimension to the analysis of the texts.

Both parts of the chapter address questions of quality. There is a rich body of literature on what criteria can be used to judge the quality of qualitative research (for example Bryman 2008; Lincoln and Guba 1985; Perakyla 2004; Seale 1999). Criteria for quality include those borrowed from quantitative tradition such as reliability and validity, and others which are seen as more specific to qualitative research such as trustworthiness, transparency and rigour (Bryman 2008; Lincoln and Guba 1985; Seale 1999). The remainder of this chapter will focus mainly on

transparency, comprehensibility and rigour, as these are the criteria that appear more often in conjunction to the use of qualitative software such as NVivo (Bringer *et al* 2004; Silverman and Marvasti 2008; Steinke 2004). Translated into practice, this entails being explicit about the research process by documenting the inclusion and exclusion of texts, information on the texts themselves and the process of definition and operationalisation of the analytical categories employed (Bringer *et al* 2004; Seale 1999; Steinke 2004). Such steps taken to safeguard quality are explored in the next section which elaborates on the research process itself.

Critical Discourse Analysis

The method employed for the analysis of the data is CDA, one of many discourse analysis methods and approaches. A first group of approaches originates in linguistics, especially structural linguistics and semiotics. A second strand, represented by Potter, Wetherell and Billig prioritises the reproduction of the social world in language and is anti-realist and constructionist (Bryman 2008). A third, represented by Torfing, Laclau and Mouffe, is closer to a constructivist or postmodernist ontology which sees discourse as permeating the whole social world, and does not differentiate between discursive and non-discursive practices (Howarth 2000; Howarth and Stavrakakis 2000; Woodiwiss 2005). A fourth strand, of which CDA is part, employs linguistic analysis in its methodology but is also strongly informed by Critical Theory and Foucault, and is the one which informs this research (Meyer 2001; Wodak 2001; Wodak and Fairclough 1997). Belonging to the qualitative research tradition, discourse analytical approaches share some of broad objectives, such as the exploration of meaning and meaning patterns, how actors attribute meaning to their lives and social worlds, and the interaction between meaning and structure (Berg 2001; Bryman 1999; Flick *et al* 2004; Howarth and Stavrakakis 2000; Meyer 2001). In addition, they share concerns of locating meaning and interaction within specific social settings and contexts (Bryman 1999; Holliday 2007).

CDA is influenced by the work Michel Foucault and the Frankfurt School, while Marxist and neo-marxist influences are prominent in the work of Fairclough and Wodak (Fairclough 2003; Fairclough and Wodak 1997). It has been described as more of an approach rather than a method, due to its heterogeneity in methods of analysis and theories which inform it (Meyer 2001; Wodak 2001; Fairclough and Wodak 1997). CDA generally considers that all social practices have a discursive part (Fairclough 2003; Fairclough and Wodak 1997; Meyer 2001; van Dijk, 1997a; Wodak *et al* 2001). Written and spoken discourse is seen as a form of social practice, which at the same time influences social practices. In other words, social practices and discourse are dialectically interconnected, in the sense that social practices can frame and alter discourses, and discursive events can shape social practices (Fairclough 2003; Fairclough and Wodak 1997; Wodak *et al* 1999). Therefore, CDA focuses on the examination of the dialectical relationship between discursive acts and the situations, institutions and social structures and practices (Fairclough and Wodak 1997; Wodak *et al* 2001).

These aspects of discourse are seen as historical and context specific – situated in the social reality and structures of times and places and linked to other discourses and texts, which give discourses their particular meaning (Fairclough 2003; Wodak *et al* 2000; van Dijk 1997b). The context of discourse consists of the social processes and structures framing the production, reception and interpretation of the meaning of texts by groups and individuals at specific times and places (Fairclough and Wodak 1997; Meyer 2001; De Cillia *et al* 1999). Contexts can be flexible, negotiable and influenced by discourse and interpreted differently by different recipients, and can be controlled by dominant groups (van Dijk 1997a).

One of the main concerns of CDA is to reveal how relations of hegemony, power, dominance, inequality and discrimination are expressed, indicated and legitimised in discourse (Fairclough 2003; De Cillia *et al* 1999; Wodak 2001; Meyer 2001). CDA aims at making power relations as reflected in discourse more visible (Fairclough and Wodak 1997; Wodak *et al* 2000). Moreover, since discursive acts are seen as socially constitutive, a second task of CDA is to show how discourse can contribute

to the production, legitimisation, maintenance or change of ideologies, social structures and conditions (Wodak *et al* 2000). As such, CDA tends to have both a focus on language as part of social life and the social effects of texts (Fairclough 2003). These objectives are linked to the explicitly political orientation of CDA, which is rooted in its origins in Critical Theory and its commitment to the struggle for emancipation and social equality.

These objectives explain the links between CDA and the analysis of political discourse, which incorporates and exemplifies the functions mentioned in the above paragraph. Political discourse is used to argue and justify, to legitimate policy choices, to serve interests - its functional qualities include coercion, manipulation, persuasion, dissimulation, legitimation and delegitimation (Chilton and Schäffner 1997; Fairclough 2003; Van der Valk 2003; van Dijk 1997a; 1997b). While van Dijk (1997a) admits that these functions of discourse are not always consciously performed by speakers and actors, Fairclough and Wodak (1997) have stressed the increasing awareness of the need to control and shape language in order to achieve economic political and institutional objectives.

For these reasons, CDA is an appropriate method for the analysis of discourses of asylum. CDA was selected over other the other types of discourse analysis because of the way it perceives the relation between language and social structures. Unlike other types of DA, CDA sees discourse as separate from social structures and in an interactive relationship with them; it is not 'a self-referential sphere in which nothing of significance exists outside it' (Bryman 2008:508). This allows for the exploration of relations of power (Bryman 2008). It also allows us to investigate how discourse is shaped by the social context. Unlike other types of DA, it goes beyond exploring how individuals construct the world around them through discourse and examines how constructions are shaped by social realities.

Thus, in the case of asylum seeking, it focuses not only on how speakers represent it, but also on external factors that shape these representations – for example European asylum policies – and how certain representations are used to reproduce

reality and achieve certain goals. Moreover, it focuses on how speakers draw on discourse to legitimate their actions and positions (Bryman 2008), which coincides with one of the aims of this research project. While policy choices can influence discursive constructions of asylum, the language employed by political actors plays an extremely significant role in constructing social attitudes and practices which facilitate the acceptance of changes in the field. Further, especially in its discourse-historical variant it allows for taking into account different historical contexts which shape discourse (Bryman 2008; Wodak *et al* 2000). This coincides with the research aim of tracing the differences between Greece and Ireland. Furthermore, in agreement with the main aims of CDA, the analysis of political discourses of asylum can highlight the structures and practices of dominance, inclusion and exclusion and social control which underpin the formation of asylum policies.

Similarly, Content Analysis was rejected as the main methodological approach because of its largely descriptive nature. As Bryman (2008) notes, with Content Analysis it is difficult to explain occurrences and answer the 'why' questions, and it tends to privilege the quantitative aspects of analysis, especially when combined with CDA (MacMillan 2005). This would be a significant disadvantage in a study aiming to explain differences and similarities in the discourses of two countries. Some aspects of Content Analysis, however, were incorporated into the use of NVivo. For example, the project involves counting the frequencies of the themes coded.

Analysing texts using Critical Discourse Analysis

In terms of actual research practice, CDA focuses on several aspects of texts. A cursory overview of the literature reveals that the analysis can include the examination of contexts, themes, genres, lexical, grammatical and syntactical features, as well as rhetorical strategies (Fairclough 2003; van Dijk 2000, Van der Valk 2003). The range and interconnected nature of these aspects makes it rather difficult to incorporate every single one as a distinct analytical unit. In this section, I outline the main aspects of discourse analysis that were emphasized in this research

and their relevance for the research topic. Their actual operationalisation will be discussed in a later section in conjunction with the use of NVivo.

First, CDA explores the content of texts in the form of recurring themes or topics (Jager 2001; Meyer 2001; Van Der Valk 2003; Wodak 2001). This content can be either manifest or latent, since CDA would take into account the context in which discursive events occur (Tonkiss 2001). Second, CDA analysis involves the study of linguistic features, which can include lexical, grammatical and syntactical features, such as actors descriptions and representations, meaning relations, and so on (Meyer 2001; van Dijk 2000). Third, the analysis includes rhetorical and argumentation strategies. These can include, for example, legitimation strategies and, in the case of immigration, positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation strategies, as well as the use of rhetorical devices such as metaphors and comparisons (Jager 2001; Meyer 2001; van Dijk 2000; Wodak 2001). The emphasis in this group was the employment of the legitimation strategies as outlined by Van Leeuwen (2007) and Van Leeuven and Wodak (2001). Finally, the contexts in which the above are occurring are a significant part of the analysis, since they are both necessary for understanding the texts as well as for providing support for any arguments deriving from the data. These contexts can be either 'local' – social roles, intention and immediate purposes – or global –social, political, historical and cultural structures (van Dijk 2000). As the introduction argued, the investigation of the global contexts is one of the aims of this research project. These aspects are not always distinct from each other in the sense that they are normally interlinked (Fairclough 2001). This is particularly true in sociological research where content, linguistic features, argumentation and context are at the same time part of the analysis of the same texts. At the same time, depending on the research questions, the analysis of some of these features might prove more important than others.

As much as CDA is regarded as an appropriate and informative method for this research, it is impossible to ignore some of the criticisms and weaknesses associated with it. CDA has been criticised on several grounds (see for example

Hammersley 1997) but here I focus on largely methodological problems associated with CDA. As CDA is seen often as an approach rather than a method, methodological issues are sometimes not fully addressed (Meyer 2001). CDA scholars, including van Dijk and Fairclough, have been criticised for not stating the criteria for selection of the texts they use for their work (Gabrielatos and Baker 2008; Meyer 2001). Another criticism is that research is based on a small number of texts (Gabrielatos and Baker 2008). Moreover, the elaboration of analytical categories and addressing questions of quality of the research can also be vague. This lack of transparency is a problem often attributed to all types of qualitative research (Bryman 2008).

Using NVivo for qualitative research

The advantages and disadvantages of using NVivo for qualitative research have been analysed extensively in literature. On a surface level, NVivo, similarly to other qualitative analysis programs, facilitates the organization and management of large amounts of qualitative data. It achieves this by speeding up the retrieval of coded text, processes of comparisons and analyses based on coded text and attributes, as well as searches based on text, attributes and nodes (Dey 1993; Kelle 2004; Richards, L. 2002; Seale 2001; Weitzman 2000). The increased efficiency of these functions is argued to liberate the researcher from time consuming and mechanical tasks (Kelle 2004). Moreover, correcting errors is also less problematic using computer software (Dey 1993). The frequency counts produced by NVivo also add rigour to qualitative research by virtue of adding a quantitative dimension (Kelle 2004; Silverman and Marvasti 2008)

Beyond these practical contributions, the literature offers rather contradictory views on whether using NVivo offers any advantages with regard to the quality of qualitative research. On the one hand, it is suggested that NVivo offers significant advantages in this respect. It is suggested that NVivo can enhance transparency because of its in-built tools for recording coding decisions (Crowley *et al* 2002; Gilbert 2002; Seale 2001; Weitzman 2000). This can, in turn, improve the quality of

the argument and facilitate its substantiation with evidence from the data (Crowley *et al* 2002; Kelle 2004; Seale 2001). Seale (2001) links the latter advantage to the addition of quantitative aspects to qualitative research. Moreover, its use can lead to a closer and more detailed knowledge of the data (Richards, L. 2002).

On the other hand, authors warn against the dangers of using NVivo. Coding, for example, can become too mechanical and unthinking rather than analytical – otherwise known as the 'coding trap' (Dey 1993; Gilbert 2002; Kelle 2004). Because of its emphasis on coding, it might hinder in-depth analysis and the use of theory to inform research (Gilbert 2002; Richards, L. 2002; Weitzman 2000). Furthermore, as with all qualitative programs, there is a fear that the software will somehow take over the research by influencing the analytical process (Kelle 2004).

A third view on the matter is that all the above problems are innate in any kind of qualitative research (Dey 1993; Gilbert 2002). It is stressed that NVivo is a tool rather than a method and the same standards that would be adhered to in qualitative research should be implemented in the use of NVivo (Dey 1993; Gilbert 2002). Such standards include working with clearly articulated research goals and analytical frameworks, describing the processes used and justifying the decisions made, and linking methods and findings (Dey 1993; Gilbert 2002). In other words, the researcher, and their approach to the research process is crucial for the quality of the overall project (Bringer *et al* 2004; Gilbert 2002)

As stated in the previous section, the use of NVivo was thought to balance out some of the weaknesses of CDA, by adding a more rigorous dimension to the selection of texts for the corpus, even if only by rendering more transparent the process of preparing texts for analysis, such as categorizing them by date and type of document. Further, while the process of coding is no less time-consuming in NVivo, the use of nodes encouraged a more rigorous approach to the development of analytic units which would correspond to the objectives of the research project, as well as facilitating the internal consistency of the research. The possibility to obtain some quantitative information from the data, such as frequency counts and cross-

tabulations with nodes and attributes, also added to the rigour of the results (Silverman and Marvasti 2008). In addition, NVivo proved a useful tool in integrating the different levels of analysis of CDA in the research project as it allowed the creation of categories which could explore these aspects in tandem.

The research process

This section has been organized into subsections explaining the processes of the selection of texts, developing a coding scheme, coding and analyzing. These processes are interrelated but, for reasons of clarity, will be explained separately. The actual experience of the research process was very close to what Dey (1993) argues: going backwards and forwards between the different stages throughout the course of the research.

Compiling the corpus

The first decision regarding the compilation of the corpus was to focus on retrieved data containing political discourse (Lee 2000). Similarly to other CDA projects, the selection focused on texts which would provide analytical material relevant to the research objective – in this project, of exploring legitimation strategies and themes in the area of asylum and refugee policies (Bayley 2004; Dey 1993; Seale 2001; Tonkiss 2001). Therefore the corpus consists of parliamentary debates, oral questions and written answers, press releases, press conferences, speeches; interviews by political actors and policy documents, all of which can be considered part of political discourse (Bayley 2004; Bhatia 2006). Such categories of documents regularly feature in research projects employing CDA (see Blommaert and Verschueren 1998; Bhatia 2006; Mehan 1997; van Dijk 1993; Van Der Valk 2003).

There were several reasons for this decision. The first reason had to do with the logistics of the research project. Since such documents were available on-line, the costs involved in terms of money and time would be reduced (Singleton and Straits 2005). Secondly, initial literature searches revealed that the types of texts I

intended to use had not been the object of systematic discourse analysis, either in single-country research or in a comparative context.[10] It was therefore thought that their analysis could contribute to the body of knowledge on this topic. In addition, one of the main advantages of using authentic data is that they are produced without the intervention of the researcher and therefore problems of reactivity are minimised (Bryman 2008; Lee 2000; Silverman and Marvasti 2008). Therefore they allow the examination of themes and strategies in their natural context, as they were in their authentic form. As such they could be treated as primary rather than secondary data (Atkinson and Coffey 2004). Admittedly, some aspects of this authenticity had been lost through the process of their conversion from oral to written forms – for example, features of speech like pauses and hesitation. On the other hand, it should be taken into account that such documents are likely to have been originally created in a written form, as in the case of parliamentary debates, and therefore the boundaries between oral and written forms can be blurred.

The texts were obtained through multiple internet searches with strategies that were quite different for each country. Irish debates, written answers and oral questions were accessed through the website of the Houses of the Oireachtas (the Irish Republic at http://www.oireachtas.ie/ViewDoc.asp?fn=/home.asp . Using the search engine, keyword searches were performed using 'refugee(s)', 'asylum' (this covered 'asylum seekers' as well), immigrant(s) and immigration. These searches produced some very long lists of documents, which were read through and checked against the text it contained in order to see if they were relevant for the research. I will discuss the exclusion grounds later in this section. Press releases and speeches were obtained through the website of the Ministry of Justice equality and Law affairs at http://www.justice.ie/. These were located at the 'Media Centre' section of the website and covered the years 2002-2004. Luckily for the research project, hard copies of press releases and speeches between 1997 and 2001 have been kept from previous research, as these had been meanwhile removed from the archives.

[10] In later years, more research analysing similar types of documents appeared in both Greece and Ireland – for example Brandi (2007); Tormey (2007) Mavrodi (2007)

Some additional texts were obtained from the websites of opposition political parties – Fine Gael, Labour and Sinn Fein.

The Greek parliamentary debates were located through the website of the Greek parliament at http://www.parliament.gr. The process, however, proved far more complicated than the Irish document search because of the deficiencies of search engines and grammar of the Greek language. The search engine for the parliamentary texts – which include debates, oral questions and answers – only provides the text for the whole section of the day without indicating whether it contains a debate, written answer or oral question. An additional difficulty was that the results were only given in pages of ten – if, for example, there where 46 results only 40 would be accessed. This was overcome by using the 'increasing' and 'decreasing' order functions of the search engine to acquire the full lists. Furthermore, more keywords had to be used for searches in order to account for different grammatical forms. Thus the words 'refugee' and 'asylum' were searched in their single, plural, nominative and genitive forms, in order to account for all possible forms they might appear in the texts.[11] Different forms of the keywords were also used to account for gender, but did not produce any different results, as the male forms are used to signify all asylum seekers and refugees. An additional difficulty was that the search engine did not provide a link to the specific place in the document where the keyword appears, which meant that the whole document had to be skimmed through using the 'Control+ F' function of the keyboard. This process also allowed for the exclusion of texts that appeared because they contained homonyms of the search words – *prosfyges* in Greek can mean 'recourse to justice' - or because they referred to topics irrelevant to this project. For example, *asylum* can refer to university asylum, or to mental health institutions.

Press releases and speeches were accessed through the website of the General Secretariat of Communications and Information. Employing the same keyword strategy as with the parliamentary documents I obtained lists of press releases, press conferences and speeches for the whole period of research. Other locations

[11] The types in Greek are: 'άσυλο' 'ασύλου', 'πρόσφυγα' 'πρόσφυγας' 'πρόσφυγες' 'προσφύγων'

included the websites of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the websites of the main opposition parties, the website of the Greek Socialist Party and the personal website of the Minister of Foreign Affairs. The last two were good sources for political texts which disappeared from official websites after the change of government in March 2004.

Steps were taken to ensure the thoroughness and transparency of the results at this stage. Paper copies of every page of search results were printed and the documents that were excluded at this stage were crossed out. Then the searches were repeated in order to ensure that the relevant documents had been located. One of the suggestions in terms of maintaining the transparency and comprehensibility of qualitative research is to create a 'paper trail' for auditing purposes (Bringer *et al* 2004; Steinke 2004). The paper copies also served as a record of the searches that were performed as well as the dates they were performed, so that they could be revisited later.

Selection criteria

As expected, the searches produced more documents than it would be feasible to analyse given the time limitations of the research project. The aim was to obtain about 100 texts for each set, which would give a large enough corpus for the analysis for a CDA project (Gabrielatos and Baker 2008). This section outlines the processes of selection and exclusion of texts aiming to make the selection process as transparent as possible.

The main criterion was relevance. The selection focused on texts that would provide analytical material relevant to the research aim of exploring the legitimation of asylum policies in political discourse (Bayley 2004; Dey 1993; Seale 2001; Tonkiss 2001). A first question that occurred during the selection process had to with the definition of the social phenomena of interest in this research. As explained in previous chapters, the boundaries between asylum seeking, economic migration and irregular migration can become blurred in contemporary policy and discourse.

Thus, a question to be addressed was whether documents which were at first sight not immediately relevant to asylum seeking should be included. This concerned primarily debates on legislation which was introduced for regulating economic or irregular migration – such as the 2001 Immigration Act in Greece or the 1999 Illegal Immigration Act in Ireland. Moreover, the tendency to conflate asylum seeking with irregular migration is very strong in Greek political discourse, which renders texts appearing at first sight to be about irregular migration particularly relevant to this research project. For example, debates initiated by the New Democracy, the conservative opposition party, would construe any unauthorised entry as 'illegal immigration' regardless of its cause. Such contentions were also present in press conferences where government actors attempt reclassifications of asylum seekers as 'illegal immigrants' in order to justify restrictive policies.

Such texts were included for four reasons. First, the implications of the proposed policies for asylum seeking were discussed by the speakers, often rather extensively in the Irish context. Second, in the case of legislation debates, the consequences of the proposed legislation for the treatment of asylum seekers proved to be too extensive for such texts to be excluded. Third, they were relevant to the research because they concerned the legitimation of asylum policies regarding entry and determination. Lastly, as this research is concerned with discourse, the discursive effects of texts reconstructing asylum seeking as irregular migration are equally significant in legitimating policy choices.

A larger number of texts were excluded from the Irish corpus. The searches for Irish documents generally produced a high number of results due to the greater preoccupation with asylum seeking and its clearer conceptualisation as a phenomenon. Debates from the Seanad (the Senate) were excluded because of the lack of an equivalent institution in Greece[12] and in order to avoid unnecessary

[12] The Irish Dáil and the Greek Parliament perform similar functions of legislative process and government control. The parliamentary texts included in the corpus are related to these functions – debates are part of the legislative process, and oral and written questions of government scrutiny. (Greek Parliament 2007; Houses of the Oireachtas 2007)

replication of debates from the Dáil[13]. Adjournment debates were also excluded because they did not contain relevant content. Similarly, written answers and oral questions regarding individual claims of asylum, asylum statistics or provision of services were generally excluded unless they provided relevant content. Press releases and speeches were fewer in number, but again several were excluded if their content was not directly relevant to the research objectives. In short, because of the larger number of texts specifically on asylum and refugee policies, it proved relatively unproblematic to compile a corpus.

A number of texts were excluded from the Greek corpus because they concerned policies towards ethnic Greek repatriates and returnees, who are often categorised as 'refugees' in Greek political discourse. Because of their – real or perceived- ethnic origin, their treatment by the Greek state tends to differ considerably from that towards non-Greek refugees and asylum seekers, and therefore it was decided that as a category they should be excluded from the research objectives. Additionally, because of the ethnic origin of the perceived refugees and the specificity of the theme, they would complicate the comparison between the two countries, since there is no equivalent in the Irish context. Similarly, texts that explicitly dealt with economic migrants, but appeared in the results because of the use of the term 'economic refugee' were omitted.

Following these exclusions, the search for Greek documents resulted in a lower number of texts overall, which was expected given the lesser prominence of asylum seeking as an autonomous issue – especially in relation to economic and irregular migration. A larger number of Greek texts were included, as much of the material contained in debates was relevant, for example in debates discussing government policies regarding the Kosovo war or the Ocalan affair. In addition, other types of documents were also limited in content – for instance press releases would normally contain one or two paragraphs regarding asylum policy; the rest would be about other political issues of the time.

[13] The Irish parliament

Apart from choosing texts thematically relevant to the research, an effort was made to have a representation of texts belonging to different genres in each corpus. The majority of these studies focus on parliamentary debates rather than on the other types of texts. Although the reasons for this choice are not always made explicit, it can be argued that parliamentary debates are easy to access (usually available on line), provide considerable analytical material where thematic content, linguistic phenomena and rhetorical and argumentative strategies can all be studied (Bailey 2004; van Dijk 1993). However, a broader range of texts was chosen for this research project. The rationale behind this decision was based on the observation that there is a number of functions related to political discourse texts, which can be seen as shared between different sub-genres as well as linked to broader strategies of legitimation. For example, press releases and press conferences have multiple functions, such as informing the media about policies or outcomes of meetings, persuasion and promoting the governments' position, of which the latter two can be seen as shared by parliamentary materials such as debates and oral and written answers (Bayley 2004; Bhatia 2006; Lassen 2006). Moreover, the function of legitimating policy is enacted in all these texts.

Allowing this wider selection of texts also countered problems of availability, which can pose a problem for research projects (Platt 2000). For example, as more immigration acts were passed in Ireland than in Greece, more parliamentary debates were available for selection in the former. Conversely, one of the most common genres that contain information on migration in Greece is press conferences, which are usually delivered by the government spokesperson, but this type of press conference is largely absent in Ireland. While it was possible to include different genres within each corpus for the reasons explained earlier in this chapter, it was not possible to create a strict equivalence between the corpora, as some types of texts are more common in one country than the other. For example, there is greater availability of press releases in Ireland, where they are the main means by which the government announce new measures or respond to criticisms. However, this form of press release is used very infrequently in Greece, where significant measures or policy decisions are more likely to be discussed in press conferences. In

short, similar functions in terms of legitimation tend to be enacted in different types of documents depending on forms of political communication in each country.

Another consideration for the selection process was to fulfil the criteria for a longitudinal study. It was decided to include texts dating between 1996 and 2004, the former being the year when both countries first introduced legislation specifically on asylum and refugee policy and the latter the year of the start of the research. Some of the debates preceding the passing of the 1996 Refugee Act in Ireland were included despite the fact that they dated back to 1995; this was because they were far too important in terms of relevant content to be left out. Nevertheless, it soon became evident that there could not be a straightforward method of sampling that could yield equal number of documents for each year and for each country. As texts are social products, they tend to reflect the social context in which they occur, there was a bigger concentration of documents in years when the issue of immigration and asylum seeking was on the fore. In the Irish context, the number of available documents tended to peak around times when legislation was passed, as this generated a large number of parliamentary debates. In Greece, the number of available texts seemed to peak around times of perceived 'crisis', such as the wars in Afghanistan, Kosovo and Iraq, and the sinking of a ship carrying migrants outside Zakynthos. Since the main issue was relevance for the research and there was sufficient number of documents from different periods to enable a longitudinal analysis, this was not seen as a problem with serious consequences. Moreover, a selection based more on the criterion of relevance rather than even sampling meant that texts with significant content would not be passed over in favour of other, less relevant ones, and that they would cover the main debates in society around immigration. In short, while not evenly spread out, the document selected can both reflect the main concerns in terms of content and discourse and their evolution over a period of time. A full list of texts is given in Appendix I.

Following the selection process, all retrieved texts were copy - pasted into word documents and then saved in rich text format. This entailed the removal of frames which are not supported by NVivo. An additional procedure was followed and the

texts were transliterated into the Latin alphabet using a software programme called All Greek to Me©. This enabled the full use of NVivo functions such as text, proximity and matrix searches. The texts were given a code to allow their recognition and classification – the full list is given in Appendix II.

Developing an analytical coding scheme

The starting point for developing an analytical scheme was the requirements of the CDA approach in combination for the research objectives of the project. Therefore, as explained earlier in the chapter, the analysis had to take into account thematic contents, linguistic phenomena, rhetorical and argumentation strategies and contexts relating to the legitimation of asylum policies. Secondly, a requirement for this project was to 'operationalise' these aspects into a coding scheme for Nvivo, whose results would be relevant to the pre-defined objectives of the analysis (Gilbert 2002).

At a practical level, it was decided that most themes would be organised into tree nodes. Tree nodes are themes that are organised as sub - categories of another node (Gibbs 2002). The basic node – such as 'constructing asylum as a problem' – was employed as 'coat hangers' to classify the rest of the more detailed nodes used for the coding (Richards, L. 2002). While tree nodes have been criticised for imposing a hierarchy onto the coding, this was not seen necessarily as a problem (Crawley *et al* 2002; Richards, T., 2002). The conceptualisation of tree nodes for the research was not based on a hierarchy, but on the organisation of different but of equal importance themes under a heading corresponding to the relevant chapter. Further, it was thought that organising coding themes into free nodes – independent nodes that do not belong to any category – would be impractical since it would result in a long list of nodes with no thematic coherence. However, free nodes were used for designating whether political actors were in government or opposition parties, as these would be used for the analysis of other themes.

An initial scheme was formulated based on the literature review in order to identify recurring themes and areas of interest which would relate to the legitimation of asylum policies. In combination with a first reading of the data, the categories for the thematic coding were grouped as follows:

- Constructing asylum as a problem
- Representing the host state and community
- Representing asylum seekers
- Constructing and justifying solutions

The separation into the above categories was based on the main themes linked to the legitimation of asylum policies. Constructing asylum as a 'problem' with negative consequences for the host society frames the solutions political actors propose. Representation of the host state and society, especially positive ones, allow political actors to establish their good intentions and argue that they take restrictive measures despite these (Mehan 1997; Triantafyllidou 2000; Van der Valk 2003; van Dijk 1993; 1997a). Similarly, representations of asylum seekers are linked to legitimation insofar certain policies are justified because of the qualities and labels attributed to them. Finally, the last group relates to how political actors themselves justify the legitimation of policies by putting forward reasons for their actions, such as protecting national interests of the citizens. While this also relies on the relevant literature analysing the objectives and justifications of asylum policies, it was aimed to examine the discourse of Greek and Irish political actors more closely and in more detail. The above four groupings include several subdivisions which correspond to detailed themes in the literature. The full list of these is given in Appendix II.

Themes were also developed to accommodate discourses of resistance. For example, the set corresponding to the construction of asylum as a problem included a node for coding instances of accepting the existence of racism and a node for instances of negative presentation of the in-group. The literature advises against developing analytical schemes which do not take into account difference – what

does not fit with the theoretical and methodological framework (Tonkiss 2001). This is even more pertinent to a research project based on CDA, since because of its commitment to challenging dominant discourses might have a tendency to overlook themes that do not fit the critical approach adopted. Moreover, such an approach should not be seen as going against the aims of CDA and theoretical inspirations behind it often highlights the importance of resistance and of a dialectic conception of reality (Fairclough 2003). While the main focus remained on dominant discourses that promote restrictive policies, it created space to take into account resistance. Further, accounting for such differences was thought to enhance the rigour of the research project and the thoroughness of the research (Perakyla 2004; Seale 1999).

A second set of nodes was developed to correspond to linguistic phenomena. It was thought, however, that the coding of such phenomena in a large corpus would be too time consuming because of their frequent and extensive occurrence. For example it would be counter-productive to code every single use of the first person plural, irrespective of how salient and significant it is for political discourse (Fairclough 2003; Inigo-Mora 2004; Wodak *et al* 2000). Therefore, the operationalisation of categories of linguistic phenomena into nodes was very selective and limited to those which seem most pertinent to the research was developed at a first stage, including denials and acceptance of racism, metaphors signifying asylum seeking as a problem and so on. During the course of analysis, it was decided to incorporate some of them into the content categories. While this might appear as blurring the analytical categories, it was more representative of the analysis of the main research objectives and correspondence to chapters. For example, the acceptance and denials of racism corresponded closely to the analysis of the representation of the host community as part of self-presentation strategies. Similarly, metaphors of problems are closely associated with constructions of asylum seeking as a problem.

A third set of nodes corresponded to the exploration of linguistic phenomena and discursive strategies of significance for CDA. These were also derived from the literature, but also adapted to correspond to the research objectives. One set of

nodes therefore were developed to correspond to legitimation strategies, based on the scheme developed by Van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999) and Van Leeuwen (2007). These included:

- Mythopoesis
- Moral evaluation
- Authorisation
- Rationalisation

Mythopoesis is legitimation through the use of narrative, such as recounting events or offering anecdotes based on personal experience. *Moral evaluation* refers to legitimation of policies with regard to values or, in it simplest form by making value judgments on events –whether something is good or bad. *Authorisation* refers to legitimation by reference to traditions, customs, laws, persons with institutional authority, or conformity with other actors. To these I added a separate category of references to the people, the public or the citizens, which, while it could fit into other categories occurred often enough to deserve a separate node. *Rationalisation* is legitimisation by reference to the utility of action, reference to 'facts', such as 'the way the world is' or to the utility of social practices and actions (Van Leeuwen 2007; Van Leuven and Wodak 1999).

The analytical coding scheme was deductive in its initial stages as it drew heavily on the existing literature to formulate definitions for the coding scheme (Bryman 2008; Gibbs 2002). It was decided to begin with an initial schema which would reflect the research aims and the theoretical approach of the research project (Berg 2001). A second consideration was to avoid creating too many categories which would inhibit rather than contribute to the analysis (Rugg and Petre 2007). Starting from theory was also seen as in line with the realist ontology and epistemological assumptions of CDA, which favour starting with a theoretical model combined with empirical analysis (Jessop 2003; Sayer 1999; Woodiwiss 2005). A further consideration was that if an initial inductive approach was adopted, the external, critical approach of CDA would be subjugated to adopting the normative schemes of

the political actors. An inductive approach was not adopted during the coding stage, as is both customary and advisable when working with analytical categories, and is discussed in the following section (Dey 1993; Gibbs 2003).

More importantly, however, definitions were developed for all the analytical categories. At a practical level, a list of definitions can help when encountering an unclear passage during coding and can therefore assist with the internal consistency of the coding. Further, developing definitions for coding categories seen as necessary for safeguarding the transparency and rigour of the research process as it enhances internal consistency of the analysis (Bringer *et al* 2004; Dey 1993; Perakyla 2004; Seale 2001). The full list of nodes and their definitions is provided in Appendix II.

The process of coding

Following the selection and texts and the creation of categories, the actual coding involved moving continuously between the analytical framework and the texts themselves, adopting a more inductive approach after the initial deductive one (Berg 2001; Dey 1993; Gibbs 2002; Seale 2001). Specifically, it involved 'digital coding' – applying the categories straight onto the texts using Nvivo -, reading and re-reading the retrieved coded text and 'tactile' coding – coding the texts on paper so as to check the application of categories against the digitally applied coding (Gilbert 2002; Seale 2001). While these processes corresponded to different stages of the research, they were repeated more than once. This interactive approach between theoretical and analytical frameworks and the texts aimed at ensuring the appropriateness and quality of the research by taking into account the considerations outlined below.

A first consideration was to elaborate the analytical scheme so as to ensure that it reflected the context of the texts and that the analytical categories were empirically grounded as well as theoretically informed (Berg 2001; Dey 1993). For this reason, the original categories were adapted to better reflect themes emerging from the

texts. This involved creating categories for themes that were not identified in the literature often because they were country-specific. For example, justifying asylum policies in Greek political discourse in the context of foreign relations with Turkey emerged as a very prominent theme in the Greek corpus. In addition, the existing categories were expanded in order to reflect in a more detailed way the textual content. For instance, a node designated to code references to crime associated with asylum seeking was split, among others, into 'crime' for references to the criminality of asylum seekers, 'smuggling' for references to smuggling as a problem associated with asylum seeking, and 'organised crime' for other kinds of criminal activities, such as drug dealing and prostitution.

A second consideration was to ascertain that the definitions of the categories corresponded with the coded meaning of the texts so as to safeguard the internal consistency of the research (Berg 2001; Bringer et *al* 2004 Dey 1993; Perakyla 2004; Tonkiss 2001). Adopting separate processes of tactile and digital coding, especially, was done in order to check whether the same rationale for coding into certain categories was adopted at different instances. Accounting for instances that did not fit into the analytical scheme was also part of the process and helped to highlight themes that should be included in the analysis (Tonkiss 2001). This also led to the development of new categories to accommodate difference and to alterations of the definitions of categories to reflect their correspondence to the meaning of the texts. Another activity to ensure rigour involved reading all retrieved text for a specific category to eliminate any inconsistencies in the coding (Silverman and Marvasti 2008). A further complication in that respect was coding texts in two different languages, Greek and English. To avoid inconsistencies in the coding, I tried to focus on the meaning of the Greek texts rather on isolated terms which could prove misleading.

A third goal was to ensure that the categories used were relevant to the questions which the research project aimed at answering (Gilbert 2002; Tonkiss 2001). This entailed performing the processes of digital and tactile coding and reading retrieved text while reflecting how the resulting data could be employed to analyse how

asylum policies are legitimated and how longitudinal and meaning patterns could be explored. Consequently, this brought on certain alterations in the analytical scheme, such as changing the placement of nodes into broad categories and eliminating nodes which would not contribute to the analysis of the data.

Analysing the data

This section focuses on the final stages of the research which were aimed at the analysis of the data resulting from the processes explored in the previous sections. This is not to suggest that analysing the data is a separate, distinct stage of the research process; as Dey (1993) argues, the process of analysis can start as early as with the collection of data. What I am focusing on in this section is the explanation of the main tasks relating to exploration and presentation of the data, relate these to the aims of CDA.

A first area in the analysis entailed the exploration of some descriptive aspects of the data. This focused on the different themes involved in the legitimation of the asylum policies. This stage relied heavily on the frequencies of themes produced by the 'coding report' and 'assay' functions of NVivo. Tables of the frequencies of themes were produced, saved as Excel files and then incorporated into the thesis in the form of tables. The analysis of frequencies helped determine the presence, absence and salience of themes in each country, which highlighted the main issues for further analysis.

A second aim of the analysis was to explore the employment of linguistic and rhetorical features in the texts. As mentioned earlier in the chapter, this is an indispensable part of CDA which can elucidate the way in which such features impact on the legitimation of policies. For example, employing the first person plural to represent the host community has certain discursive effects such as increasing an impression of cohesion and agreement. Such features are explored in relation to the main thematic areas explored in different chapters, and NVivo featured less in their analysis.

A third area of focus was the identification and exploration of longitudinal and meaning patterns occurring in the texts. On the one hand, this involves the analysis of longitudinal features such as the salience of themes throughout the specified period of the research and their concentration in specific periods. On the other hand, a significant part of the analysis was devoted to studying the connections of different themes. In both cases, the search functions of NVivo were used to interrogate the data and explore correlations between themes, as well as the occurrence of themes in different years (Kelle 2004; Welsh 2002).

However, an even more significant part of CDA is to explain such patterns and connections, as well as variations in the texts. Therefore, an effort was made not only to identify themes, strategies and patterns but also to link them to their social context in order to identify the reasons why they were occurring, and the social processes and events that can explain their occurrence. The social context can also elucidate the frequencies in which different discursive themes and features appear, as well as to why some are more prominent than others within one of the case studies. A related issue to this is accounting for variations and preferences of different political actors. As this is a cross-national research, it was necessary to explore these concerns in a comparative context as well. A focus of the research was to identify similarities and differences in the themes, linguistic features and strategies appearing in the asylum discourse of the two countries. Furthermore, such similarities and differences are analysed in relation to domestic and regional social, political and economic factors that influence their occurrence and expression.

Issues of context also include, in a way, matters of language. The data chapters include quotations that were translated from Greek. The approach followed was that of 'faithful translation' (Newmark 1988). The translated text tries to respect the grammatical and syntax conventions of the English language, so as the meaning of the extract is understood. In several instances, the syntax of Greek phrases was changed as in their natural form they would have been incomprehensible. At the same time, it tried to respect the lexical terms and specific meanings of the Greek

texts, as these features are linked to social contexts and particular understanding of asylum issues.

Problems and limitations

Like any qualitative research, this project is bound by certain limitations and problems arising from the nature of qualitative research and the role of the researcher within it. This section outlines some of the difficulties encountered over the course of the research and some of the limitations to the scope of the project.

First, it should be stressed that this project was a learning process as much as a research process. Being an inexperienced researcher both in the use of CDA and Nvivo, mistakes were made, but these hopefully resulted in the better understanding of the issues involved. Some of the difficulties encountered were related to the methods and tools employed. Coding with NVivo, as mentioned earlier can become mechanical and unthinking, and is a tiring process where errors can occur because of factors such as tiredness and lack of concentration (Gilbert 2002; MacMillan 2005). In previous sections, I outlined some of the strategies adopted to minimise error – such as revision of the data, tactile and digital coding (Richards, L. 2002). While some errors might still remain, every possible effort was made to safeguard the rigour and consistency of the research.

As with all qualitative research projects, the interpretations and explanations offered in this one are dependent on the research questions formulated and the theoretical and methodological frameworks adopted. The 'richness' of textual data means that different interpretations are possible with different theoretical and methodological approaches (Denzin and Lincoln 1998; Flick *et al* 2004). What can be claimed, however, is that every effort was made to offer an interpretation fulfilling the overall aims and object of the project, and consistent with the theoretical context that has been employed and the objectives of the methods used.

A further limitation linked to the qualitative nature of the research concerns the generalisability of the findings (Bryman 1999; Flick *et al* 2004). The focus on the country case studies means that the findings are related to the specific factors existing in their domestic contexts. While these findings are related to similar ones in the relevant literature, which can point towards a greater generalisability across different national contexts, the research cannot claim that this is necessarily correct. Further research would be necessary to examine claims to extended applicability of the data. The explanations for the occurrence of phenomena are closely dependent on the specific social contexts of the two countries.

Conclusion

This chapter explored the methodological aspects of the project and attempted to provide an account of the research process and a rationale for the decisions made. Such decisions included choosing CDA as a method for the analysis of legitimation strategies in the political discourse of asylum, because of its focus on the interaction between discursive events and the social context in which they occur. Furthermore, the choice of CDA was grounded in its commitment of exploring the social effects discourse, especially in terms of reproducing and challenging patterns of ideology, power and inequality. This approach guides the analysis of the data in the following chapters, attempting to explain the different themes, linguistic features and strategies emerging in the political discourse of the two countries, the reasons why they emerge and the similarities and differences between the two national contexts.

While CDA can be a highly rewarding method for the exploration of the above issues, some of the problems related to its application, such as its lack of methodological rigour necessitated some steps in order to ensure the quality of the research project. One resulting choice was to use NVivo for the qualitative analysis of the data. Despite the fact that its use entails a distinct set of problems – such as the temptation for mechanical coding and overlooking theoretical concerns- its functions proved extremely helpful in organising and managing the data. Further,

while the process of coding was arduous and time-consuming, it contributed the development of an analytical framework, and to the analysis of patterns and connections of the features explored in CDA (MacMillan 2005).

The chapter has outlined the main steps taken for selecting the texts for this project, developing a coding scheme, coding the documents and analysing the data. This was done with as much detail as possible in order to ensure transparency in the research process. Moreover, it explained actions that were taken to ensure further the transparency, rigour and consistency such as keeping detailed records of searched, formulating detailed definitions for the coding categories, moving between digital and manual coding, and combining deductive and inductive approaches to creating a coding scheme.

Furthermore, this chapter outlined some of the difficulties encountered in the course of the research, and the limitations of a qualitative research project. Some of the difficulties encountered related to issues of availability and access of the texts, which varied depending on the national contexts. Others involved the development of criteria for including and omitting texts, as well as defining categories in order to overcome the tensions between theoretical representations of the phenomena studied and the representation employed by the political actors. Moreover, the nature of qualitative research means that the following chapters constitute one of the possible interpretations of the data, while the findings can be generalized with a degree of certainty to the two case studies, further generalisation can only be suggested by comparing them to the finding of similar research projects.

Chapter Four

Constructions of asylum seeking as a problem

The aim of this chapter is to examine how asylum is discursively constructed as a 'problem' in the political discourse of the two states serving as case studies. Asylum seeking (and more broadly immigration) is seen as an occurrence with a range of negative consequences for the country. This, as discussed in the literature chapter, is a salient feature of immigration discourses in European countries and beyond (Balibar 1994b; Huysmans 2006; Schuster 2003a). Moreover, Thomson (2003) suggests that the manner in which images of asylum seeking are constructed influences the solutions that will be proposed – an aspect which will be discussed further in Chapter Seven.

The themes discussed in this chapter are drawn from the relevant literature and have been operationalised into coding themes (Appendix II). Given that both countries are recent countries of reception (Ruhs 2004; Triandafyllidou and Gropas 2007a), the chapter explores first constructions representing asylum seeking as a new phenomenon, and as growing and increasing in numbers. It then explores the problematisation of asylum seeking through its association with economic and irregular migration, as well as smuggling. The analysis of problematisation through constructing asylum as a security problem follows this section. It includes, first, representations of asylum seeking as a threat to the security and integrity of the state, which corresponds to traditional security concerns in the literature. Second, the section explores associations of asylum seeking with crime and organised crime. Problematising asylum seeking through claiming it causes racism is a theme also linked to subjective notions of security in some of the literature, especially in terms of threats to national identities, (for instance, Huysmans 2006; Koopmans *et al* 2005; Schuster 2003a), but here will be treated separately.

Next, the chapter explores constructions of asylum seeking as a burden for the receiving state. These have been organised in four subthemes. The first concerns

worries about the cost of asylum seeking for the receiving state expressed in terms of financial costs. The second focuses on broader representations of burden to the human and material resources of the state. These two themes did not feature in the literature discussed in Chapter One, but occurred during the inductive stage of coding. Moreover, the section explores constructions seeing asylum seeking as a threat to the employment prospects of the native population as well as to their welfare entitlements and the operation of the welfare system as a whole. The last theme the chapter explores is that of abuse of the asylum system of the reception country.

The chapter also includes a discussion of the language used to convey the problematisation of asylum seeking, focusing on two aspects, the use of 'natural disaster' metaphors which reinforce perceptions of asylum seeking as an uncontrollable and harmful phenomenon, and the literal use of the word 'problem' which is widespread in both data sets. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the effects of problematisation on the legitimation policies and a summary of the main themes from a comparative perspective.

Asylum seeking as a new and growing problem

Since both countries studied are 'new' countries of immigration, one of the themes that have been coded had to do with representations of asylum seeking as a new and growing phenomenon. The results did confirm a preoccupation with this theme. As Table 4.1 shows, asylum seeking is represented as a 'new' problem in 51 times and as a growing problem 18 in the Greek corpus, and 36 and 40 times respectively in the Irish documents. Moreover there are 38 references to growing numbers in the Greek set and 74 in the Irish one – the second highest theme overall.

Table 4.1: References to asylum seeking as a new, growing and numerical issue[14]

	Greece			Ireland		
Year	New	Growing	Numbers	New	Growing	Numbers
1996	5	0	3	3	2	3
1997	1	0	2	0	0	5
1998	2	4	6	3	8	10
1999	1	0	3	13	14	28
2000	9	2	0	1	3	4
2001	24	11	18	1	4	4
2002	2	0	2	3	4	4
2003	6	1	4	4	2	7
2004	1	0	0	8	3	9
Total	51	18	38	36	40	74
Number of documents	16/117	14/117	21/117	26/106	30/106	44/106
Percentage[15]	13.68%	11.97%	17.95%	24.53%	28.30%	41.51%

In the Greek set, asylum seeking is seen as part of broader migratory movements, and is constructed as a new phenomenon which occurred in Greece after 1990. The collapse of communist states is the most common reason given to explain the increase in migration. It is stated, for example, that the 'well known events in Eastern Europe and the Balkans created an exit trend from these countries, which soon turned into a migratory trend'[16]. As a result, 'our country, because of its proximity with many of these former socialist states was flooded by illegal immigrants'.[17] The emphasis on the collapse of the Eastern Bloc as a cause for the increase of migration in Greece reflects the proximity of the country to Eastern

[14] All tables in the following chapters are based on the data analysis for this thesis. The numbers given refer to the number of references to each theme given in the table.
[15] This refers to the percentage of documents in which a particular theme appears.
[16] GRDBDL 060301a, p. 5609, A. Akrivakis, PASOK
[17] GRDBDL 060301b, p. 5645, I. Lambropoulos, ND

Europe and the fact that most economic migrants to Greece did come from former communist states (Cavounides 2003; Balwin- Edwards 2004; Kiprianos *et al* 2003).

Speakers also emphasise the changes caused by the transition from a sending to a host country. It is stressed, for instance, that

> Until the end of 1989, our country did not face a big illegal immigration problem, as until then people entering illegally were limited to a few political refugees and a small number of economic refugees [...]. The last few years however, and specifically during the 1990-2000 decade, our country has faced a serious and increasing problem with regards to illegal immigration and the illegal entry of economic refugees[18]

This quote reflects the preoccupation with the change from being an emigration country to a reception one. However, the second part of the quotation ignores asylum seeking as a migratory movement and suggests that economic migration is the dominant type of migration to Greece. Further, all types of migration movements are constructed as irregular through references to 'illegal immigration'.

References to the rise in numbers of asylum seekers do not figure prominently in Greek discourse. Only one speaker refers specifically to an increase in numbers, asserting that 'our country is literally flooded by new refugees and a huge number of people claiming political asylum'[19]. The remainder of the references use the term 'illegal immigrant', which, as discussed in Chapter One, incorporates asylum seekers in Greece discourse (Pavlou 2001; Petrakou 2001; Sitaropoulos 2000; Skordas and Sitaropoulos 2004). Further, it should be noted that the above themes occur mostly in parliamentary debates, which is reflected in their concentration in a low number of documents (Table 4.1). This suggests that they are part of the rhetorical strategies of speakers in this particular context.

From 1999 onwards, asylum seeking in Greece is more likely to be explained on the grounds of specific 'crisis' in the area, such as the wars in Kosovo, Afghanistan and Iraq. For example one speaker predicts that '[t]he war in Iraq will lead thousands of

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[18] GRDBPL 250700, p. 499, G. Papageorgiou, PASOK
[19] GRDBPL 111296, p.1782, G. Romaios, MPO, PASOK

refugees to developed Europe'[20] and another predicts that 'the dramatic crisis in Middle East and the threatened armed conflict in the area will create new migration pressures for our country'[21]. One of the consequences of the Kosovo crisis in Greece is given as 'the creation of a massive, huge wave of refugees.'[22] This language of 'crisis' as the cause of migration to Greece is also evident in documents such a parliamentary questions and press conferences. In fact, the issue of asylum seeking and refugees tends to come to the surface of Greek political discourse during these periods of crisis. However, the language employed by speakers in some documents suggests that the 'problem' is again sometimes viewed in terms of economic or illegal migration rather than asylum seeking. One speaker argues that

> [...] the events in Middle East, Afghanistan and those countries of underdevelopment and misery will lead a high number of their citizens to seek a better life by any possible means[23]

This suggests, through the use of the terms 'underdevelopment' and 'better life', that migration is conceptualised as economic as well as forced.

Another factor used to explain the rise in the intensity of migratory movements is the geographical position of Greece, which is referred to 43 times (Table 4.2). For example, one speakers states that '[...] we have a particular problem [...] we are at the edge of Europe, on the routes from where irregular migrants come from'.[24] Another MP claims that because of its position, 'Greece has been transformed into a refuge as much as into a passage.'[25] The geographical position of Greece is argued to render it vulnerable to the entry of migrants from Europe, Africa and Asia, given that its borders are mostly maritime and therefore more difficult to control (Antonopoulos and Winterdyk 2006; Kasimis and Kassimi 2004; Lazaridis and Koumandraki 2001). These constructions also reflect a discursive construction of Greece, often used in political discourse, as a 'crossroads' of population movements which relies on its perceived centrality as an ancient civilisation with trade links to

[20] GRDBPL 030403, p.3748, I.Vainas, PASOK
[21] GRDBPL 060301b, p.5644 E. Kourkoula, PASOK
[22] GRDBPL 310399, p. 5783, K. Karamanlis, ND
[23] GRPCMN 071101, G. Anomeritis, MMN, PASOK
[24] GRPCPM 041201, K. Simitis, PM, PASOK
[25] GRDBDL 060301b, p.5646, P. Panagiotopoulos, ND

Table 4.2: References to the geographical position of Greece

Year	Counts
1996	4
1997	1
1998	2
1999	1
2000	8
2001	18
2002	3
2003	6
2004	0
Total	43
Number of documents	16/117
Percentage	13.68%

the Mediterranean basin (for example, Karamanlis 2008; Papandreou 2009; also Gropas and Triandafyllidou 2007a). While the connotations of the earlier forms of this construction were largely positive in the context of nationalist discourse, its contemporary manifestations are much less so.

The importance attributed to geographical position and the nature of the borders interlinks with the construction of asylum seeking as a result of 'crises'. Specifically, the wars in Kosovo, Afghanistan and Iraq, and the political crisis of 1997 in Albania are brought to the foreground in order to show that because of the proximity of Greece to these areas, migratory movements are going to be more salient and have a stronger impact on it than in other European states. A further influence on the construction of asylum seeking as a problem should be sought in the context of the policies of European Union. As explained in Chapter Two, the policy framework in both states has been influenced by policies introduced at EU level. Thus, the salience of geographical factors in discursively constructing asylum seeking as

problem in Greek discourse is influenced by importance given to the control of the external borders of the Union (Mavrodi 2007 Papadimitriou and Papastergiou 2005).

In the Irish corpus, speakers emphasise broader changes that explain the newness of the problem. A first one is referring to broader changes outside the territory of the country. Thus one speaker asserts that 'the pattern of refugee movements has changed out of all recognition in recent years [...]'[26] and that it somehow affects European countries more than in the past. As a speaker puts it, 'the refugee problem has moved to Western Europe'[27] and 'closer to home than in previous decades'[28]. The emphasis is on global changes rather than on the collapse of communist states which dominates the Greek texts. The transition from an emigrant to an immigrant country is also a theme that occurs in conjunction with references to the 'newness' of immigration and asylum seeking to Ireland. 'When we grew up', states a speaker in 1999, 'emigration was rampant [...] we are relieved that the trend has been reversed. Immigration is now the issue on our minds.'[29] Such statements draw on the reality that 'Ireland has traditionally been regarded as a country of emigration rather than immigration'[30], which only recently started receive immigrants and refugees.

The altered conditions mentioned above are employed to explain the '[...] unprecedented number of applications for asylum'[31]. There is overall a tendency to regard asylum applications as 'ever increasing'[32] and likely to increase further in the future. This perception of a significant numerical increase in numbers is reinforced by the provision of statistics regarding asylum applications. With regards to the later, speakers tend to provide figures which underline the fact that numbers 'have increased dramatically'. For instance, from '424 applications in 1995 [...] the figure

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[26] IRDBDL 191095a, 457:737 (the first number refers to the volume, the second to the column of the transcripts of parliamentary debates) J. O' Donoghue, MJ, FF
[27] IRDBDL 081195b, 457:2129, M. Flaherty, FG
[28] IRDBDL 081195b, 457:2129, M. Flaherty, FG
[29] IRDBDL 100299a, 500:375 J. Browne, FF
[30] IRDBDL 100398, 488:736 J. O' Donoghue, MJ, FF
[31] IRDBDL 270503, 567:965 C. O'Coalain, SF
[32] IRDBDL 241199b, 511:839 N. O'Flynn, FF

rose to 4,626 in 1998. By the end of October 1999 it had risen to 5,497.'[33] The preoccupation with numbers is largely absent from the Greek texts, where speakers rarely give specific numbers to illustrate the perceived rise in migratory trends. This could be attributed to both the lack of accurate statistics regarding migration in Greece, and the preoccupation with irregular migration, which is less likely to be measured accurately. On one occasion, the number given for irregular entrants in Greece is 'one billion thirteen million nine hundred fifty seven thousand illegal immigrants'[34], which seems rather exaggerated and moreover, it cannot be verified by available statistics.[35] However, the construction of the rise in numbers in Irish discourse is sometimes challenged by members of the opposition parties who argue that the number of applications in Ireland is low both in the global and European context. For example, one speaker asserts that 'Ireland has never been and is never likely to be a favourite destination for refugees'[36] while another asserts that 'Ireland does have an unfair share of the world's refugees, a share that is unfairly small.'[37]

A further observation is that most references regarding numbers and asylum as a new problem occur in texts dated to 1999. As Table 4.1 shows, there are very few references to increase of numbers or even the newness of the problem in 1996, when the Refugee Act was introduced. The numbers of asylum applications did increase steadily between 1996 and 1998, and this might have been reflected in the debates. An even more dramatic rise took place in 1999 when applications rose to 11,094, but it is debatable to what extent political actors would have been aware of this at the times of the debate. Further, the concentration of references in 1999 can be explained by the fact that the legislation introduced that year was restrictive in character, and therefore the employment of these arguments was seen as effective in the context of supporting the legislation. Moreover, the preoccupation with rising numbers of refugees and immigrants was part of wider discourses on immigration

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[33] IRDLDB 241199b, 511: 842, N. O'Flynn, FF
[34] GRODPL 060301a, p.5618, I. Tzamtzis, ND
[35] The numbers of irregular migrants in Greece are very difficult to calculate for obvious reasons. Government statistics about irregular migrants are based on arrests made upon entry (Papadopoulou 2004). Some relevant data are provided in Mediterranean Migration Observatory (2004)
[36] IRDLDB 191095a, 457:740, K. Lynch, DF
[37] IRDLDB 090299, 500:85, J. Higgins FG

in Ireland at the time, with concerns over rising numbers was widespread in the Irish press in the late 1990s (Guerin 2002; McGee 2003).

Constructions of asylum seeking as economic and irregular migration

Linking asylum seeking with economic and irregular migration is a theme observed in both sets. In essence, what is suggested is that these phenomena alter the nature of asylum seeking, undermine asylum institutions and might entail dangers for the country and its population. As Table 4.3 shows, these themes occur in both corpora, but the theme of irregular migration is the most dominant one in the Greek corpus, with 59 references compared to 29. The reasons for these differences will be discussed in this section.

In the Greek corpus, asylum seeking is problematised, first, by being constructed as economic migration. For example, in the 1996 debates, one speaker asserts that

> [...] the suspiciousness of the state is justified when it wants to systematically investigate claims of citizens who ask for political asylum, because the great population masses, the result of the present uncertainties in the wider area, move in search of work in our Country and other European countries.[38]

This perceived overlap between economic migration and asylum systems is mentioned in later documents as well. For example, while justifying the hard line Greek policies in 2002, the Minister for Public Order states that 'asylum is one thing and looking for a better life another. Greece cannot solve all the problems of the Third World.'[39] The above quotes reflect the belief that asylum systems can be used by economic migrants to gain access to a country (Crawley 2006; Petrakou 2001; Richmond 2002; Schuster 2003c). However, the number of references to economic migration is not high overall – just 15 references with 6 of them occurring in the Refugee Act debates of 1996. The reason for this seems to be that asylum seeking is more likely to be constructed as irregular migration in the Greek corpus. It occurs 59

[38] GRDBDL 111296, p. 1775, F. Kouvelis SYN
[39] GRINPO 300602, M. Chrisochoidis, MPO

Table 4.3: References to economic and irregular migration

	Greece		Ireland	
Year	Economic migration	Irregular migration	Economic migration	Irregular migration
1996	6	4	1	0
1997	0	3	1	2
1998	1	0	1	8
1999	0	2	3	7
2000	1	10	1	1
2001	3	28	4	3
2002	2	3	1	3
2003	2	9	5	3
2004	0	0	3	2
Total	15	59	20	29
Number of documents	10/117	29/117	16/106	23/106
Percentage	8.55%	24.79%	15.09%	21.70%

times which is the second highest theme in the documents and occurs throughout the research period, although most references occur in 2000 and 2001, when the Border Guard legislation and the Immigration Act were debated. Moreover, several documents in 2001 refer to the Zakynthos migrants[40], where the issue of irregular migration was repeatedly mentioned by the speakers.

References to irregular migration as a 'problem' for the country tend to conflate asylum seeking with irregular migration. Speaking soon after the beginning of the war on Iraq, a speaker adopts this construction by stating that his party, New Democracy, brings to the Parliament the 'issue of combating illegal immigration' and elaborates that 'with the end of armed conflict [...] thousands will move

[40] In November 2001, around 1000 asylum seekers were taken to the island of Zakynthos after the boat they were in capsized.

towards the Aegean in order to find an entry point to Europe.'[41] Similarly, in a press conference, the Prime Minister responds to a question regarding 'help from the European Union for the refugee crisis'[42] by saying that '[i]llegal immigration is indeed a very big issue for the European Union and for our country.'[43] These quotes indicate again that asylum seeking is framed in terms of irregular migration (Pavlou 2001; Petrakou 2001; Sitaropoulos 2000; Skordas and Sitaropoulos 2004). Moreover, the overall preoccupation with irregular migration in Greek discourse should be seen in the context of EU discourses and policies aiming at the prevention of irregular migration, which also conflate asylum seeking with irregular migration (Baldwin-Edwards 2004; Geddes 2003; Mavrodi 2007).

In the Irish corpus, references to economic and irregular migration are present occur in slightly different frequencies than in the Greek corpus. Irregular migration occurs less as a theme with 29 references compared to 20 references to economic migration. Economic migration is perceived as increasing being 'mixed' with asylum seeking in a similar but more clearly articulated manner than in the Greek documents. It is argued, for instance that

> [...] it would be foolish and irresponsible, however, if we did not also recognise that many applicants are seeking to escape from economic hardship rather than persecution. We may indeed have every sympathy for such persons but it must be borne in mind that the primary purpose of the Bill is not to provide a solution to problems caused by economic situations but rather to offer protection to persons fleeing persecution.[44]

The extract alludes to the interconnected nature of refugee and economic migration, and stresses that for purposes of protection, the two forms of migrations should be kept distinct. A similar argument is also made in terms of irregular migration. For example, the Minister for Justice claims that

> [...] we cannot condone illegal immigration, including where it is done in the guise of asylum seeking. While we recognise that our system must meet the needs of those genuinely in need of international protection, it must not be subject to abuse

[41] GRDBDL 030403, p.3754, Varvitsiotis, ND
[42] GRPCPM 041201, K. Simitis, PM, PASOK
[43] GRPCPM 041201, K. Simitis, PM, PASOK
[44] IRDBDL 191095a, 457:711, J. Burton, LAB

> by those simply wishing to evade immigration controls or worse, those wishing to subvert our systems.[45]

The extract above exemplifies two arguments presented by speakers when constructing irregular migrations as a problem. Firstly, it is claimed that irregular migration is undermining protection – as it is stated elsewhere, it 'obstructs our obligations towards genuine refugees.'[46] Secondly, the problematisation of economic and irregular migration is strongly linked to the theme of abuse in Irish documents, which correlating with economic migration in 17 instances and with irregular migration in 12.

These links between economic and irregular migration on the one hand, and abuse and protection on the other are part of a wider network of thematic associations that occur repeatedly throughout the Irish set. The words 'system' and 'procedure' in the extracts above reflect a particular concern in Irish discourse with the preservation of asylum procedures which are believed to be undermined by asylum seekers who allegedly do not have valid claims to refugee protection. Irregular and economic migration are linked to the abuse of such systems, which is often framed in terms of undermining provisions for genuine refugees, as in the extracts above.

In comparative terms, it can be argued that the stronger preoccupation with irregular migration in Greek discourse reflects the effects of the geographical position of the country in relation to European Union policies. Controlling the external borders of the Union is not as strong a priority in Ireland as it is in Greece, where the extended, maritime borders are difficult to monitor. Irregular migration is to an extent a preoccupation in the Irish context, but this might be due to its close links to British immigration policy through the Common Travel area (Mac Éinrí 2002; Ryan 2001). The introduction of the 1999 Immigration Act ant the 2000 Illegal Immigrants (Trafficking) Act has been influenced by policy developments in the UK in the same period, which also focused on the prevention of irregular migration (Sales 2007; Sommerville 2007; Stevens 1998; 2004)

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[45] IRSPMJ 101202, M. McDowell, MJ, PD
[46] IRDBDL 241199a, 511:779, S. Ardagh, FF

References to smuggling migrants

Problematising asylum seeking through smuggling, a theme linked to irregular migration in the literature is a strong theme in both corpora, occurring 32 times in the Irish set and 26 in the Greek one. For the purposes of this research I adopt a definition of smuggling as the 'procurement, in order to obtain, directly or indirectly, a financial or other material benefit, of the illegal entry of a person into a state Party of which the person is not a national or a personal resident' (UN 2000). The definition of smuggling also involved a 'voluntary' dimension as 'the migrant is a willing party to the transaction' notwithstanding the complex reasons that might underpin the decision (Nadig 2002:6). These clarifications are necessary given that speakers in both countries tend to use the term 'trafficking' when referring to smuggling.

In the Irish corpus, smuggling is linked to irregular migration. Similarly, the Minister for Justice highlights the links between illegal immigration, organised criminal activities and security in the following speech:

> We cannot ignore that uncontrolled and unlawful immigration has a negative side [..] Those involved in trafficking internationally are often linked to organised crime and are involved in other illegal activities, such as prostitution and drug trafficking . People who cross borders illegally may do so for the purpose of working illegally but may also do so with a view to involvement in crime, including terrorism.[47]

This extract clearly links smuggling with irregular migration on the one hand, and with criminal activities, ranging from prostitution to terrorism, on the other thus constructing it as phenomenon with negative consequences. The negative aspects of it are also stressed through the use of the vocabulary – adjectives such as 'uncontrolled', 'unlawful' and 'illegal' increase the effects of constructing irregular migration as undesirable.

Further, smuggling is linked to a number of themes, including abuse which will be

[47] IRSPMJ 101202, M.McDowell, MJ, PD

Table 4.4: References to smuggling

Year	Greece	Ireland
1996	0	0
1997	3	0
1998	1	3
1999	0	13
2000	5	0
2001	10	7
2002	3	1
2003	4	6
2004	0	2
Total	26	32
Number of documents	16/117	20/106
Percentage	13.68%	18.87%

explored in a following section, but it is occasionally associated with the drugs trade and in more recent contexts international terrorism. As a speaker argues

> [...] there is clear evidence to show that our immigration system and those of our EU partners are being abused by traffickers and people smugglers. This has clear implications for the security of the state and its residents, particularly in the light of the events of September 11 in the United States.[48]

The above extract constructs smuggling a threat to state security, a perception which is associated with Western European discourses on migration (Huysmans 2006; Morrison and Crossland 2001; Nadig 2002).

The emphasis on smuggling can be explained by taking into account two factors. On the one hand the proximity of the British and Irish immigration policies can at least partly explain the transfer of some issues from the former to the latter (Mac Éinrí 2002; Ryan 2001). For instance, the *Firmer, Faster, Fairer* white paper and the subsequent 1999 Immigration Act problematised smuggling as a threat to a desired

[48] IROQDL 111201, 546:499, J. O'Donoghue, MJ, FF

system of managed economic migration (Flynn 2005). On the other hand, preoccupation with smuggling can also be explained by the influence of EU policies. Several initiatives relating to the prevention of smuggling and trafficking were taken in various EU and other global and regional fora (Morrison and Crossland 2001; Nadig 2002).

In the Greek corpus, smuggling is again associated with the irregular entry of migrants. It is argued for example that border

> [...] areas continue to face numerous problems because of the continuous entry, though the maritime borders, of illegal immigrants who enter our country through the exploitation of usually organised international networks.[49]

The quote above attributes irregular migration to smuggling, which is represented as an organised, transnational activity. The link between smuggling and irregular migration is also supported by the numerical analysis of the texts, which shows that 10 of the smuggling references coincide with references to irregular migration.

Speakers also construct smuggling as a negative phenomenon for the reception country. Regarding the Zakynthos events, the government spokesperson argues against accepting migrants because of

> [...] what will happen if every time a smuggler sends a ship with 1000 or 2000 we are open and ready to admit them in the Greek society and economy. It will create major problems.[50]

Similarly to the Irish documents, speakers link smuggling to organised crime. It is argued for example that smuggling networks

> [...] are very often connected to the drugs trade but also the arms trade – in the Balkans these networks these networks are connected to terrorist organisations, not always but very often.[51]

This last quote also alludes to the perception of smuggling as a threat to the security of the state, in this case through its associations with terrorism.

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[49] GRODPL 250700, p.500, G. Papageorgiou, PASOK
[50] GRPCGS 061201, C. Protopapas, PASOK
[51] GRPCFA 081101, G. Papandreou, MFA, PASOK

References to smuggling in the Greek corpus peak two years later than in the Irish one and the majority of them occur in the second half of the researched period (Table 4.4). The reason for this seems to be a similar one to the Irish case. Anti-smuggling and anti-trafficking legislation were introduced in Greece in 2001 and 2002 and most initiatives in this area emerged after 2000 (MFA 2003a; 2003b; Papadopoulou 2004). This distribution of references suggests that the initiatives followed the policies introduced by the Amsterdam Treaty and the Tampere summit both in terms of specific initiatives and EU approaches which associate irregular migration and smuggling to crime and terrorism (Bendel 2007; Bigo 2005; Guirondon and Joppke 2001; Huysmans 2006; Lavenex, 2002; Morrison and Crossland 2001).

Asylum seeking as a threat to state security

Constructing asylum seeking as a threat to the security and interests of the state is the strongest theme of problematisation in the Greek documents, with 58 references overall which make it the most frequent theme related to problematisation. In order to differentiate this theme from related ones, such as crime or feelings of insecurity of the citizens, I include in it only references to threats to the territory, existence, authority of the state or the 'national interest', which is synonymous to state security in the Greek corpus. The salience of this theme is also indicated by the even split of references between government and opposition political actors, with 30 and 28 references respectively.

Such constructions can refer to migration in general, but in the documents studied they are directly or indirectly linked to asylum seeking. This occurs particularly in two distinct time frames. The first is the Kosovo war in 1999 and the second the Afghanistan and Iraq wars in the 2000s. The possibility that the Greek state might have to admit refugees from these wars and provide protection is depicted as a negative occurrence by political speakers. For instance, one political speaker describes the threat posed by population movements caused by the Kosovo war as

Table 4.5: Constructions of asylum seeking as a threat to state security

Year	Greece	Ireland
1996	5	1
1997	4	0
1998	1	0
1999	11	0
2000	2	0
2001	24	1
2002	2	0
2003	5	1
2004	0	2
Total	54	5
Number of documents	27/117	5/106
Percentage	23.08%	4.72%

> hot lava which will put us in danger. And there's another factor to which we must pay extreme attention. We are the only country in the European Union whose nearly all neighbours have territorial claims on it. It's certain that the influx of illegal immigration, of economic migration, of political refugees will increase [...]this movement (of populations).[52]

One way by which the speaker conveys the idea that asylum seeking, among other forms of migration, as a threat to the security of the state is by using words such as 'hot lava' and 'influx'. The employment of vocabulary evoking natural disasters is a common theme in discourses of immigration and asylum (Van der Valk 2003). He then makes the perception of threat more specific by associating asylum seeking to threats to the territory of the state by neighbouring countries. This perception of threat is also present in a statement in a debate on the 1996 Refugee Act. A speaker highlights the geographical position of the Greek state at a crossroads of population movements and then claims that migrations 'swept away the western Roman state and acted [...] in an undermining manner on the eastern Roman state.'[53] Further,

[52] GRODPL 060301a, p.5614, N. Katsaros, ND
[53] GRODPL 111296, p. 1783, A. Andreoulakos, ND

security threats are seen in the context of inter-state relations with neighbouring states and especially with Turkey. Thus it is argued that asylum seeking can be used by other states to actively harm Greek interests. The following extract is an extreme example of how such threats might be represented:

> [Turkey] takes advantage of the historically proven Greek humanitarianism through its systematic and racist smuggling of illegal immigrants. It uses Kurdish refugees as guinea pigs for locating mine fields in Evros, and uses those who survive to engineer false accusations about the training of Kurdish terrorists in Greece, which has to resort to embarrassed apologies, like we did a couple of days ago. It systematically smuggles thousand of illegal immigrants, using them as a mechanism for the destabilisation of borders, to exercise psychological pressure on the women farmers near the borders, to disturb the armed forces, but also to create a smokescreen in order to facilitate the drugs trade.[54]

In the above quote, the speaker, in a rather exaggerated manner, not only implies that the Turkish state deliberately smuggles migrants into Greece, but suggests that it does so in order to destabilise the security of the Greek state. In such representations, Turkey is seen as an ever-present enemy in foreign policy terms, a view which had characterised Greek foreign policy towards Turkey for a long time (Koliopoulos and Veremis 2007; Lazaridis and Koumandraki 2001; Triandafyllidou and Mikrakis 1995). Moreover, the extract reflects the view of refugees as a potentially destabilising factor used by the sending state and likely to harm the interests of the receiving state (Benard 1986; Loescher 1992; Schuster 2003a; Teitelbaum 1984).

Concerns over asylum seeking threatening the security of the state are also linked to threats to national identity. As one speaker argues

> [...] the biggest problem we will face and we face now is to what extent our society, 10% of which today is made up of illegal immigrants, will be able to assimilate all these people, so that we won't have problems in the future.[55]

In the above extracts migrant populations are seen as a threat to national identity, and their different ethnicities are seen as impeding their integration –or 'assimilation' into the Greek society, despite the development, over recent years, of

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[54] GRODPL 090697, p. 7326, C. Kipouros, PASOK
[55] GROQPL 231101, p. 1696, C. Markogiannakis, ND

more accommodating discourses of identity (Tzanelli 2007). It also reflects the construction of Greece as a largely homogeneous country in terms of the ethnicity of the population (Mavrodi 2007; Petrakou 2003; Triantafyllidou and Veikou 2002; Veremis 1997). However, the perception of threat should not be seen only as a fear for the identity of the state in cultural terms. It is linked to the belief that other states can use migration to purposefully alter the demography of Greek population by creating ethnic minorities and using them to promote their interests within Greece. For example, an MP known for his nationalist tendencies refers to a visit of Macedonian political refugees, who had left Greece during the Second World War because of political reasons as well as because they were seen as an enemy minority, in the following way:

> It is clear that this is not about repatriation but about an internationally unique import of a minority and especially one which is proven to be an enemy to the country in which they want to settle. No lawful country which wants to maintain internal security and stability would even think of such an action.[56]

This negative linkage between the political interests of foreign countries and the existence of non- Greek (in terms of ethnicity, or in the case of the Macedonian political refugees, in terms of perceived ethnic consciousness) populations corresponds to a view of ethnic minorities as threatening to the security and cohesion of the Greek state. Minorities are believed to undermine the state from within in order to serve the interests of other states (Gropas and Triandafyllidou 2007a; Heraclides 1997; Petrakou 2001; Pollis 1992).

In the second part of the research period, references to Turkey by government speakers tend to focus more on the issue of clandestine entry rather than security threats. These constructions focus on Turkey's inability or unwillingness to control migratory flows from its territory towards Greece. The Minister for Merchant Navy, for example, states that 'at least in the sea, all illegal immigrants come from Turkey'.[57] Among government- supporting speakers, the reason for the entry of asylum seekers from Turkey is the latter's non-compliance with agreements, or,

[56] GROQPL 240703, p.360, S. Papathemelis, PASOK
[57] GRPCMN 071101, G. Anomeritis, MMN, PASOK

before the signing of the 2001 readmission agreement, the unwillingness to sign an agreement. According to the Minister of Public Order, '[...] our problem [regarding irregular entry] is [...] the denial of Turkey to implement the agreements it has signed.'[58] The shift from old enmities to irregular migration reflects the period of rapprochement and the beginning of co-operation in the area of controlling irregular migration (Baldwin-Edwards 2006; Koliopoulos and Veremis 2007; Rumelili 2007). However, old tensions are present in the tendency of Greek political actors to attribute blame for the lack of control to Turkey, drawing on constructions of it as the 'Other' in Greek identity.

There is very little in Irish political discourse that depicts increased numbers of asylum seekers or immigrants as a threat either to state security and interests or to national identity, which is consistent with the Irish history of neutrality. Instead, the four references to state security suggest that the perception of threat is more likely to be associated with migration itself –smuggling and the possibility of terrorists using the asylum system. This is consistent with the absence of this theme in the Irish literature on asylum seeking and immigration, which was discussed in Chapter One.

References to crime and organised crime

A theme that is of different intensity in the texts of both countries is that of asylum seeking as linked to crime and organised crime. In Ireland, references to either crime or organised crime are very low – 6 and 5 respectively -, a finding which is supported by relevant research (Prieto Ramos 2004). Therefore this section will focus mainly on the Greek corpus, where crime and organised crime are far more prominent as themes, with 45 and 17 references respectively.

As early as in the 1996 Refugee Act debate, speakers highlight the 'rise of criminality'[59] and the 'rise of illegal drugs trade and in extension of illegal networks

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[58] GRINPO 300602, M. Chrisochoidis, PASOK
[59] GRDBPL 111296, p.1772, P. Kammenos, ND

Table 4.6: References to crime, organised crime, terrorism, public order and sense of security

Year	Crime	Organised crime	Terrorism	Public order	Sense of security
Greece					
1996	1	3	1	1	0
1997	0	3	2	0	0
1998	1	0	0	3	1
1999	0	1	0	0	3
2000	20	5	1	3	12
2001	21	4	5	6	17
2002	0	0	0	0	1
2003	2	1	2	0	1
2004	0	0	0	0	0
Total	45	17	11	13	35
Number of documents	8/117	9/117	8/117	10/117	13/117
Percentage	6.84%	7.69%	6.84%	8.55%	11.11%
Ireland					
1996	2	2	2	0	0
1997	0	0	0	0	0
1998	0	0	0	0	3
1999	1	1	0	0	8
2000	0	0	0	0	0
2001	0	0	2	1	0
2002	1	1	1	0	0
2003	0	1	1	0	3
2004	2	0	2	0	2
Total	6	5	8	1	16
Number of documents	6/106	5/106	8/106	1/106	10/106
Percentage	5.66%	4.72%	7.55%	0.94%	9.43%

of exploiting prostitution, and in extension even terrorism'[60]. While the above statements are made in a debate specifically on asylum, in later documents the issue of crime is linked to migrant populations at large rather than asylum seekers specifically. It is stated, for instance, that 'the existence of this high number of immigrants creates [...] issues of criminality[...]'[61] and that migrants 'create problems of crime, which have increased to such an extent that they are not obscured by dubious statistics'[62] and that their contribution to crime rates 'is significant, especially to crimes against property.'[63]

The latter two quotes are from debates on irregular migration which suggests that problematisation based on crime extends to all forms of migration. Asylum seeking and crime can become interconnected indiscourse, especially in instances when speakers localise issues. For instance, a speaker states that 'every day illegal immigrants disembark on Greek coasts and they are not arrested'[64] and end up in 'Lavrio, in which many manage to penetrate, because of the lack of measures for dealing with this problem.'[65] In this case, an indirect link between asylum seeking and criminality is created since criminality is linked to in the particular context of the Lavrio accommodation camp, which houses refugees and asylum seekers rather than economic or irregular migrants. However, it should be noted that this linkage is made exclusively by opposition speakers either because of ignorance or in order to reinforce arguments for a more restrictive migration policy.

Moreover, emphasis is also placed on organised crime. Drug trafficking and prostitution have already been mentioned and persist through the period studied. There are also assertions that migration has allowed 'gangs of criminal elements from the underworld of third countries'[66] to operate in Greece. There are instances where criminal networks are directly linked to asylum seeking. For example, it is asserted that 'there have been developed networks which come into operation as

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[60] GRDBPL 111296, p.1772, P. Kammenos, ND
[61] GRDBDL 060301b, p. 5644, E. Kourkoula, PASOK
[62] GROQPL 231101, p. 1702, I. Kefalogiannis, ND
[63] GRDBPL 030403, p. 3747, C. Markogiannakis, ND
[64] GRDBPL 030403, p. 3754, M. Varvitsiotis, ND
[65] GRDBPL 030403, p. 3754, M. Varvitsiotis, ND
[66] GRDBDL 260700, p.526, K. Karamanlis, ND

soon as illegal migrants set foot in Greece and take advantage of the efforts of granting asylum'[67]

The perceived threat from crime, either in its individual form or more commonly of organised smuggling, trafficking, drugs trade and terrorist networks, is in some instances -10 overall- constructed as a threat to the internal law and order of the state. In an oral question in 1998 the Minister for Health presents the potential arrival of refugees as 'a problem of public order.'[68] A more frequent theme involves references to the perceptions of security among Greek citizens caused by migration. A speaker claims, for instance, that the phenomenon of migration – in combination with failed policies- has

> [...] lead the whole of the Greek society, the whole of the Greek people to be possessed by an intense feeling of insecurity, which has spread to all social groups from the one end of Greece to the other[69].

Moreover, these feeling of insecurity are presented as largely justified. It is said, for example that '[n]obody can say that citizens often worry without reason about the phenomena and consequences of illegal immigration[...].'[70] While the above quotes refer broadly to the irregular migration, there is an instance where it is actually refugees that cause insecurity among the population. During a debate on the Kosovo war of 1999, it is argued that '[i]t is natural, in this case when a large number of refugees have concentrated in Albania and FYROM, that the inhabitants of the border areas are concerned.'[71]

The findings in relation to crime and security are consistent with the prominence of this theme in the literature reviewed in Chapter One. Problematising asylum seeking through associations with crime is a prominent theme in the Greek corpus, but seems to reflect wider concerns with criminality and migration in the Greek society. It can be argued that that the whole discourse on migrants and criminality

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[67] GROQPL 231101, p. 1710, C. Markogiannakis, ND
[68] GROQPL 061198, p. 838, T. Kotsonis, MHW, PASOK
[69] GRDBDL 250700, p. 501, C. Markogiannakis, ND
[70] GRDBDL 060301b, p. 5656, L..Tzanis, MI, PASOK
[71] GRSPPM 090599, K. Simitis, PASOK

has an impact on how asylum seeking is perceived, and that the representation of asylum seeking as irregular migration creates a 'common ground' between these representations, where crime discourses around immigration can spill into discourses on asylum seeking. Similarly, the low occurrence of this theme in the Irish documents reflects its absence from the literature and points to a significant difference between the problematisation themes of the two countries.

Constructing racism as a problem

Problematising migration in terms of it causing the emergence of racism in the society is a theme that occurs in both data sets, with 22 references in the Irish documents and 20 in the Greek set. The specific expression of the above theme is the belief that an increased number of migrants creates racist attitudes among the host population. This is a common perception in Irish and Greek political discourse, although with some variations.

Two subthemes dominate constructions of asylum seeking as a cause of racism in Irish discourse. Firstly, the emergence of racism towards migrants (as opposed to previous form of racism towards minority groups) is attributed to perceptions of preferential treatment of asylum seekers by the state, in the form of benefits and provision of housing and employment. For example, the fact that most asylum seekers have been housed in the Dublin area, especially before dispersal policies were introduced, is seen as '[...] wrong and leads to difficulties and to people feeling threatened in regard to houses, jobs and so on. We have created the breeding ground for misinformation and uneducated views.'[72] Another speaker comments that

> [...] many illegal immigrants and refugees enter the country who may remain on social welfare payments for two to three years. This has provided a perfect opportunity for ordinary Irish citizens to become racists.[73]

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[72] IRDBDL 100299b, 500:298, N. Ahern, FF
[73] IRDBDL 021104, 591:768, P. Kehoe, FG

Table 4.7: References to racism

Year	Ireland	Greece
1996	0	4
1997	0	0
1998	4	0
1999	9	0
2000	0	1
2001	0	12
2002	0	2
2003	3	2
2004	4	1
Total	20	22
Number of documents	10/106	9/117
Percentage	9.43%	7.69%

In these statements, racism is presented as the result of perceived – on the part of the population- competition over resources. Moreover, it is pointed out by the speakers that these perceptions are also due to misinformation and 'myths' disseminated by the media, which is a point often made in the relevant research (Devereux and Breen 2003; McGee 2003). However, as Tormey (2007:84) notes, these concerns are not solely 'racially conceived' but equally shaped by the effects of neo-liberal policies which entailed a weakening of social provisions (also Frost 2006).

A second subtheme represents racism as an effect of the transition from an emigrant, homogeneous society to a diverse reception society. 'We are' argues one speaker,

> [...] inescapably moving towards a more multicultural society, something we must

> come to grips and accept. [...] The problems, debates and tensions and the rise in racism which we have witnessed in the past year or so in Ireland will not go away.[74]

Another speaker comments that

> [...] up to about seven or eight years ago, we were a relatively culturally and ethnically homogenous society. One of the most unpleasant aspects of representational politics in Ireland in the 1990s and at the turn of the century is the horrible underbelly of racism[...].[75]

These views rely on constructions of Ireland as a monocultural, homogeneous country which have been discussed in Chapter One. They tends to ignore the existence of minorities prior to the transformation into a receiving country, and already existing forms of racism aimed at them (McVeigh and Lentin 2002; Loyal 2003). Moreover, constructing immigration as a new challenge to Irish society justifies negative reactions and discriminatory attitudes as legitimate reactions to the fear of the culturally unknown (Fanning 2002; Guerin 2002; McVeigh and Lentin 2002; Wilson and Donnan 2007).

On the other hand, it is pointed out by opposition speakers that it is the policies of the state that fuel racism. One such example is the refusal of the Irish state to grant the right to work to asylum seekers. As one speaker argues,

> [...] some asylum seekers continue to be sidelined in society. The vast majority are excluded from the workforce and they are perceived as spongers as a result. That fuels racism.[76]

In the above quote, government policy is openly blamed for encouraging racism towards asylum seekers. Another speaker relates racism to the lack of appropriate information by the government:

> This week the chief executive officer of the North Eastern Health Board went on radio and blamed refugees for the mess in which the health service in my region finds itself. [...] The way in which his comments were perceived made people very angry and is causing racism. That is of serious concern to me.[77]

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[74] IRDBDL 241199a , 511:792, O. Mitchell, FG
[75] IRDBDL 270503, 567:959, C. Lenihan, FF
[76] IRDBDL 100403, 565:337-338, J. Deasy, FG
[77] IRDBDL 290503, 567:1549, D. English, FG

The above quote is an example of the opposition argument that racism can be attributed to misinformation. The arguments opposition MPs use reflect broader anti-racist discourses in Ireland. These include recognition that restrictive immigration policies can result in increasing racism, a theme also stressed in the literature (Fanning 2002; Garner 2004)

The emergence of racism in Greek texts is also linked to the newness of the phenomenon of increased migration and to its uncontrolled nature. It is argued, for example that 'the increase mainly in criminality but also of unemployment, because of the uncontrolled migratory influx, has created justified, to an extent, fears in part of our population.'[78] The issue of the fear of the population, caused by perceptions of increased criminality and unemployment is frequently associated with racism and xenophobia. For instance, a speaker argues that

> [uncontrolled migration] creates problem within the Greek society, it alters it and disturbs its equilibrium [...], which almost always reacts by displaying characteristics of xenophobia and racism. [79]

Racism created by criminality and unemployment due to increased migration is also linked to the maintenance of national identity as the following quote shows:

> The increasing fears for the increase of unemployment and criminality in our country, because of the existence of an uncontrolled migration influx, are responsible for the manifestation of discriminatory attitudes towards migrants. Xenophobia and racism are ante portas of the Greek society, and associated often with valid questions regarding the need for maintaining national homogeneity in Greece.[80]

These extracts reflect two themes discussed in the literature. Firstly, the emergence of racism is attributed to the rise of immigration and the 'problems' it brings to Greek society. The rise of racism is linked with a rise of crime and unemployment, which is widely attributed to immigrants in political and media discourse (Gropas and Triandafyllidou 2007b; Kiprianos *et al* 2003; Triantafyllidou and Veikou 2002). This suggests strongly a process of racialisation of immigrants and asylum seekers

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[78] GRDBPL 060301a, p. 5609, A.Akrivakis, PASOK
[79] GRDBPL 060301a, p. 5604, V. Papandreou, MI, PASOK
[80] GRDBPL 060301a, p. 5598, A. Davakis ND

(Balibar 1991a; Miles 1989; Solomos and Back 1996). Secondly, the last extract above shows racism is attributed to the challenges posed by immigration to constructions of Greek identity as ethnically homogeneous (Mavrodi 2007; Petrakou 2003; Triantafyllidou and Veikou 2002; Veremis 1997).

Problematisations of asylum seeking based on racism have some common features between the two sets. Firstly, political actors in both countries tend to suggest that it is migration, including asylum seeking, that brings about racism among the population. This reaction of the population is represented as a justifiable one given the newness and intensity of immigration. Secondly, in both contexts racism is associated with the threats to the entitlements of the citizens. This, in the case of Greece, appears to be linked to threats to jobs, partly, it can be assumed, because of the dominance of economic migration as an issue. In the Irish context, racism is also related to constructions presenting asylum seekers and refugees as perceived to have more entitlements than citizens. This construction reflects construction of asylum seeking as a burden to the state, which will be explored in the following section.

Representing asylum seeking as a burden

This theme features in both sets, although with some noticeable differences among different sub-themes. As Table 4.8 shows, Irish speakers tend to focus primarily on asylum being a burden to the resources of the state and the associated costs, while in the Greek set, the dominant construction is that of a threat to employment.

In Irish documents, asylum-seeking is primarily constructed as a burden because of the high costs for the state, often associated with the pressures placed on the asylum systems of the country due to increasing numbers of asylum seekers. For instance, a speaker makes this connection when arguing that

Table 4.8: References to 'burden'

Ireland				
Year	**Cost**	**Resources**	**Employment**	**Welfare**
1996	0	0	0	0
1997	1	4	1	2
1998	4	1	0	2
1999	5	5	2	9
2000	0	3	0	0
2001	2	2	0	0
2002	1	1	0	0
2003	9	12	0	2
2004	5	7	0	3
Total	27	35	3	18
Number of documents	18/106	26/106	3/106	14
Percentage	16.98%	24.53%	2.83%	13.21%
Greece				
1996	0	1	2	0
1997	0	5	0	0
1998	2	2	0	0
1999	1	0	0	0
2000	0	0	5	4
2001	1	2	12	4
2002	0	1	1	0
2003	0	5	3	1
2004	0	0	0	0
Total	4	16	23	9
Number of documents	4/117	11/117	8/117	6/117
Percentage	3.42%	9.40%	6.84%	5.13%

> [...] there is no doubt that the substantial increase in recent years in the numbers coming to this country to seek asylum has created significant administrative and organisational challenges to us as a society.[81]

Expenditure on asylum systems is presented as 'tying up vast amounts of resources in terms of processing and support services.'[82] These quotes construct asylum seeking as a burden on financial and human resources of the country. This often takes the form of a threat to the asylum system as a whole, indicated by the emphasis on the administrative, organisational and processing aspects of it in the above extracts. These claims are also supported by references to the precise costs for the government. Further, several documents contain specific references to the numeric costs, such as 'the cost of processing such unfounded applications and providing support services to claimants which was in the region of E340 million in 2002.'[83] Furthermore, the expenditure is often referred to as 'taxpayers money',[84] stressing the idea of entitlement being reserved for citizens. The use of numerical data adds, as in the case of constructing high numbers as a problem, an objective dimension to the speakers' arguments. It should be noted, however, that it is predominantly government speakers who refer to costs and the 'taxpayers'.

Moreover, the expenditure on asylum is presented as a threat to the welfare system, as '[i]t places unfair burdens on our social welfare system and is injurious to the very disadvantaged sections of our own society.'[85] These conflicting claims of asylum seekers and citizens are, in documents chronologically prior to the introduction of dispersal policies, placed in the urban context of Dublin. As the same speaker comments,

> [...] there is particular pressure in the Dublin 1,2,7 and 8 areas where the poorest

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[81] IRDBDL 241199a, 511:767, B. Howlin, LAB
[82] IRPRMJ 220103, M. McDowell, MJ, PD
[83] IRPRMJ 191103, M.McDowell, MJ, PD; also IRDBDL 100398, 488: 737 -738, J. O'Donoghue, FF; IRDBDL 100299a, 500:362, I. Callelly ,FF; IRDBDL 241199b, 511:777-8, S. Ardagh, FF; IRDBDL 040204c 579:577, M. Hoctor, FF; IRPRMJ 081204, M.McDowell, MJ, PD; IRSPMJ 170702, M.McDowell, MJ, PD; IRWADL 091104, 592:253, M.McDowell, MJ, PD; IRWADL 120303, 561:688, M.McDowell, MJ, PD; IRWADL 301104, 593:1446. M.McDowell, MJ, PD;
[84] IRDBDL 281004, 591: 367, N. O'Flynn, FF ; also, for example, IRDBDL 100403 565:332, B. Lenihan MHC, FF; 565:364, N. O'Flynn, FF; IROQDL 021297, 483:1257, J. O'Donoghue
[85] IRDBDL 241199ba, 511:778-9, S. Ardagh, FF

> and most socially deprived people in the country live. These are the areas with the greatest density of refugees and asylum seekers.[86]

This type of argument allows the speaker to avoid being prejudiced by appearing concerned for the common good, especially for the welfare of disadvantaged sections of the Irish society. Arguments over welfare are used to highlight inequalities within the society. In the parliamentary debates, MPs in favour of restrictive policies tend to accuse those against on the grounds that their lack of understanding is because they represent wealthier, middle class areas of Dublin.

These themes are also linked to specific policies introduced during the time of the research. Dispersal, introduced in 1999 following its introduction in the UK was specifically argued to alleviate the 'burden' imposed on the more disadvantaged areas of Dublin (McGee 2003; O' Mahony 2003). Similarly, one of arguments for holding the citizenship referendum and introducing the subsequent Citizenship Act was the perceived burden placed on the maternity services of Dublin hospitals by pregnant asylum seeking mothers (Fanning and Mutwarasibo 2007; Garner 2007; Lentin 2007; Tormey 2007).

The above constructions of burden diverge from the focus of the literature. As Chapter One demonstrated, asylum seeking as a burden is conceptualised predominantly in terms of threats to welfare. In the documents analysed here, however, the construction of burden relies on the costs and pressures arising from the maintenance of asylum systems. This seems to link to the emphasis placed on the bureaucratic organisation of the asylum system (Garner 2002).

The notion of asylum as a burden in Greek discourse centres on two distinct themes. On the one hand, asylum seeking and migration in general is presented as restricting employment opportunities for Greek citizens. As a speaker argues,

> [...] if a hundred thousand refugees settle here, we are going to have a problem. Everything will be burdened. The labour market will be upset. The infrastructures in general and the perspectives of this country will also be undermined.[87]

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[86] IRDBDL 241199b, 511:778-9, S. Ardagh, FF

This theme, however, seems to be in most cases influenced by the extent of labour migration to Greece rather than asylum seeking specifically, reflecting the emphasis on the former as a threat to the entitlements and jobs of Greek workers (Ioakeimoglou 2001; Kiprianos *et al* 2003; Triandafyllidou 2000). Again, this is consistent with discussions of such constructions in the literature.

One the other hand, asylum seeking is seen as a burden because of the costs of humanitarian provision – food, shelter and medical care - to asylum seekers, especially those entering Greece irregularly. In such cases, argues the government spokesman, using the case of Zakynthos as an example, 'it is clear that there is a heightened cost, which the Greek public sector is called to cover.'[88] The cost of provision, for instance, is used to justify the reluctance of the Greek state to accept refugees from Kosovo during the war of 1999, because '[...] Greece has cannot shoulder any more burdens, it has already shouldered a great burden.'[89] The representation of asylum seeking as a burden is reinforced by references to the state's reliance on European Union funds. The above statement is followed by the assertion that 'there should be a strong expression of European Union solidarity to a country like Greece which is a border and entry point of the European Union.'[90] Similarly, in two written answers the announcement of plans for the establishment of a temporary accommodation centre for asylum seekers is accompanied by the – same - statement that 'because of the high cost of the establishment of the new centre, we have requested co-funding by the European Union'.[91]

Contrary to Irish political discourse, Greek constructions of asylum as a burden are less extensive and less clearly articulated. There are hardly any references to the specific costs of asylum, which can be explained either by lack of statistics on this issue, or by the fact that there is very little welfare provision to asylum seekers (Sitaropoulos 2002; Skordas and Sitaropoulos 2004). Thus, constructions of burden

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[87] GRDBPL 030403, p.3756, A. Andeoulakos, ND
[88] GRPCGS 071101, C. Protopapas, PASOK
[89] GRPCMC 010403, E. Venizelos, MC, PASOK
[90] GRPCMC 010403, E. Venizelos, MC, PASOK
[91] GRWAPL 191098, p. 135-136, E. Skoulakis, MHW, PASOK; GRWAPL 061098, p. 13-14, T. Kotsonis, MHW, PASOK

tend to be stated in very general terms and evolve around the belief that Greece does not have the capacity to provide for asylum seekers. Asylum seeking is constructed as disproportionate burden for a small country which does not have the resources to provide for asylum seekers, despite its humanitarian concerns. This is reflected in the choice of vocabulary of the actors. The reception of migrants is expressed for instance with the verb '*antehei*', which can be roughly translated as 'take on' or 'tolerate'. There are also several instances in relation to a discourse of burden when the 'capacities' of the state are mentioned. In other words, in order for the Greek state to express its humanitarian credentials, there should be limits on the number of migrants entering Greece, as the following extract suggests:

> [...] when this current exceeds our capacities and the tolerances of the Greek society and economy, then this phenomenon becomes negative and we don't want it to be negative. We want to be a country which welcomes and helps and not a country which prevents.[92]

In short, asylum seeking is constructed as a burden because of the limited capabilities of the Greek society and state –triggered by the phrase 'exceeds our capacities' in the above extract which prevents them from accepting refugees and providing the level of care they wish. Unlike Irish discourses on the same theme, this appears to be based on the image of Greece as a small country with limited resources and not on competition over entitlements. The above extracts also touch upon salient problems regarding the lack of infrastructure and funding in Greece which were discussed in Chapter Two (NOAS 2008; Papadopoulou 2004; Proasyl 2007; Sitaropoulos 2002; Skordas and Sitaropoulos 2004).

References to the abuse of asylum systems

I include in the theme of abuse as references to asylum systems being used in order to gain entry to the state, as well as references to the welfare system being abused by migrants. As Table 4.9 shows, it is nearly absent from the Greek corpus with just 6 quotes but has a very strong presence in the Irish one with 61 references – the

[92] GRPCPM 041201, K. Simitis, PM, PASOK

Table 4.9: References to abusing the system

Year	Greece	Ireland
1996	0	3
1997	1	1
1998	0	7
1999	0	11
2000	0	0
2001	2	5
2002	0	2
2003	3	16
2004	0	17
Total	6	62
Number of documents	5/117	37/106
Percentage	4.27%	34.91%

second highest overall. The themes above are mostly found in documents such are press releases, written answers and speeches, which reflect the government's representations of abuse.

In the Irish texts, abuse is conceptualised primarily in terms of using the asylum system against the rules. First, it is claimed that the asylum system is used in order to gain entry to Ireland in a clandestine manner. This is expressed in references to 'those who simply abuse the asylum process to gain entry'[93] or to those 'who intentionally misuse asylum procedures for illegal immigration purposes.'[94] Second, abuse of the system through the evasion of controls is claimed to occur because of economic motivation of migrants. It is argued for example that

> Ireland, along with many other EU states is experiencing the growing misuse of our refugee determination process [...] with the sole purpose of evading legitimate

[93] IRWADL 091104, 592:254, M. McDowell, MJ, PD

[94] IRWADL 100298, 486:1630, J. O'Donoghue, MJ, FF; similarly IRDBDL 100403, 565:366, C. O'Connor, FF; IROQDL 250698, 493:308, J. O'Donoghue, MJ, FF; IRSPMJ 101202, M. McDowell, MJ, PD; IRWADL 211197, 481:1374, J. O'Donoghue, MJ, FF;

> immigration controls in order to gain a foothold in the State for economic purposes.[95]

Third, these forms of abuse are associated with the activities of smuggling networks. It is stated in several documents that

> those engaged in trafficking and those seeking to access the labour market without going through the appropriate legal channels are quick to identify any perceived attractiveness of a country as a preferred or easily accessed destination.[96]

The 'attractiveness' of the country is, for the Irish government, located in asylum procedures which can be used by smuggling networks.

The above quotations reflect two discursive associations that are prominent in Irish constructions of abuse. They reflect the preoccupation with the misuse of asylum systems and procedures which is related to the increasing 'bureaucratization' of asylum seeking, which is in turn linked to the modernisation project in Ireland (Fanning 2002). As will be demonstrated in Chapter Seven, the protection of asylum systems from abuse is one of the main justifications used for restrictive policies and measures. Secondly, the above extracts reflect the perception that the majority of asylum claims are unfounded. Chapter Six will expand on this theme further by examining representations of asylum seekers as 'non-genuine'.

These representations of abuse link to wider issues regarding immigration and asylum in Irish society. First, perceptions of abuse of the asylum system are widespread in political and media discourse (Devereux and Breen 2003; Loyal 2003; McGee 2003). Moreover, the emphasis on the abuse of the system as a whole can be seen a part of a wider trend in Irish immigration policy, which, similarly to the immigration policies of other western European states, is argued to emphasise bureaucratic procedures over humanitarian aspects of protection (Garner 2004; Mullally 2003; Zetter 2007). The threat posed by abuse of the systems could,

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[95] IRSPMJ 170702, M. McDowell, MJ, PD; similarly IRSPMJ 270901, J. O'Donoghue, MJ, FF ; IRWADL 010301, 531:1339, J. O'Donoghue, MJ, FF

[96] IRWADL 010703, 570:506, M. McDowell, MJ, PD ; IRWADL 091104, 592:253, M. McDowell, MJ, PD; IRWADL 131101 543:1446, J. O'Donoghue, MJ, FF; IRWADL 120203, 561:669, M. McDowell, MJ, PD; IRWADL 301104, 593:1446, M. McDowell, MJ, PD

therefore, be conceptualised in terms of a threat to the organisation and order pursued by speakers.

The language of problematisation

The language by which political actors construct asylum seeking (and immigration) as a problem has been a strong focus of the relevant literature. In this section I will focus on two aspects of the language speakers use – the employment of metaphors of natural disasters and the use of the word 'problem'.

Firstly, it has been observed in the literature that an important part of the problematisation of asylum seeking is played by the employment of a language of 'natural disasters'. This is linguistically realised with the use of metaphors, which help the understanding of social reality by comparing 'one domain of reality [...] with another, more familiar domain of reality, whereby our understanding of the less familiar domain is enhanced by means of common sense reasoning' (Van der Valk 2003:330). Such language is employed in both sets. Metaphors of nature and natural disasters include a vocabulary based on water, with words such as 'influx'[97], and 'flood'[98] or 'kyma'(wave)[99] and 'kataklyzetai'(being flooded)[100] in Greek. Again, the employment of such vocabulary seems to be part of wider trends. The language of national disasters has been a feature of both political and media discourses in Ireland of the researched period (Guerin 2002; McGee 2003; McVeigh and Lentin 2002; Prieto Ramos 2004). In terms of effects, natural metaphors suggest the inevitability of migration, and a loss of control over the procedure (Van der Valk 2003).

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[97] For example, ; IRDBDL 100398, 488:733, J. Gormley, GP, 488:738, J.O'Donoghue, MJ, FF; IRDBDL 100299a, 500:375, J. Browne, FF; IRDBDL 241199a, 511:785 D. Roche, FF; IRDBDL 241199b, 511:851, I. Callely, FF, 511:864, T. Kileen, FF; IRDBDL 241199b, 511:866, D. Neville, FG, 511: 869, M. Creed, FG; IRDBDL 10403, 565:354, N. O'Flynn, FF; IRDBDL 040204b, 579:522, D. O' Donovan, FF

[98] For example, IRDBDL 081105a, 457:2296, J. O'Keeffe, FG; IRDBDL 241199b, 511:865, T. Killeen, FF; IRDBDL 290503, 567:1556, B. Durkan, FG; IRDBDL 040204b, 579:507, J. O'Keeffe, FG; IRDBDL 271004, 591:92, C. Cuffe, GP

[99] For example, GRDBPL 111296 p.1771, P. Kammenos, ND; p.1784, F. Ioannidis, PASOK; GRPCFA 170198, G. Papandreou, MFA, PASOK ; GRPCGS 020499, D. Reppas, PASOK; GRDBPL 060301a, p. 5634, K. Tsiplakis, ND, p. 5608, V. Polydoras, ND; GRPCPM 051201, K. Simitis, PM, PASOK; GRINPO 300602, M. Chrisochoidis, MPO, PASOK; GRDBPL 030403, p. 3747, C. Markogiannakis, ND, p. 3756, N. Katsaros, ND

[100] GRDBDL 111296, p. 1782, G. Romaios, MPO, PASOK; GRPCGS 080499, D. Reppas, PASOK ;GRDBDL 060301a, p.5618, I. Tzamtzis, ND; GRDBDL 060301b, p.5642, K. Mitsotakis, ND; GRDBDL 030403 p. 3750, N. Gatzis, KKE

A second manner by which the problematic nature of asylum seeking is stressed is by the use of literal rather than metaphorical language, and specifically the use of the word 'problem'. For instance, speakers refer to the 'refugee problem'[101], the 'problem of asylum seekers'[102] or refer to refugee and immigration movements as a 'problem'[103]. In the Greek corpus refugee and irregular migration is equally said to be a problem[104] –*provlima* in Greek - as well as causing 'problems' to Greek society[105]. It is remarkable, however, that the use of the word 'problem' exceeds by far the use of metaphorical language of natural disasters, a possibility that does not seem to be discussed in the relavant literature.

Generally, the vocabulary used tends to reinforce construction of migration as a problem for host societies, and reflects the language used in media and public discourses (Garner 2004; Guerin 2002; McGee 2003; Prieto Ramos 2004). Moreover, this type of language reflects the perception of migration as a threat to the sovereignty and security of the state (Bigo 2005; Bralo and Morrison 2005; Van der Valk 2003). However, while CDA literature tends to emphasise metaphorical language, it can be argued that migration is literally constructed as a problem or a challenge. This has is significant in terms of how problematisation is entailed in strategies of legitimation.

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[101] IRDBDL 081195b, 457:2128, M. Flaherty, FG; IRDBDL 261095, 457:1716, A. Dukes, FG; IRDBDL 241199a, 511: 794, N. Ahern, FF

[102] IRDBDL 110398, 488:1043, P. De Rossa, PD; IRDBDL 241199a, 511:789, O. Mitchell, FG

[103] For example, IRDBDL 100299a, 500:369, E. Ryan, FF; IRDBDL 241199a, 511:757, J. O'Donoghue, FF, 511:733, T. Kitt, FF; IRDBDL 241199a, 511:857, E. Ryan, FF, 511:860, G. Reymolds, FG; IRPRMJ 160200, J. O'Donogue, MJ, FF; IRDBDL 270503, 567:959, C. Lenihan, FF, 567:976, D. English, FG; IRDBDL 040204b 579:498, Dr. L. Twomey, FG, 579:522, D.O'Donovan, FF

[104] For example, GRDBDL 111296, p.1778, K. Spyriounis, PASOK, GROQPL 061198, p.838, T. Kotsonis, MHW, PASOK; GRDBDL 250700, p. 499, G. Papageorgiou, PASOK; GRPCMN 071101, G. Anomeritis, MMN, PASOK; GROQPL 231101 p. 1696, C. Markogiannakis, ND, p. 1700, A. Lykourezos, ND; GRSPFA 260202, G. Papandreou, MFA, PASOK; GRINPO 300602, M. Chrisochoidis, MPO, PASOK; GRDBDL 030403, p.3747, C. Markogiannakis, ND, p. 3752, K. Spyriounis, PASOK; GRPCPM 070403, K. Simitis, PM, PASOK

[105] For example, GRDBDL 111296, p. 1771, P. Kammenos, ND, p.1775, F.Kouvelis, SYN; GRPCGS 020499, D. Reppas, PASOK; GROQPL 231101 p. 1696, C. Markogiannakis, ND, K. Tasoulas, p.1701, ND; GRPCGS 061201, D. Reppas, PASOK

Representations of asylum seeking as a problem and legitimation

The theme and strategies explored in the previous sections are strongly entailed in the legitimation of policies. This section will outline some of the argumentation strategies in which the problematisation of asylum seeking is entailed.

To begin with, policies are legitimated by constructing refugee movements (including what is presented as irregular migration) as a 'problem'. It is enacted through the association of immigration with the specific themes explored in this chapter, with 'problems' of criminality, racism or abuse of the system for example. Such representations have the effect of constructing migration as a problem that needs to be contained, controlled and resolved by the state (Bigo 2005; Brandi 2007; Huysmans 2006). Second, asylum seeking is constructed as a 'problem' that is originally outside the control of the state –expressed through the natural disaster metaphors and also through problematisation themes concerning, for example, increasing migration, rising numbers, geographical position – enables the use objective strategy rationalisation (Van Leeuwen 2007). This refers to arguments that there is a need, imposed by outside conditions, to adopt specific courses of action (Fairclough 1999; Van Leeuwen 2007; Van Leeuwen and Wodak 1999).

Third, legitimation is also linked to the framing of these phenomena as problems. For instance, constructions regarding rising numbers make certain claims about why this is a problem. Numbers of asylum seekers in Ireland are constructed as high, while it can be argued that they are low in comparison to other European –and non-European countries. This allows political actors to argue for measures aimed at the restriction of numbers of refugees entering the state. Similarly, associating irregular migration with raised criminality –however unproven the connection is – allows Greek speakers to argue for measures restricting entry. In a sense, prioritising specific constructions of asylum seeking as a problem shape the proposed solutions (Soguk 1999; Tompson 2003).

Fourth, these forms of problematisation involve attributing 'social problems' – most frequently in the sets crime and threats to resources, employment and welfare – to the presence of immigrants (Brandi 2007; Lazaridis and Koumandraki 2001; Lentin 2007; Loyal 2003). This, in terms of legitimation, makes it possible to argue for restrictions in order to protect common resources but also in order to resolve 'our' social problems' (Balibar 1991b; Lentin 2007).

Conclusion

This chapter explored how asylum seeking is represented as a problem. The analysis revealed both commonalities and differences between the discourses of the two countries which can be attributed to domestic contexts. In terms of similarities, it can be observed that asylum seeking is problematised in terms of it being a new phenomenon appearing recently in the history of the two countries. Moreover, strategies of problematisation involve references to rising numbers of migrants. This reflects the dominant constructions in both societies of the countries as emigrant ones, only coming to terms with immigration in the last decade. Similarly, in both sets the appearance of refugees and migrants is presented as a 'historical accident' (Pavlou 2001) triggered by geo-political developments outside the territory of the state. In addition, constructing asylum seeking as a problem is also conveyed by the use of language and specifically though the use of metaphors of natural disasters or, more simply, by the overuse of the word 'problem'. Furthermore, certain themes such as irregular migration, and constructions of asylum seeking as a burden occur strongly in both set –although in different frequencies and content.

Overall, however, the differences between the two sets are more pronounced. Regarding representations of asylum seeking as a new phenomenon, references tend to be more about migrants in general in Greek documents, while more specifically about asylum seekers in the Irish ones. Moreover, Irish speakers tend to employ statistics regarding applications to prove the alleged increase. Similarly, irregular migration is far stronger in the Greek context which confirms the

significance of its geographical position of in relation to EU policies regarding the control of its external borders (Baldwin-Edwards 2004; Geddes 2003; Mavrodi 2007). On the other hand, economic and irregular migration are more closely interlinked in the Irish documents than in the Greek ones, which can be partly explained by representations of abuse to an asylum system aiming at separating the two strands (Garner 2004).

Representations of asylum seeking as a threat to the security of the state and to the security and perceptions of security of citizens are dominant in the Greek set but feature very little in the Irish documents. This has to do with specific, already existing discourses in the Greek context. These concern, firstly, constructions of national identity and representations of relations with other states, and secondly, concerns over the alleged rise in crime in Greek society which is largely attributed, by political actors and the media, to migrants.

Similarly, asylum seeking as a 'burden' is conceptualised differently in each set. In the Irish set, 'burden' is conceptualised primarily in terms of pressure on human and financial resources, with references to costs playing a significant role in providing 'objective' evidence for these statements. The emphasis is placed on the pressure of the asylum system as a whole. As it has been argued, this might have to do with the importance given to systems and procedures as way to maintain order in Irish discourse, and questions over entitlement that are linked to the existence of a welfare state (Garner 2004; Frost 2006, Lynn and Lea 2003; Schuster 2003b; Tormey 2007). In the Greek set, conceptualisations of asylum seeking as a burden are dominated by concerns over employment of the citizens, an emphasis which seems to be influenced by concerns over labour migration. At the same time, however, the conceptualisation of asylum seeking as a 'burden' to resources concerns mostly the reception of refugees. Likewise, problematisation based on the theme of abuse is found solely in the Irish set which could be due to the importation of British immigration policies, but also to the widespread preoccupation with the maintenance of bureaucratic asylum systems (Garner 2004).

Overall, the discourse of 'problematisation' of asylum seeking is influenced by both domestic and regional factors. The issue of smuggling is a case in point. In both countries, smuggling is associated with both illegal entry and crime. These issues feature more highly in Greek discourse but also feature strongly in the Irish corpus, where the specific difficulties with controlling entry faced by Greece are not relevant. This could be explained in terms of EU priorities, especially after Tampere. It is difficult to see how the prominence of this theme could be explained by taking only the domestic context into account, since the one event that brought smuggling to the fore – the death of eight migrants in a container at Wexford – did not happen until the end of 2001. On the other hand, this might reflect a broader trend as asylum seeking is linked to illegal immigration smuggling networks, which are in turn linked to other forms of organised crime, such as the drugs trade and terrorism, an increasingly frequent occurrence in western political discourse (Bigo 2005; Tsoukala 2005).

The way asylum seeking is problematised also reproduces well-established ideas about the modern state. A common strand among many of the themes discussed in this chapter is the idea of asylum seeking as a threat from outside of the state. This is suggested by representation of irregular migration as a problem to be stopped at the borders, by the employment of 'natural disaster' vocabulary, and by perceptions of threat to state security in the Greek set. Constructing asylum seeking in such a manner renders it a threat to state sovereignty, as it affects its ability to control its borders and maintain order in its territory (Bigo 2005; Huysmans 2006; Koser 2007). The justifications used by political actors, which will be explored in Chapter Seven, draw on this perceived need to reassert the authority of the state in the face of external threats. Furthermore, asylum seeking and migration are constructed as threats to collective resources –such as the welfare state and employment – which are underpinned by the idea of entitlement reserved to citizens. This reproduces the modern state insofar it reinforced the boundaries between the national community and the 'others'.

This boundary-drawing exercise will be explored in more detail in the next two chapters on the representation of the host community and the representation of refugees. The next chapter seeks to expand on some of the legitimation effects introduced in the current chapter by exploring how the host community is represented – more often in a positive manner than not- and highlighting the relation between presenting refugee movements as a problem and the reactions of well meaning community 'forced' to act.

Chapter Five

Representations of the host state and society

This chapter focuses on how political actors construct themselves and the community they belong to in political discourse. In CDA literature, constructions of the host community play an important part in the legitimation of policies (Chilton and Schaffner 1997; van Dijk 1993; 1997a). They are usually discussed under the term of 'positive self-presentation' which is defined as a semantic and rhetoric strategy that permits speakers to present themselves or the group with which they identify in a positive light in terms of values, attitudes and actions (Triandafyllidou 2000; Van der Valk 2003; van Dijk 1997a). CDA research has shown that positive self-presentation is a common feature of discourses of national identity, minorities and more relevantly, immigration. Van Dijk (1993), in his study of racist discourses among political elites has identified it as a typical trait of national discourses on minorities, while Wodak *et al* (2001) include positive self-presentation as a strategy in the construction of national identity in Austria. Mehan (1997), Van der Valk (2003a;2003b) and Triandafyllidou (2000) have all discussed positive self-presentation strategies in political discourses of immigration in the United States, France, the Netherlands, Spain, Italy and Greece.

The literature indicates that representations of the host community can contribute to the legitimation of policies in a variety of ways. To begin with, they can, as Triandafyllidou (2000:382) aptly puts it, showcase 'the ethical superiority and intrinsic goodness of the in-group' allowing other strategies such as problematisation and negative other presentation to be used as legitimating devices. They can increase the persuasiveness of political discourse by emphasising positive qualities of the in-group and at the same time de-emphasising negative qualities, by, for instance, denials of racism (Brandi 2007; Triantafyllidou 2000; Van der Valk 2003; van Dijk 1993). Thirdly, as the attribution of positive qualities tends to be collective they tend to emphasise consensus among the host community, which can enhance appeals to legitimacy (Wodak *et al* 2000). Moreover, in

conjunction with other discursive strategies such as the negative presentation of the out-group it serves at redefining the boundaries between 'us and 'them' (Triantafyllidou 2000; Van der Valk 2003; van Dijk 1993).

Based on the above discussion, the chapter will focus, firstly, on the values and behaviours speakers attribute to themselves and to the host community. The analysis of the texts showed that certain values occurred in both corpora although in different frequencies. For this reason, the chapter will focus on those that were more prominent in one or both countries, namely the values of hospitality, humanitarianism, generosity and sensitivity. Previous research on discourses of immigration and asylum in western European political discourse shows that such qualities are frequently attributed to the host communities (Triantafyllidou 2000; Van der Valk 2003; van Dijk 1993; 1997a; Wodak *et al* 2000). Secondly, the chapter explores representations relating to denials of racism, a theme also highlighted in the relevant literature (Triantafyllidou 2000; Van der Valk 2003; van Dijk 1993; 1997; Wodak *et al* 2000). However, the chapter also focuses on the acceptance of racist attitudes of the host community which occurred frequently in the Irish corpus. Similarly, a section will be devoted to statements challenging positive representations of the host community.

The following section explores representations of the host country as respectful of human rights and refugee protection norms. These prove to be salient in both sets, reflecting the importance of appearing to adhere to such norms for the identity of the countries (Schuster 2003a; Van Selm-Thoburn 1998). It also explores references to democracy and civilisation which complement this theme. The chapter then proceeds to discuss some of the linguistic strategies employed by political actors. Specifically, it focuses on the collective manner of representation, the use of comparisons and hyperbole and the employment of references to the past as authorisation for statements. The chapter concludes with discussing the role of representations of the community in the legitimation of policies and concludes by summarising the main themes of the chapter.

In short, while the analysis of themes is based on the relevant literature, it has been expanded to incorporate some aspects that are some times not emphasised there. This is also to address some of the criticisms directed at this particular area of CDA, which were discussed in Chapter Three, but also to reflect the specific findings of this research.

Values, attitudes and behaviour

The attribution of positive values and behaviours featured strongly in both sets of documents although the particular qualities attributed to the in-group were different in each set. As Table 5.1 shows, the most frequently attributed qualities in the Greek corpus were humanitarianism with 37 references, sensitivity to refugees and asylum issues with 29 and hospitality with 15. The results for the Irish corpus showed that hospitality is the most frequently mentioned quality with 31 references, followed by generosity with 22 and humanitarianism with 15. The following sections look at these constructions in detail.

Hospitality and welcoming refugees

As it has been indicated, being hospitable is a value attributed in both sets. Under the heading of hospitality, I include statements that describe the host country as a hospitable one, or that argue that hospitable, open and welcoming behaviour and attitudes are displayed in the behaviour of the population or the government towards refugees. It is the most frequent quality mentioned by Irish actors, with 31 references overall, and the third by Greek ones with 15. Moreover, this construction is enhanced by some references to tolerance and openness, which occur 4 and 5 times respectively in the Irish corpus and 7 and 8 respectively in the Greek one. The numbers are too low to be discussed independently but in conjunction to the hospitality theme they contribute to the construction of the in-groups as welcoming towards refugees and asylum seekers.

Table 5.1: Values

Ireland			
Year	Hospitality	Generosity	Humanitarianism
1996	4	4	2
1997	0	1	0
1998	3	1	2
1999	10	6	8
2000	0	1	1
2001	0	0	0
2002	0	0	0
2003	5	4	1
2004	9	5	1
Total	31	22	15
Number of documents	18/106	19/106	12/106
Percentage	16.18%	17.92%	11.32%
Greece			
Year	Humanitarianism	Sensitivity	Hospitality
1996	5	4	0
1997	3	6	1
1998	1	5	3
1999	7	3	1
2000	0	0	1
2001	16	10	6
2002	3	0	2
2003	2	1	1
2004	0	0	0
Total	37	29	15
Number of documents	25	22	13
Percentage	21.37%	18.80%	11.11%

Hospitality in the Irish data is equally presented as a characteristic of the Irish population. Attributing hospitality to their behaviour towards refugees is exemplified in 9 out of 31 references where they are constructed as actively welcoming refugees. It is stated, for example, that 'most people here welcome refugees'[106], but more often the hospitable nature of Irish people is described in relation to specific locations and events. One speaker, for instance, conveys this in the following manner:

> I have met Kosovar refugees in Millstreet. They were happy and expressed their gratitude for the wonderful reception they had received from Irish people particularly those of Cork and Kerry. To me, that was a real Irish welcome should be and I was proud to be an Irishman welcoming them to Cork and Kerry.[107]

In this extract, hospitality is presented as behaviour of the Irish people who are attributed the active role in the sentence – the hospitality was received 'from the Irish people' and the speaker is presented as 'welcoming' refugees. The effect of attributing hospitality is enhanced by referring to the sentiments of the refugees - 'they were happy and expressed their gratitude'- who are attributed the passive, receiving role in the statement. Furthermore, it is enhanced by using the strategy of mythopoesis, which involves the narration of 'stories' by the speaker (Fairclough 2003; Van Leeuwen and Wodak 1999). In most instances, the quality of hospitality is attributed to the country as a whole. One speaker for example refers to 'the welcoming nature we have always had in Ireland'[108] and another to 'Ireland's traditional welcome'.[109] More often, this idea is conveyed through the phrase 'Ireland of the welcomes' - or 'céad míle fáilte' – a thousand welcomes. For example, one speaker states that '[t]his country has always been known as Ireland of the welcomes and its people always had a céad míle fáilte for everyone who came to our shores.'[110]

This emphasis on hospitality draws on already existing constructions of national identity, depicting the Irish as warm and friendly people (Loyal 2003; O'Leary and

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[106] IRDBDL 261095b, 457:1618, M. McDowell, MJ, PD
[107] IRDBDL 241199b, 511:843, N. O' Flynn, FF
[108] IRDBDL 281004, 591:374, P. Power, FF
[109] IRDBDL 100398, 488:737, J. O'Donoghue, FF
[110] IRDBDL 100403, 565:372, J. Cowley, IND

Deegan 2002; 2005). However, this representation of Ireland as welcoming occasionally relies on the use of hospitality as a 'commodified international image of tourist friendliness' (Loyal 2003:89). This is indicated by speakers referring to Ireland as the country of the welcomes or of 'céad míle fáilte', which is the motto of the Irish Tourist Board. The employment of this particular construction of hospitality can suggest that asylum seekers and refugees are 'guests' rather than people who might settle in Ireland for the long term. This has also been argued to be the case with immigration in general, who are perceived as temporary rather than leading to long-term settlement (Frost 2006; Loyal 2007). Moreover, it should be taken into account that in the case of Kosovan refugees, who were accepted on a quota basis, the attitudes of both policy makers and the public at the time were more likely to be constructed as positive (Prieto Ramos 2004).

In the Greek corpus, the theme of hospitality is also fairly spread over the years included in the research. The highest number occurs in 2001, when it is used to legitimate the reluctance of the Greek government to grant the Zakynthos refugees access to the asylum procedure. In the Greek texts, hospitality is presented both as a type of behaviour and as a characteristic of Greek people on the whole. The attribution as a behaviour occurs 6 times and is expressed in statements such as '[i]n their majority, 'Greek people accept being hospitable to those vulnerable groups [refugees and other migrants].'[111] Moreover, out of 15 quotes overall, 9 construct the country or the population as hospitable. For example, it is claimed that 'the Greek people are hospitable'[112], that 'Greece is a hospitable country'[113] and that 'Greece is distinguished by its hospitality'[114].

These references reflect both discourses of national identity and perceptions regarding Greek attitudes to refugees. The belief that Greek society is hospitable to immigrants is widespread in Greek discourse in spite of research pointing to the contrary (Georgoulas 2001; Kiprianos *et al* 2003; Lazaridis and Koumandraki 2001;

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[111] GROQPL 061198, p. 837, T. Kotsonis, MHW, PASOK; GROQPL 221098, p. 321, T. Kotsonis, MHW, PASOK
[112] GROQPL 231101, p. 1696, C. Markogiannakis, ND
[113] GRPCGS 161100, D. Reppas, GS, PASOK
[114] GROQPL 221098, p. 321, V. Arapi-Karagianni, SYN

Troumbeta 2000). This gap between discursive constructions and social reality suggests that hospitality is a national myth employed in the justification of negative attitudes towards immigrants and minorities (Greorgoulas 2001; Lazaridis and Koumandraki 2001; Troumbeta 2000). Furthermore, it should be noted that similarly to Irish discourse, references to hospitality do not necessarily indicate positive attitudes towards the long-term incorporation of immigrants. This is suggested by the overwhelming use of the label 'illegal immigrants' to signify refugees –which will be discussed in the following chapter - which indicates that the speakers see their stay in Greece as temporary.

Humanitarianism and generosity

Humanitarianism is, with 37 mentions, by far the most commonly attributed one in the Greek data. The concept of humanitarianism is not defined in the texts, and as Chimni (2000) observes it is an elusive and broad concept. The way it is employed in the texts suggests that is seen as an idea and as a particular kind of behaviour entailing helping or taking care of others, in this case refugees. This would be in agreement with definitions of humanitarianism stressing the obligation 'to assist those in great distress on suffering' on the basis of commonly shared humanity (Gibney 1999:178; also Chimni 2000; Gibney 2004; Nyers 2006).

The attribution of humanitarianism to named actors tends to occurs when the government and other state agencies –in most cases the Greek police- are accused by the press, opposition MPs or NGOs of racist and sometimes aggressive behaviour towards asylum seekers. This is supported by the fact that they also occur in written answers, oral questions and press conferences, which are more specifically concerned with justifying and legitimating government actions and policies. Again, references to this quality peak in 2001, a rise which can be explained by the fact that humanitarianism is referred to by speakers in the context of the attitudes towards the Zakynthos refugees. Another peak is observed in 1999, when several documents concern Greek policies regarding refugees in Kosovo.

The texts provide examples of humanitarianism seen as both a normative belief and as a type of behaviour. On the one hand, it is presented as an idea or value emphasising the importance and dignity of human beings above anything else, which is respected by the host state. This is suggested in statements such as 'our country respects the rule of law, the values of humanitarianism and solidarity'[115] or 'Greece is a country where the word 'humanitarianism' finds its true meaning and is implemented in its true dimensions.'[116] It also occurs as a value guiding behaviour and attitudes towards refugees. Commenting on the treatment of the shipwrecked refugees at Zakynthos, for instance, the government spokesperson comments that 'the Greek state [...] showed its humanitarianism and the maritime police saved the lives of two thousand people.'[117] Moreover, humanitarianism is seen as an ideal existing through Greek history – as a speaker puts it, Greece 'has become identical and its history has become identical with humanitarianism and humanitarian attitudes.'[118]

The quality of humanitarianism is primarily associated with 'taking care' of refugees and irregular migrants, in the sense of providing food, shelter and emergency health care. It is said, for example, in relation to the reception of irregular migrants, that 'there will be healthcare, they will be fed, they will be given everything necessary. [...] This is the expression of our humanitarianism.'[119] In this extract, humanitarian provision is constructed as temporary since the speaker states that he 'would like to stress, to avoid any misunderstanding, that this regime is temporary [...]. Beyond that, the final solution is their return.'[120] This is a particularly strong construction in the Greek discourse of asylum, which goes beyond presenting the Greek state as humanitarian in the sense of caring towards asylum seekers. Greek government speakers tend to prioritise providing for basic needs - which is discursively constructed as a positive feature - over access to the asylum procedure. The last conceptualisation of the humanitarianism as a type of positive behaviour towards

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[115] GRDBPL 060301a p. 5613, K. Geitonas, PASOK
[116] GRPCGR 071101, C. Protopapas, PASOK
[117] GROQPL 231101, p. 1705, V. Polydoras, ND
[118] GRDBDL 111296, p. 1734, F. Ioannidis, PASOK
[119] GRPCGS 270602, C. Protopapas, PASOK
[120] GRPCPL 270602, C. Protopapas, PASOK

refugees is also linked to the provision of humanitarian assistance to displaced refugees. Sending humanitarian aid to refugees affected by the wars in Kosovo, Afghanistan and Iraq is emphasised by Greek speakers and constructed in a positive manner. One speaker argues that

> [...] we continue with increased intensity our effort to guarantee tolerable conditions of life for the thousands of refugees in Skopje and Albania. We are the country who has the right to say that we are in the lead of providing humanitarian assistance to refugees. [121]

The provision of humanitarian assistance is employed as proof for the positive attitudes of Greek authorities to refugees and is often stressed, as in the above extracts, by comparisons to other countries. It should be noted that references to humanitarian assistance are also employed for the legitimation of policies concerning non-admittance, especially of refugees from armed conflicts. This theme will be explored further in a Chapter Seven.

Overall, the construction of Greek society and political actors as humanitarian raises a number of issues. Firstly, it is presented as a commonly shared value of the Greek population and one that is also historical, rooted in ancient Greece. At the same time humanitarianism can be considered as a value shared by western democracies (Nyers 2006) of which the Greek state –although not unquestionably – considers itself a member (Mavrodi 2007; Petrakou 2001). Secondly, the prevalence of references to humanitarianism might be due to the effect of the geographical position of Greece and increased number of arrivals of refugees. While Greek and EU policies dictate that the granting of asylum is limited, the Greek state has responsibility for providing for the needs of refugees, in terms of food, health care and accommodation upon arrival. The emphasis on humanitarianism can be seen as a reflection of these conditions. As Chapter Seven will argue, humanitarianism is used to justify restrictive policies such as the non-admittance of refugees and the reluctance to provide protection, as providing for basic need is considered to confirm the positive attitudes of the host community and the fulfilment of their humanitarian duty. As such, it confirms the view expressed by Gibney (1999) that it

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[121] GRPCGS 040899, D. Reppas, PASOK

is a more acceptable option than protection for states, but this clearly highlights its politicised and instrumental nature (Chimni 2000; Every 2008; Nyers 2006). In fact, as will be argued in a following section, references to humanitarianism in the Greek context are very clearly aimed at the legitimation of policies through the positive representation of the host community.

Humanitarianism occurs less as a value or behaviour in the Irish texts, with 15 references, 8 of which appear in 1999. It is used to describe the attitude of Irish people towards refugees – it is argued that that 'when they [refugees] have come here, we have tended to deal with them properly and humanely.'[122] Another speaker states that he 'hope[s] that Ireland can continue to show the same caring attitude as we have since we signed the UN convention.'[123] Elsewhere, humanitarianism is conceived, as in the Greek documents, as helping and taking care of refugees. Showing 'humanitarian tendencies'[124] and helping 'in a humane manner'[125] are linked to the provision of accommodation, shelter and language classes.[126] Furthermore, some texts refer to Ireland's 'humanitarian reputation'[127] and 'humanitarian traditions'.[128]

A theme with similar content to humanitarianism is generosity. It is the second most frequent value that attributed to the behaviour of the Irish towards refugees and asylum seekers in Ireland, with 22 references overall. Generosity is associated with humanitarianism, as it involves an element of giving and caring, and is depicted as a characteristic of the behaviour of Irish people towards refugees. Speakers argue that Irish people 'show great generosity towards them [refugees]'[129] and that they have been 'both just and generous to the needs of people fleeing from oppression'. [130] Similarly to humanitarianism, generosity is constructed 'in particular

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[122] IRDBDL 040204b, 579:523, D. O'Donovan, FF
[123] IRDBDL 100299a, 500: 354, B. Daly, FF
[124] IRDBDL 081195a, 374:2299, D. Carey, MDT, FG
[125] IRDBDL 091299, 512:1086, D. Clune, FG
[126] IRDBDL 091299, 512:1086, D. Clune, FG; IRDBDL 081195a 374:2299, D. Carey, MDT, FG
[127] IRSPMJ 030299, J. O'Donoghue, MJ, FF
[128] IRSPMJ 230300, J. O'Donoghue, MJ, FF ; IRWADL 260598, 491:667, J. O'Donoghue, MJ,
[129] IRDBDL 081195a, 457:2300, D. Carey, MDT, FG
[130] IRDBDL 100403, 565:3540, N. O'Flynn, FF

in respect of development aid.'[131] Moreover, it is also associated to the work of Catholic missions in predominantly African countries. One speaker, for instance, links generosity to 'the tremendous role our emigrants and missionaries played in the development of emerging nations.'[132]

References to humanitarian traditions and generosity are underpinned by a number of domestic discourses. First, they seem to draw from Ireland short history of reception. Second, they reflect a perception of Ireland as a country that pursues humanitarian activities globally, often in the form of development aid and Catholic missions. This has been linked to the involvement of the Irish, as members of the British Empire, to the project of colonisation which brought them into contact with non-European countries and with racialised attitudes towards colonised people (Conway 2006; Fanning 2002; McVeigh and Lentin 2002). This association of generosity with Catholic missions should be seen in the context of the role in the construction of a nationalist Catholic identity for the independent Irish state; it is also argued to underpin paternalistic attitudes to current refugees and asylum seekers (Conway 2006; Fanning 2002; McVeigh and Lentin 2002).

Generosity as a value does not appear in the Greek set. What seems to suggest similar attitudes is the concept of solidarity, which occurs 9 times. It is stated, for example, that 'state and civil society have shown so for, priceless gifts of solidarity to those people who are illegally in our country.'[133] These references can be explained by the strong presence of left-wing politics in Greece, which has been represented in the parliament by the Communist and Coalition of the Left parties, but have also been at least partly shared by the then governing Socialist party. Indeed 4 out of 9 references to solidarity were made by Communist Party or Coalition of the Left members and 5 by socialist party MPs. References to solidarity are absent from the Irish set, which might be explained by the lack of a socialist tradition in politics.

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[131] IRDBDL 100299a, 500:360, I. Callelly, FF
[132] IRDBDL 100299a, 500:360, I. Callelly, FF
[133] GROQPL 180102, p. 3265, D. Thanos, MHW, PASOK

Sensitivity

The second most frequent value mentioned in the Greek set is 'sensitivity', with 22 references overall. The Greek word 'ευαισθησία' which can be translated as 'sensitivity', incorporates, depending on the context, the meanings of concern, compassion or understanding. For example, in a press release the government spokesperson states that '[i]t's good that you have such sensitivity to asylum issues. We have it too. I think that, in our country, we all have great sensitivity to issues of political asylum and I'm not exempting anyone.'[134] In this response to a journalists' about the Zakynthos migrants, the use of the word sensitivity can be interpreted as interest in and concern for asylum issues. 'Sensitivity' in this extract is attributed in a collective manner - to the government, suggested by the sentence 'we have it too', to the journalists whom he is addressing and lastly, the country as a whole. In other instances, this behaviour is attributed specifically to the government. It is claimed for example that 'the Government treats the people in question [asylum seekers] with great sensitivity, it gives them complete freedom of movement and helps them find employment.'[135]

Combined with humanitarianism, the references to sensitivity are significant in terms of discursive effects. Similarly to humanitarianism, they suggest an emotional response focusing on the humanity of refugees, but also migrants whose claims to refugee status are challenged by the speakers. For instance, in a document about Kurdish refugees it is claimed that '[o]ur sensitivity as a government and as a country should be taken for granted. That's why there is tolerance and even good behaviour towards illegal immigrants.'[136]

While this can be a positive reaction, references to sensitivity, similarly to humanitarianism, tend to obfuscate the question of rights and entitlement to protection. In this manner, the positive representation of the community remains the same, but the obligation to provide protection is limited since good behaviour is

[134] GRPCGS 061201, C. Protopapas, PASOK
[135] GRWAPL 081097, p.15, G. Romaios, MPO, PASOK
[136] GROQPL 210297, p.4420, G. Romaios, MPO, PASOK

again linked to emotive qualities rather than legal obligations. An interesting point in that respect is that the group towards whom the sensitivity is shown is designated as either refugees or irregular migrants. As the next chapter will argue, the entitlements recognised to refugees depend on how they are labelled in discourse.

Denials of racism

Denials of racism refer to actors denying the existence of racist or xenophobic attitudes in themselves or in the host community and are considered one of the most common positive self-presentation techniques in political discourse (van Dijk 1993; 1997a; Van der Valk 2003). However, this is not entirely supported by the data analysis. As Table 5.2 shows, there are few denials of racism in either corpus, and they tend to concentrate in the parliamentary debates rather than other types of documents. Moreover, the emphasis on the literature is on denying racism which is considered prevalent in political discourse; however, whereas this seems to be supported by the Greek texts, the Irish case seems to be far more complicated, with the speakers as likely to accept racism as deny it.

In the Greek data, most denials occur in parliamentary debates; the other 5 can be found in documents defending government attitudes and actions. 12 out of the 20 denials are found in the two debates on the 2001 Immigration Act. This can be explained by the fact that the debate was focused on immigration policy and triggered a debate on the effects of immigration on Greek society, including the extent of racist attitudes.

Denials of racism tend to stress that the host community is generally devoid of racist attitudes. This is stated emphatically in one extract, where the speaker argues that

Table 5.2: Statements accepting or denying racism

Year	Greece		Ireland	
	Denial	Acceptance	Denial	Acceptance
1996	0	0	0	1
1997	0	0	0	0
1998	1	0	0	0
1999	0	0	2	8
2000	4	1	0	0
2001	14	5	0	0
2002	0	0	0	1
2003	0	0	9	10
2004	1	1	4	6
Total	20	7	15	26
Number of documents	8/117	4/177	8/106	13/106
Percentage	6.84%	3.42%	7.55%	12.26%

> [...] the Greek people are not racist and we shouldn't accuse each other of it. Neither the communists nor the right wingers nor the centrists nor the socialists are racist. No Greek is racist by nature.[137]

Similarly, another speaker argues that 'the Greek society has proven that it's not racist towards immigrants'.[138] Both extracts homogenise the in-group in terms of lack of racism, since the description of actors –'the Greek people', 'the Greek society' - is inclusive. A second point of interest concerns the second speaker's use of the expression 'by nature', which suggest that racism is seen as alien to Greek history and society, but also implies a biological understanding of racism. The emphatic denials also correspond to research which concluded that Greeks generally do not see themselves as racist (Kiprianos *et al* 2003; Lazaridis and

[137] GRDBPL 060301b, p. 5642, K. Mitsotakis, ND
[138] GRDBPL 260700, p.540, P. Antonakopoulos, PASOK

Koumandraki 2001; Triandafyllidou 2000; Tsibiridou 2004; Troumbeta 2000). The construction mentioned above also allows the largely held view, discussed in Chapter Four, that racist attitudes are caused by increased immigration rather than being associated with any social or political beliefs. This is also in evidence in the continuation of the first extract, where the speaker argues that '[..]we have a problem, we are a border country that is easily flooded by immigrants.'[139] Thus racism is denied as an attribute of Greek people, which is in agreement with their positive representation, and represented instead as a reaction to new social conditions.

A further significant point is raised by the emphasis put on political persuasion in the first extract. While the speaker stresses the lack of racism in members of all political parties, members of the main opposition party, conservative New Democracy, are more likely to deny racism - 10 out of 20 denials of racism overall come from its MPs. It can be argued that for them it is more clearly a legitimation technique, as they tend to adopt a hard line position on immigration and therefore need to clarify that this is not due to racism. Moreover, while it could be argued that racism and nationalism are largely shared by all political parties, they are more strongly associated with right-wing ones (Gropas and Triandafyllidou 2007b), which again reinforces the need for denial.

This last point also relates to a differentiation between racism and xenophobia which is present in some denials of racism. In some extracts, it is suggested that any negative perceptions of migrants are not racist but xenophobic. For instance, one speaker while denying the existence of racism states that 'it's a fact that a certain kind of xenophobia has been developed but that does not contain elements of racism neither is it the result of racist attitudes.'[140] Thus xenophobia is differentiated from racism and constructed as a legitimate response to social change and differentiated from racism, a strategy which also occurs in Irish discourse, although not in the documents studied (Fanning 2002).

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[139] GRDBDL 060301b, p. 324, K. Mitsotakis, ND
[140] GRDBDL 060301a, p.5609, A. Akrivakis, PASOK

In the Irish corpus, the 15 instances of denials of racism are also spread among documents. Two denials occur in a speech and one in a press release, with the rest occurring in parliamentary debates. Six out of the fourteen passages are found in one single debate on the Immigration Act 2003 where the discussion on racism was triggered by a statement that a tourist guide referred to Ireland as a racist country. To an extent, denials of racism in the Irish documents follow a similar pattern to the Greek ones. It is argued for example that, overall, the Irish society is not racist by claiming that

> [...] the treatment given to the refugees by people not directly involved with them belies the charge frequently made against Irish people that they are racist or have racist tendencies. On the basis of what I see in Ennis, nothing could be further from the truth.[141]

However, it is more likely in the Irish texts that this view is accompanied by an admission that there is a racist minority. One speaker states for example that he 'believe[s] a minority among us are racist but the majority of people are not racist.'[142] This sentiment is echoed by the Minister for Justice:

> [...] I believe this country has been remarkably free from racism. There have been isolated attacks with a racist motive but people who attack other people and kick them on the ground, people who get drunk and use bottles on other people and people who carry knives with which they threaten others are not usually the most gentle or discerning elements of our population.[143]

The extracts above illustrates the strategy of denying the existence of racist attitudes and behaviours in the majority and attributing them in a minority, which is sometimes pathologised –as in the second extract - or constructed as 'deviant' group of the population in the first passage, which reinforces that image of the majority as non-racist (van Dijk 1993). It also corresponds to understandings of racism prevalent in Irish political discourse at the time, which perceive racism as isolated attacks, hate speech and overt acts of discrimination (Fanning 2002). Moreover, this construction reaffirms the idea that racism is unacceptable by the

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[141] IRDBDL 241199b, 511:864-65, T. Killeen, FF
[142] IRDBDL 270503, 567:975, J. Higgins, SP
[143] IRDBDL 290503, 567:1562, J. Mac Dowell, MJ, PD

majority and marginal in western liberal democracies, a theme which also characterises the debates on Irish citizenship (Brandi 2007; van Dijk 1993).

The most significant difference between the two datasets is that Irish actors are more likely to accept the existence of racism in Irish society. This occurs only 4 times in the Greek set but 26 in the Irish one. Irish speakers are more likely to admit there is racism either in some quarters of the Irish society or in the whole of the society. It is argued for example that 'there is a reactionary element in our society which is somehow prejudiced against people, based on the colour of their skin'[144] and that 'there is a horrible undercurrent of racism in this society towards people coming here to work and even towards genuine asylum seekers.'[145]

Such statements seem to go against assertions in the literature regarding the extent of the use of denials of racism in western democracies, especially given that they are more frequent than the actual denials in the document studied. It should, however, be taken into account that 20 out of 26 instances of accepting the existence of racism are made by opposition MPs. Opposition MPs are more likely to argue that the racist attitudes that exist in Irish society have been caused by restrictive policies taken by the government, a position similar to that of some literature on this topic (Castles and Miller 2003; Fanning 2002; Garner 2004; Schuster and Solomos 2002). This pattern of argumentation suggests that accepting the existence of racism might also be a strategy to discredit the government.

The low occurrence of denials of racism constitutes a significant similarity between the two datasets and at the same time differentiates them from western European discourses, as they are more limited in number than relevant research on political discourse on immigration in western European countries would suggest (Van der Valk 2003; van Dijk 1993; 1997). In both case studies, denials of racism occurred more in documents from the second half of the researched period – after 2000 in

[144] IRDBDL 100299a, 500:292, G. Mitchell, FG
[145] IRDBDL 270503, 567:959, C. Lenihan, FF

both cases- which suggests that somehow political actors did not feel the necessity to defend themselves against accusations of racism before this period.

Respecting the Geneva Convention and human rights

This section deals with another manner of representing the host country in a positive manner, which has to do with stating adherence to the Geneva Convention, refugee protection and human rights. It differs from the previously discussed attributions in so far as it refers, in a sense, to adhering to legal and normative standards rather than to qualities and values of the in-group. These themes have a presence in both data sets, although stronger in the Irish documents. As Table 5.3 indicates, there are 23 references to respecting the Geneva Convention principles in the Irish data, and a further 3 of respecting human rights in general, while numbers in the Greek data are 13 and 22 respectively. This is a rather significant difference that will be explored in this section.

In the Irish set, references to the Geneva Convention are the second most frequent representation of the community in a positive manner and occur mainly in the statements of government speakers. For example, it is argued that 'Ireland never shied away from its international obligations to refugees and asylum seekers' [146] and that 'no human being who arrived on our shores was denied the opportunity to apply for asylum.'[147] Moreover, expressing 'the state's commitment to meeting its obligations under the Geneva Convention'[148] and reiterating 'Ireland's continued commitment to the principles and obligations contained in the 1951 Geneva Convention relating to the status of refugees'[149] are phrases repeated, with some variations in a total of 11 debates, press releases, speeches and written answers.[150]

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[146] IRDBDL 261095b, 457:1611-12, D. Bree, LB
[147] IROQDL 111203, 546:503, J. O'Donoghue, FF
[148] IRPRMJ 050700, J. O'Donoghue, MJ, FF
[149] IRPRMJ 190702, M. McDowell, MJ, FF
[150] IRWADL 260598, 491:666, J. O'Donoghue, MJ, FF; IRPRMJ 141299, J. O'Donoghue, MJ, FF; IRWADL 051000, 523:1251, J. O'Donoghue, MJ, FF; IRWADL 151100, 526:1700, J. O'Donoghue, MJ, FF; IRSPMJ 170702, M. McDowell, MJ, FF; IRDBDL 100403, 565:327, B. Lenihan, MHC, FF, 565:354, N. O'Flynn, FF; IRPRFA 200603, M. Kitt, MFA, FF; IRPRMJ 191103, M. McDowell, MJ, FF

Table 5.3: References to respecting the Geneva Convection and Human Rights

Year	Greece		Ireland	
	Geneva Convention	Human Rights	Geneva Convention	Human Rights
1996	2	5	2	0
1997	1	1	0	0
1998	3	3	1	2
1999	2	5	6	0
2000	0	1	4	0
2001	4	3	3	1
2002	1	2	2	0
2003	0	0	4	0
2004	0	1	1	0
Total	13	21	23	3
Number of documents	13/117	16/117	20/106	3/106
Percentage	11.11%	13.83%	18.87%	2.83%

Arguments highlight the importance of, if not actually respecting, at least appearing to respect these norms, and extend to constructing the in-group as committed and respectful of these. The attribution is enhanced by time indicators that present this respect both as a thing of the past –indicated by the use of past tenses above- and of the present – indicated by the word 'continued'. Moreover, the importance of this theme for the legitimation of policies is highlighted by its longitudinal pattern: 20 out of 23 references occur from 1999 onwards, when the more restrictive legislation was introduced, and 14 out of 23 occur in documents which aim to legitimate government positions, such as press releases, speeches and written answers. Such statements also correspond to some patterns that will be explored in the last chapter of the thesis, where the proposed policies are legitimated with

statements that they are adhere to the Geneva Convention and aim at the protection of refugees.

Overall, these patterns, especially in combination with references to legislation conforming to protection standards, show the significance of adhering to norms in the Irish context. As discussed in Chapter One, Ireland, being a western European democratic state and a member to of the European Union, is likely to be constructed by political actors as a country that adopts these values (Cleary 2005; O'Mahony, J. 2003). The adoption of such values could also be seen as a reflection of the increasing proximity of Ireland to western liberal forms of political and social organisation through a process of modernisation (Cleary 2005; Coulter 2003). In this context, the emphasis given to protection can also be attributed to the importance they have for the identities of liberal democracies (Schuster 2003; Van Selm-Thoburn 1998). The importance of these influences is also demonstrated by the extent to which providing protection and conformity to international standards and refugee protection norms are employed as justifications for policies.

In the Greek documents references to respecting the Geneva Convention are rather low – just 13- but similarly to Ireland, 11 out of 13 references occur in documents where the government speakers legitimate policies, such as press conferences. They again refer to the actions of the government rather than a collective respect for refugee protection. For example, it is argued that 'the Greek government implements its obligations fully, obligations that arise from international conventions such as the Geneva Convention on the protection of refugees'[151] and that

> [...] all our actions regarding this issue [asylum] are always harmonised with international regulations, Greek laws and the obligations which have been taken on from the provisions of the 1951 Geneva Convention and the 1967 New York Protocol[...][152]

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[151] GROQPL 280598, p.9850, Y. Kranidiotis, PASOK

[152] GROQPL 250199, p.3676, F. Pestalnikos, MPO, PASOK; also GRWAPL 280499, p.6258, F. Petsalnikos, MPO, PASOK ; GRWAPL 050399, p.5021, F. Petsalnikos, MPO, PASOK

As the extracts suggest, Greek speakers do occasionally stress their commitment to refugee law and protection, but compared to the Irish documents this happens less often. Moreover, there are significant differences in the content of such statements. First, expressions of commitment to protection occur more frequently in the first period of the research than in the second. This might be explained by the increased importance given to the prevention of entry as part of European policies in the second half, and also by shifting the focus from refugees to irregular migrants in this period. Secondly, references to Greece as a country that respects human rights –in the context of asylum seeking and refugee issues- are relatively high compared to references to commitment to refugee law and protection. For example, the Miister for Foreign Affairs states that

> [...] our County is closely linked with the respect for human rights. [...] Greece has defended human rights and universal values in the past and will continue to do so with all its strength.[153]

Moreover, another speaker states that

> [...] we all, more or less, know about and respect human rights and in this country we have a lot of reasons never to turn our eyes away from what happens at humanitarian level.[154]

As these quotes indicate, human rights are constructed as a theoretical concept rather than as a legal one emanating from international law which would be indicated with references to legal instruments itself as is the case with the Geneva Convention. Instead, the human rights the speakers refer to seem to be an abstract concept with which the in-group is broadly familiar with but also respects. These constructions are, in a sense, rather intriguing given the Greek socio-political context given the lack of a tradition of human rights in their western, individual and inalienable conception, which has affected the treatment of migrants and minorities (Pollis 1989; Triantafyllidou and Veikou 2003).

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[153] GRARFA 141200, G. Papandreou, MFA, PASOK
[154] GRDBPL 111296, p. 1784, F. Ioannidis, PASOK

The separation of human rights from their international or European context is also shown by references that link them to the Greek constitution rather than international or European law. For example, one speaker argues that

> [...] in our country, there is a democratic precedent in the constitution [...] [which] renders the protection of human life into a primary obligation of the state, without discriminating between citizens and foreigners.[155]

Another speaker expresses the same idea by saying that

> [...] our constitution in Article 2, clause 1 introduces the fundamental principle that the respect and the protection of human value are the primary obligation of the state. Therefore, according to international and domestic law, the refugee is a person that should be respected and unconditionally protected by the state. [156]

It should be noted however, that both of the quotes above come from speakers who belong to left-wing opposition parties, who can be both nationalistic and distrustful of Europe and western ideas. Thus their seeing human rights as emanating from the constitution rather than international legal instruments might be a compromise between Greek-centrism and the need to appear to adhere to western norms. Moreover, the scope of references to human rights is limited in the sense that in at least three instances and two separate documents, human rights in relation to asylum are mentioned specifically in relation to Kurdish asylum seekers, a group which because of Greek Turkish relations has a high political significance for Greek actors.

References to Greek sources of human rights provisions are also linked to the perception of Greece as a democratic country with a long history of democracy. For example, a speaker links the (informal) protection given to Kurdish refugees to democracy by saying that 'we are a democratic country, we respect human rights and we more than prove this by acting beyond what law requires.'[157] A number of

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[155] GRDBDL 111296, p. 1774, L. Avdis, KKE
[156] GRDBPL 111296, p. 1776, I. Karakostas, DIKKI
[157] GRDBPL 121296, p. 1823, G. Romaios, MPO, PASOK

Table 5.4: References to democracy and civilisation

Year	Greece		Ireland	
	Democracy	Civilization	Democracy	Civilization
1996	4	3	0	1
1997	2	2	0	0
1998	3	0	1	0
1999	1	0	0	2
2000	0	0	0	0
2001	5	9	0	2
2002	2	0	0	0
2003	0	0	2	0
2004	0	0	3	0
Total	17	14	6	5
Number of documents	13/117	7/117	5	3
Percentage	11.11%	5.98%	4.72%	4.72%

times Greece is said to be 'a democratic country',[158] the homeland of democracy'[159] that it has a 'democratic tradition'[160] and as 'the cradle of Civilization and Democracy.'[161] This last extract also points to another related representation, of Greece as a civilised country. It is mentioned for example that 'Greece is a civilized country'[162] and that it has 'a duty to be a leader among civilised counties in terms of migration policy.'[163]

These representations reflect constructions of Greek identity that were discussed in Chapter One. First, they reproduce the centrality of the 'ancient Greek spirit' as a

[158] GROQPL 040497, p.5414, G. Romaios, MPO, PASOK; GRPCGS 021001, D. Reppas, PASOK
[159] GRODPL 180599, p. 7120, S. Alfieri, PASOK
[160] GROQPL 231101, p. 1703, M. Chrisochoidis, MPO, PASOK
[161] GRDBPL 111296, p. 1784, S. Korakas, KKE
[162] GRDBPL 111296, p. 1787, I. Karakostas, DIKKI
[163] GRDBPL 060301b, p.5642, K. Mitsotakis, ND

part of national Greek identity (Herzfeld 1987; Veremis 1997; Petrakou, 2001; Ventoura 2004; 2007). Moreover, Greece is constructed as 'the cradle of western civilization' (Herzfeld 1987; Ventoura 2004). In a way it is suggested that values such as human rights and democracy emanate from ancient Greece, and the claims that they are currently respected in Greece reinforce the construction of Greek identity as a continuous and uninterrupted cultural identity linking ancient and modern (Just 1989; Petrakou 2001; Veremis 1997). As will be explained in a later section, Greek speakers are more likely to conceive human rights as part of the Greek heritage and history which informed, in Greek nationalist beliefs, western thought they reinforce a positive perception of Greece based on the 'values' of democracy and civilisation.

Challenging positive representations of the in-group

Discourses challenging the positive representation of the in-group are often ignored in research using CDA as its approach, possibly because of the critical focus on dominant themes of positive representation. However, the analysis of the data showed that they often occur in the statements of opposition MPs in the Irish documents. Comments challenging the qualities and behaviours explored in the above sections occur 18 times.

Before these themes are explored, it has to be mentioned that the picture in the Greek documents is quite different. Apart from four instances of accepting the existence of racism, there are seven where opposition speakers from the leftwing parties criticise the conditions of living or accommodation of refugees. It is claimed, for instance, that 'we accommodate refugees in inhumane conditions'[164] and that

> [...] hundreds of Kurdish refugees are crammed in tunnels and entrances of blocks of flats around Koumoundourou square in order to find shelter. They don't have food or basic health care.[165]

However, this does not mean that they necessarily challenge the positive qualities attributed to the in-group; on the contrary, their speakers often refer to its positive

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[164] GROQPL 040497, p.5313, I. Karatasos
[165] GROQPL 221098, p.320, V. Arapi-Karagianni, SYN

Table 5.5: References challenging positive constructions of the host community

Year	Greece	Ireland
1996	0	3
1997	3	0
1998	2	3
1999	2	3
2000	0	0
2001	0	0
2002	0	0
2003	0	2
2004	0	7
Total	7	18
Number of documents	7/117	15/106
Percentage	5.98%	14.15%

characteristics. What is being argued is that bad conditions and lack of provision by the Greek government go against the positive qualities of the Greek population. Moreover, five of the seven references of that kind refer specifically to Kurdish asylum seekers and all references occur before 2000. This suggests that the worries of the opposition speakers might concern a small group of asylum seekers that were significant in terms of the Greek foreign policies towards Turkey (Black 1994a; Papadopoulou 2004; Pappasiopi-Passia 1994).

Challenges to positive representations of the in-group vary in content in Ireland, but the dominant one, occurring in 9 of the 18 references, is questioning the good treatment of asylum seekers and the idea of Ireland as a country of asylum that respects the Geneva Convention. For example, a speaker states that 'it is one of our common habits to pat ourselves on the back and remind ourselves from time to time what a great little country we are. We are not that great when it comes to

dealing with refugees.'[166] Similarly, a speaker criticises the 'rigid implementation of the Dublin Convention' by stating that it is

> [...] part of the same logic which states that we will keep the barriers to Ireland as high as possible, we will give lip service at international fora to the notion of democracy and the rights of the oppressed and asylum seekers [...][167]

Compared to similar references in the Greek texts, those in the Irish corpus seem more concerned with the treatment of refugees in relation to legal standards of protection, as indicated in the second quotation above. This is more in line with overall greater preoccupation with respecting the Geneva Convention and conforming to standards of protection that characterises the Irish corpus. Along with other references challenging positive representations and the higher number of references accepting racism, it points towards a stronger oppositional and self-critical discourse in the Irish corpus, which contrasts to the preoccupation with humanitarian aspects of the treatment of refugees in the Greek one.

Strategies used in the representations of the national community

Collective actor representations

A prominent linguistic feature of representations of the host community is the collective nature of actor description. There are three frequently occurring types of such representations. Firstly, there is the use of the first person plural, which includes the employment of pronouns such as 'we', 'us', 'our'. In the Greek language, where the subject of the sentence is often omitted, the form of the verb commonly indicates the use of the first person plural. Secondly, there are collective designations such as 'the Irish people' 'the Greek people' or, in the Greek data, 'our people'.

Thirdly, metonymy and personification are also very frequent in the form of using the name of the country as the actor. Metonymy refers to replacing 'the name of a

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[166] IRDBDL 261095a, 457:1716, A. Dukes, FG
[167] IRDBDL 290503, 567:1561, B. Howlin, LB

referent by the name of an entity which is closely associated with it in either concrete or abstract terms' (Wodak *et al* 2000). Common forms of metonymy in the two sets include the use of the name of the country –'Ireland' 'Greece'- instead of referring to the government or the population. This is also an example of synechdoche, where the referent is replaced with one broader in terms of meaning (Wodak *et al* 2000). Further, the employment of the country as the subject of statements is an example of personification, where objects assume the qualities of humans (Wodak *et al* 2000). In the two sets, the country is attributed positive qualities in terms of values and behaviours and is presented as the subject of actions that express these qualities.

These actor description techniques have significant implications in terms of discursive effects. To begin with, the first person plural, often expressed in the English language, is also a flexible actor description. It can both include and exclude other persons, depending on the speaker's use and belonging to different groups and identities (Inigo-Mora 2004; Riggins 1997; Wodak *et al* 2000). Given the overall collectivity of actor descriptions, this can have the effect of obscuring to whom the positive qualities are attributed – for example the government in the narrow sense or the population as a whole (Chilton 1997 and Schaffner; Wodak *et al* 2000; van Dijk 2000). Collective forms of actor description have the effect of increasing the impression of cohesion and consent among the in-group (Inigo-Mora 2004; Chilton and Schaffner 1997). Moreover, they can represent qualities as long-standing or timeless (Wodak *et al* 2000; van Dijk 1993; 1997a). This is enhanced by the use of historical warrants – references to the history or phrases that indicate a longer time span such as 'always' or the present perfect in the English language (Wodak *et al* 2000; van Dijk 1993). In addition, positive qualities are attributed to the in-group at large –usually the national population – and simultaneously increase the legitimacy of the political actors, who are considered or position themselves as its representatives (Inigo-Mora 2004). Therefore, their actions implicitly have the approval of the in-group, as they are guided by its common qualities, values and beliefs.

Comparisons and hyperbole

Making comparisons with other countries is a feature of both data sets, although they occur more frequently in the Greek data, with 16 mentions compared to 8 in the Irish texts. In the Greek set they are used in positive representations of the host community and in order to enhance the qualities attributed to it. While there are 3 instances of negative comparisons, most consist of claims that Greece displays better attitudes towards refugees (and irregular migrants) than other European countries. One speaker, for example, argues that 'other countries turn them [refugees] away, others send them to their deaths. We can't do this'[168] while another reflects this sentiment when he argues that ' Greece does whatever it can for the people given hospitality in it, much more than other, so-called developed countries.'[169] The provision of humanitarian aid which, as explained earlier, is one of the main themes in the positive constructions of the in-group, is also judged against other countries. It is argued that Greece 'has been ahead in giving humanitarian aid to refugees'[170] in relation to other European countries during the Kosovo war.

Such comparisons reinforce representations of Greece as a humanitarian country, 'sensitive' towards refugees, by judging the positive qualities and behaviours attributed to the host community against the standards of other countries. They also achieve this effect through hyperbole – exaggerated statements. For instance, it is said that 'among all European countries, we treat illegal immigrants the best.'[171] Similarly, it is claimed that 'when illegal immigrants arrive, we are the only country that doesn't send the boats back. I stress that we are the only country that doesn't prevent the boats from reaching out shores.'[172] This points towards not only an effort to present the government in a positive manner, enacted through comparison, but also to a 'gap' between discourse and social reality. The available research, especially by NGOs points to the opposite direction – that the Greek government has often resorted to extreme measures to prevent entry of

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[168] GROQPL 231101, p. 1700, A. Lykourezos, ND
[169] GROQPL 050299, p.4099, N. Farmakis, MHW, PASOK
[170] GRPCGS 080499, D. Reppas, PASOK; GRPCGS 150499, D. Reppas, PASOK
[171] GRPCGS 061201, C. Protopapas, PASOK
[172] GROQPL 180102, p.3265, D. Thanos, MHW, PASOK

clandestine migrants and asylum seekers (Amnesty International 2004; NOAS 2008; Proasyl 2007; Skordas and Sitaropoulos 2004). Nevertheless, speakers might employ such arguments in order to increase their legitimacy as politicians; or in order to convinve a predominantly domestic audience of other politicians, the media and the public.

There are fewer instances of comparison in the Irish set. Some of the comparisons tend to magnify the positivity of representations. It is argued for example that '[o]ther countries were more lenient with and tolerant of refugees but when the Bill is passed we will be on a par with the best practice in those countries'[173]. However, half of the comparisons appearing in relation to the representation of the community concern critical or mixed depictions of reality by opposition speakers. For instance, it is said that 'Ireland has always been willing to help refugees [...] we may not be the best in that regard but we are certainly not the worst.'[174] Thus comparisons with other countries do not appear to be a widespread strategy in terms of positive representations.

Authorisation by referring to the past/history

Authorisation by referring to the past is common strategy of legitimation and is frequently employed to legitimate or delegitimate policies (Van Leeuven 2007; Van Leeuven and Wodak 1999). It will be explored more extensively in Chapter Seven; in this chapter, however, it is examined in relation to positive representations of the community, in the sense that referring to the past and history can reinforce positive representations.

In the Greek texts, one manner of alluding to the past is through mythological references. For example, the construction of hospitality as a characteristic of the in-group is accompanied by the statement that 'the Greek society has a history of

[173] IRDBDL 261095b, 457:600, P. Gallagher, LB
[174] IRDBDL 191095b 457:884, M. Kitt, FF

hospitality [...] This is why we had [worshipped] Xenios Zeus.'[175] This reference to mythology, repeated three times in this context, is another example of a historical warrant, a figure which is used to magnify the effects of the positive representation of the in-group by stressing that positive qualities are deeply ingrained and timeless (van Dijk 1993; Wodak *et al* 2000).

A second occurrence in the Greek corpus is referring to history in a manner that links the present with the ancient Greek past. For example, in the following extract the speaker links qualities attributed to the host community to ancient Greece:

> We have the history and we have the experience. The intelligence of the Greek, his [sic] advanced civilization. Here were developed universal values. Gentlemen, some praise does not harm our country. Knowing ourselves a little does not weaken the state or create nationalism. We need this self-knowledge. In this country, when others lived in hovels, we had 'man is more worthy than money'. Let other countries show us something equivalent to the sophists, to Hippias, to Protagoras. Let us others show us that at that time they had the universal values, the democratic history that Greeks have.[176]

The above statement is very clear in its belief that Greeks are not only intelligent, but having been civilised long before other peoples, or, as the speaker claims, when 'others lived in hovels' - an expression commonly used in Greek to express superiority to other countries. While the above extract is part of strategies to defend Greek attitudes to migrants, in the following one the positive characteristics and attitudes of the host country towards refugees and refugee protection are attributed to Greek history and the idea that the Greek nation is 'historic':

> [...] It is our history itself, our national struggles, and our traditions, which place us many miles ahead of conventions like the Geneva one or New York protocols, which we know that they remain just papers (English in the original) for many states. We are ahead in terms of solidarity. We are ahead in terms of humanism and internationalism. These are characteristics of our historic nation[177]

In other words, speakers often reflect nationalist perceptions of the Greek state, which involve constructions of Greece as the 'cradle' of western civilization and

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[175] GROQPL 21098, p. 321, V. Arapi-Karagianni, SYN; Zeus was, among other things, the ancient god for hospitality, to which the word 'Xenios' refers.
[176] GRODPL 060301b, p. 5647, K. Spiriounis, PASOK
[177] GRDBPL 111296, p. 1777, C. Kipouros, PASOK

democracy (Ventoura 2004). Moreover, both extracts reflect the perception that there is an uninterrupted link between ancient and modern Greece, which is one of the main tenets of Greek nationalism (Just 1989; Petrakou 2001; Veremis 1997). Such arguments can be argued to have a dual effect. On the one hand, they reinforce the positive presentation of the host community by arguing that the positive attributes are not only something of the present but of the past as well – they are timeless and they have been part of the in-group for a long time (Wodak 2001; van Dijk 1993). On the other hand, they derive from and reaffirm already existing ideas that shape national Greek identity, such as the continuity of the Greek nation and its superiority to Western Europe.

Irish speakers draw on historicised discourse of receiving refugees rather than on a discourse of historical continuity or mythology. Thus, the 'hospitality' and 'welcoming' attitudes discussed earlier in the chapter are placed in, and accentuated by a perceived tradition or history of hospitality. This might seem surprising given that Ireland has been a sending rather than a receiving country. However, speakers construct a tradition around the limited Irish history of reception, such as the settlement of Huguenots in the 17th century and the reception of small numbers of quota refugees in the second half of the 20th century. It is argued, for example, that

> [...] as far back as the 17th century, when the Huguenots were fleeing France because of civil and religious persecution, Ireland was active in providing facilities for them here. Since we signed the UN Convention in 1956 successive Governments have accepted people as programme refugees.[178]

Elsewhere it is argued that

> Ireland has traditionally accepted a number of refugees from conflict areas around the world, the most recent example being those from the conflict in Bosnia. I am satisfied that Ireland's traditional welcome to those in such difficulty has not changed.[179]

These extracts present the recent experience of receiving refugees as part of a longer tradition of reception. The first extract consciously does so be referring to

[178] IRDBDL 100299a, 500:351, B. Daly, FF
[179] IRDBDL 100398, 488:737, J. O'Donoghue, MJ, FF

historical event of Huguenots settling in Ireland. It is significant that 'Ireland' appears to be the agent providing hospitality –rather than the British administration of the time – as in this manner the positive characteristic of hospitality is constructed as a long standing one for the country. The second extract constructs the provision of protection as a 'tradition' which gives the impression that the country's reception history spans further back than the second half of the twentieth century. In both cases, hospitality and providing protection are represented as qualities more deeply ingrained and long-standing than they could objectively argued to be.

In terms of discursive effects, references to history, tradition and broadly to the 'past' are also a part of legitimation strategies and frequent in western political discourse (Fairclough 2003; Van der Valk 2003; Van Leuveen and Wodak 1999). Political actors create an image of themselves as continuators of durable and noble 'traditions'; they also function as their guardians, and have to make certain choices in order to protect these traditions from abuse. The rhetorical use of these constructions stresses the collective and deeply ingrained nature of attitudes and behaviours. In this context, the use of words such as tradition and history increases the impression that the values and behaviour are shared by different generations over a long time, as well as having the effect of increasing the image of consensus among the population of the country (De Cilia *et al* 1999; van Dijk 1993).

Representations of the community and policy legitimation

The above sections explored some of the main themes representations of the host country, and the strategies used by speakers. This section will discuss how these representations serve in legitimating –and in some cases delegitimating- proposed policies.

The main effect of the positive representations of the community in terms of the legitimations is that they establish the positive characteristics and good intentions of the community before supporting restrictive policies (Triandafyllidou 2000).

Speakers can then move on to justifying restrictive policies by employing constructions of asylum seeking as a problem, which were explored in the last chapter, or negative constructions of refugees, which will be explored in the next chapter.

This pattern of argumentation is repeated frequently in documents of both sets. For example, in a Greek debate, the speaker first denies the existence of racism:

> Dear colleagues, racist beliefs and views have never flourished in our country. Even in unstable times of our political life, it had not been possible to promote racist ideas despite the efforts of some extreme circles. This in contrast to other European countries, where racist ideas have an appeal, however limited. Of course it is a fact that a certain kind of xenophobia has been developed, which I don't believe contains any traces of racism or that it is a result of racist attitudes [180]

The speaker then concludes that the solution is to develop a different immigration policy:

> The rise of criminality as well as of unemployment because of uncontrolled immigration has caused understandable, to a certain degree, fears in a part of our people. This event is a further reason for the immediate establishment of an appropriate and well thought out immigration policy.[181]

This extract combines the positive representation of the host country, enacted though the denial of racism, with strategies of problematisation referring to the rise of crime, unemployment and their effects on societal security. In short, it is argued that despite the country bearing no feelings of racism towards migrants, the effects of migration necessitate new policy responses. In that manner it combines positive self-presentation with the objective strategy rationalisation strategies which were explored in the last chapter (Triandafyllidou 2000; Van der Valk 2003; van Dijk 1993; Van Leeuwen 2007; Van Leeuven and Wodak 1999)

Similar patterns occur in the Irish texts. For instance, a speaker supporting the introduction of accelerated procedures and white lists states that

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[180] GRODPL 060301a, p. 5609, A. Akrivakis, PASOK
[181] GRODPL 060301a, p. 5609, A. Akrivakis, PASOK

> [t]here are those who come here as refugees from areas with a good humanitarian record. We must eliminate all such bogus applications. They are an abuse to our hospitality and our legal system.[182]

In this extract, the speaker juxtaposes the theme of abuse with a taken-for-granted reference to Irish hospitality, employing a theme of problematisation in contrast to an instance of positive representation of the host community. This according to the speaker poses an obligation –suggested by the word 'must'- to control applications that are considered non-genuine. The conclusion is that the measures proposed are justified because they eliminate abuse.

Elsewhere, the Minister for Justice contrasts the commitment of the Irish authorities to the Geneva Convention to the increase of unfounded applications. After claiming that '[t]his State is fully committed to its obligations under the Geneva Convention by providing a fair and transparent asylum process'[183], he argues that that there is a need 'to address the many challenges being faced by the whole area of refugee protection.'[184] These include 'large increases in asylum applications over recent years, many of which have been judged by fair and transparent determination procedures to be unfounded.'[185] In other words, the commitment to refugee protection, expressed through the existence of 'fair and transparent' determination systems is juxtaposed again to the problem of increased allegedly non-genuine applications. Interestingly enough, the very commitment to the Geneva Convention appears to be the criterion by which the genuineness of refugees is challenged.

In short, this line of argumentation justifies the introduction of restrictive policies on the grounds that the state, despite all positive qualities and good intentions of the in-group, has to respond to a problem occurring outside its power or territory. A similar example is the claim that globalisation is not a result of any state actions but exists as a phenomenon which requires the response of the state (Fairclough 2003).

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[182] IRDBDL 100403, 565:356, N. O'Flynn, FF
[183] IRSPMJ 170702, M. McDowell, MJ, PD
[184] IRSPMJ 170702, M. McDowell, MJ, PD
[185] IRSPMJ 170702, M. McDowell, MJ, PD

Combining the positive representation of the host community with negative representations of refugees and the construction of asylum as problem external to the state allows political actors to legitimate asylum policies because they are forced to react to circumstances that pose threats to the in-group.

Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the main themes in how speakers represent the community. It focused on three broad areas: what values and behaviours the speakers attribute to the in-group, adherence to protection norms and three of the main discursive strategies employed in the presentation of the in-group. The analysis located similarities in the themes and strategies used, as well as differences which can be attributed to the domestic contexts in the two countries.

First, while the attribution of values and qualities to the community occurs in both document sets, the specific themes vary between the two countries. In the Greek corpus, the main qualities attributed are humanitarianism, sensitivity and hospitality while in the Irish one the three highest are hospitality, generosity and humanitarianism. In both sets the manner in which the values are attributed adapts to the specific domestic context by drawing from the particular discourses on national identity in the country in question. Thus in Irish political discourse, hospitality draws from a generalised perception of Ireland as a welcoming country often encountered in discourses of tourism, but also from a – somewhat exaggerated in the statements of some speakers – history of having received small numbers of refugees before. In the Greek corpus, references to hospitality and humanitarianism are often accompanied by references to mythology and history, linking it in a construction of Greek identity as an uninterrupted continuum from antiquity until the present day. Similarly, generosity and humanitarianism in the Irish context are linked to a background of Irish Catholic missions and ensuing policies of giving aid to developing countries.

Second, denials of racism, a theme often highlighted in the relevant literature, were present in both data sets. However, its employment was not as straightforward as the literature sometimes suggests. In the Greek documents, it was rightwing opposition speakers that were more likely to deny being racist, possible in order to counterbalance a harder line on immigration than government actors. Moreover, speakers occasionally differentiate between xenophobia and racism, and while they might admit to the existence of the former, they tended to deny the latter. In the Irish documents, accepting the existence of racism is more frequent than denying it. While government actors are likely to deny racism, opposition actors are more likely to admit it, even if only to oppose government policies. The existence of both acceptance and denial of racism suggests a more complicated pattern than the findings of research that focuses mostly on denials as part of the positive representation of communities.

Moreover, in both document sets speakers express their commitment to protection of refugees and human rights. Again, there are differences between the two sets: Irish actors are more likely to focus on respecting and adhering to the Geneva Convention, while Greek political actors utilise broad references to respecting human rights, a theme which is again constructed as historical and timeless. These references indicate that it is important to at least appear to be in conformity with international norms, as has been argued in the literature (Schuster 2003a; Van Selm-Thoburn 1998). As will be demonstrated later on in the thesis, this is confirmed by the justifications used by the speakers to justify the policies they propose. Further, while in the Irish corpus the distribution between the first and second halves of the researched period is fairly even, in the Greek corpus they are concentrated in the first half. Overall, however, positive representations rely more on positive qualities attributed to the in-group rather than statements regarding the Geneva Convention or human rights. Moreover, rather than 'liberal' values such as openness and tolerance, the qualities political actors emphasise tend to be broadly humanitarian ones.

Legitimation in the above instances occurs by asserting the good character and ethical superiority of the in-group through moral evaluation: references to widely and implicitly accepted value systems (Fairclough 2003; Triantafyllidou 2000; Van Leuveen and Wodak 1999). It has been noted that positive constructions of the community are employed in a contrasting relationship – a stated or implied 'but' – in relation to proposed restrictive policies. As the literature indicates, by constructing the community in a positive way, it is suggested that the proposed policies are necessary for a number of reasons – for instance, because of the threats posed by asylum seeking which have been explored in the previous chapter. It was also argued that the impact of these themes is enhanced by specific strategies employed by the speakers. The collective representation of actors reinforces the perceptions of positive characteristics being widely held and therefore increases the legitimacy of the actors. Comparisons with other countries have the effect of enhancing the positive or negative representations of the community. Similarly, references to history construct qualities as deeply ingrained in the host community over an extended period of time.

The analysis of the two datasets also suggests that representations of the community strongly reproduce perceptions about national identities and 'national myths'. Hospitality, for example, is reproduced as a value associated to the history and traditions of each country. Humanitarianism and generosity in the Irish corpus are linked to a history of Catholic missions abroad which are central to the Irish Catholic national identity (Garner 2004). Further, most of the positive representations in the Greek corpus are accompanied by mythological and historical references stretching back to antiquity. This reproduces constructions of Greek national identity based on a continuity between past and present (Hertzfeld 1987; Just 1989; Petrakou 2001; Veremis 1997). Moreover, the host community in both sets is homogenised through the collective forms of designation used by the speakers.

This image of a national 'we' whose positive qualities are framed by nationalist constructions of identity assumes an 'other' that is excluded from them (Bigo 2005;

Riggins 1997; Schuster 2003a; Triandafyllidou 2000). The following chapter will examine how the 'others' in this context –refugees and asylum seekers – are represented in the political discourse of the two countries, and how their representations reproduce the us/them boundaries inherent in the nature of modern states.

Chapter Six

Representations of refugees

While the last chapter looked at how the host community and the political actors themselves are constructed through discourse, this chapter looks at the other side of the equation – how asylum seekers and refugees are represented in the selected texts. In CDA literature, representations of the 'other' are normally discussed under the concept of negative other-presentation strategies which can be broadly defined as depicting the out-group in a negative manner. These compliment strategies of positive self-presentation in the legitimating social phenomena (Triandafyllidou 2000; Van der Valk 2003; van Dijk 1993; 1997a).

Within this general definition, negative other-presentation strategies can be divided into blatant and subtle ones. The former refer to negative labels such as the word 'nigger' (Boreus 2006; Reislig and Wodak 2001; van Dijk 1993). The latter refers to attributing negative characteristics or behaviours to individuals belonging to a group or to the group at large, including references to untruthful 'facts' about groups (Boreus 2006). These more likely to occur in parliamentary discourse as the speakers would be constrained by norms of political discourse regarding what can be said (van Dijk 1993; 1997a). In the field of asylum discourses, refugees are represented as likely to commit crimes and be involved in criminal activities, such as terrorism, trafficking and smuggling, or the drugs trade (Huysmans 2006; Tsoukala 2005; Vukov 2003). Moreover, representations of illegality and criminality focus on the irregular manner of entry, which is an offence in most European countries (Jordan and Duvell 2002; Samers 2004). A further theme involves depicting asylum seekers as perpetrators of abuse, often of the asylum system or of the welfare provisions of the host country. (Flynn 2005; Lynn and Lea 2003; Schuster 2003b; Van der Valk 2003; van Dijk 2000). The first part of this chapter will focus on these negative representations, as well as any counterbalancing positive ones occurring in the Irish and Greek sets - a theme omitted in most of the literature.

A second aspect of representation that will be examined concerns constructions of non-genuineness. Refugees are presented as 'bogus' and falsely claiming refugee status in discourses of western European states, and are differentiated between genuine and non-genuine (Leudar *et al* 2008; Lewis and Neal 2005; Lynn and Lea 2003; Schuster and Solomos 2002; van Dijk 1993; 1997a; 2000). A related theme is claiming that asylum seekers are in fact economic migrants or 'illegal immigrants'; the latter has increased in use in recent years and is considered an effect of European policy developments (Lewis and Neal 2005; Richmond 2002; Schuster 2003c; Van Dijk, 1997a;2000; Zetter 2007). The second part of the chapter discusses how denials of genuineness are articulated, and their differences between the two sets.

A third aspect of representation that will be discussed in this chapter concerns the labels and categories used to refer to refugees. Recent years have seen a proliferation of such categories, aimed at limiting access to refugee status (Lewis and Neal 2005; Zetter 2007). From a CDA perspective, nominal forms of reference – the nouns used to refer to groups or individuals- are very significant as they both categorise and betray particular views and perspectives of the speakers (Leudar *et al* 2008; Prieto Ramos 2004; Zetter 2007). Referring to refugees as 'illegal immigrants', immediately activates the theme of illegality, and therefore could be linked to questioning claims to refugee status (Prieto Ramos 2004). Moreover, the choice of labels can amount to negative other-presentation itself, when the labels chosen are blatantly or subtly negative in their meaning (Boreus 2006; Leudar *et al* 2008; Reisigl and Wodak 2001). The chapter will explore these themes in the Greek and Irish sets as well the semantic relations between the label and categories used by speakers.

Moreover, the chapter aims at highlighting how representations of asylum seekers act as legitimation for policies. Representations of refugees as criminal, illegal or non-genuine have been linked to the legitimation of restrictive policies (Castles 2003; Huysmans 2006; Zetter 2007). Similarly, the multiplication of labels and categories is also seen as a manner in which restrictions of protection are justified

on the basis that refugees are not entitled to it (Lewis and Neal 2005; Zetter 2007). More broadly, negative representations of the 'other' help demarcating the boundaries between 'us and them' and are therefore In conclusion, the chapter will discuss the implications of representations of refugees and asylum seekers in relation to entailed in the reproduction of national identities and relations of exclusion.

Representations of asylum seekers involving references to criminality

This section focuses on how asylum seekers are represented as likely to commit criminal offences or are broadly linked to phenomena of –increased- criminality in the country of reception. In addition, the coding includes references to criminal offences committed before entering the country of destination. It might be considered as a surprise that these themes are not very strong in either set, with only 4 references in the Irish documents and 15 in the Greek set. Similarly, references to asylum seekers as terrorists, a theme of increasing significance in Western European countries, are also low – 6 in the Irish and 2 in the Greek set.

The low number of references of criminality in the Irish set prevents any meaningful analysis in terms of content. It also seems that the relevant references are hypothetical, in the sense that they refer to the *possibility* of an asylum seeker being a criminal or a terrorist. It is said for example, that

> There may, of course, also be people who apply for refugee status who pose a threat to the community. This category would include a hardened criminal such as a murderer or rapist fleeing either prosecution or detention in another country [...][186]

This quote stresses the likelihood of involvement with criminal activities – indicated by the modality 'may'- rather than presenting them as actual behaviour. In a way, while statements like the above might increase suspicion they are not blatantly negative in their representation of refugees or asylum seekers. The low incidence of criminal representations seems to confirm findings on the discursive

[186] IRDBDL 191095a, 457:711-12, J. Burton, MJ, LAB,

Table 6.1: References relating to criminality

Year	Greece		Ireland	
	Criminal	Terrorist	Criminal	Terrorist
1996	0	0	2	2
1997	2	0	0	0
1998	1	1	0	0
1999	1	0	1	0
2000	2	0	0	0
2001	8	1	0	1
2002	0	0	0	1
2003	1	0	0	0
2004	0	0	1	2
Total	15	2	4	6
Number of documents	9/117	2/117	4/106	5/106
Percentage	7.69%	1.71%	3.77%	4.72%

representations of migrants in the Irish press where it is observed that themes of criminality were overall low (Prieto Ramos 2004). Moreover, as the next section will demonstrate, there is more emphasis on perceptions of asylum seekers as abusing and deceiving the asylum system of the country, which corresponds to the dominant themes of abuse and burden on resources explored in Chapter Four.

References to criminality in the Greek corpus are both more numerous -15 overall- and different in content. To begin with, they refer to actual criminality. Criminality is attributed to migrants in general, with a preference shown to the categories of 'economic immigrants' and 'illegal immigrants'. It is the attributions to the latter group that are of interest since this category often includes asylum seekers. It is

stated, for example, that 'most unsolved crimes have been committed by foreign born illegal immigrants'[187] and that the political actors

> [...] witness the tragic effects of the criminal behaviour of many illegal immigrants on the life, health and property of Greek citizens, which the Greek state hasn't managed to prevent.[188]

These quotes are illustrative of dominant perceptions regarding migrants in Greek political and media discourses. Often, migrants are depicted as involved in criminal activities especially serious and organised crime, and as actively posing a threat to the Greek population. While such constructions are limited in the selected texts, they are widespread in media and public discourses during the period examined by this research project (Kiprianos *et al* 2003; Lazaridis and Koumandraki 2001; Triandafyllidou and Veikou 2002; Tsoukala 2005). However, such representations are more influenced by discourses on the criminality of economic migrants rather than refugees per se, which I think explains the fairly low number of references in this context. The association of crime with the latter two categories is often indirect and implied by the use of the label 'illegal immigrant', which encompasses all different categories. The stronger association between criminality and immigration in the Greek context can explain the variation in the number of references to crime in the two sets.

References to abusing the system

Chapter Four explored how perceived abuse of the system was one of the main themes within strategies of problematisation of asylum seeking in Irish discourse. In this chapter, the focus is on how abuse of asylum systems is constructed as a tendency of asylum seekers. Constructions regarding abusing or defrauding the asylum system are the most frequently occurring theme of other presentation in the Irish corpus. Table 6.2 shows that there are 49 references to out-group actors actively being engaged in defrauding and manipulating the asylum system and, to a lesser extent, the citizenship laws of the country. On the other hand, constructions

[187] GRODPL 250700, p. 501, C. Markogiannakis, ND
[188] GRODPL 060301a, p.5598, A. Davakis, ND

Table 6.2: References to abuse and deceit

Year	Greece	Ireland
1996	0	3
1997	2	1
1998	0	6
1999	0	6
2000	0	1
2001	3	4
2002	1	4
2003	2	10
2004	0	14
Total	8	49
Number of documents	7/117	29/106
Percentage	5.98%	27.36%

of asylum seekers as abusive and deceitful are very limited in the Greek documents, with only 8 references overall.

In the Irish corpus, references to asylum seekers as abusing and deceiving systems in the host country are both broad and specific. With regards to the former, actors generally refer to the abuse of the system without specifying the manner by which this occurs. It is stated, for example, that 'we must accept that a certain number of people abuse the system'[189] or that Ireland's 'asylum system has been used by people who do not have a genuine need for protection under the Geneva Convention [...].'[190] Such statements express the perception that at least some migrants take advantage of the asylum system in order, it is claimed, 'to gain a foothold in countries for economic purposes'[191] or 'to gain entry'[192]. These last two

[189] IRDBDL 241199b, 511:848-849, I.Callelly, FF
[190] IRDBDL 271004, 591:61, M. McDowell, MJ, PD
[191] IRPRMJ 270901, J.O'Donoghue MJ, FF; IRSPMJ 170702, M. McDowell, MJ, PD; IRWADL 010301 531:1334, J. O'Donoghue MJ, FF

phrases are used repeatedly in several documents. In other instances, speakers give specific examples of what they believe to constitute abuse of the system. It is said for example that 'a person could refuse to co-operate and pretend not to speak any known language'[193] or that 'many individuals who use [access routes] suffer an appalling level of amnesia and have no idea from where they came or how they came to be here.'[194] There are, however, only four instances where specific kinds of deception or abuse are given in this manner, which include abusing the welfare system, submitting multiple claims, lying, using forged documents or destroying identity documents and disappearing while their application is being examined.

A sub-theme that dominates the documents of the last two years of the research period is the claim that asylum seekers exploit the state's citizenship laws in order to gain residence in the state. As explained earlier on, this is a topic that dominated Irish debates on immigration between 2002 and 2004 and culminated in a referendum that allowed the introduction of a new citizenship law which abolished the entitlement of citizenship for non-national children born in Ireland and their parents' entitlement to residence. This preoccupation with the abuse of citizenship is reflected in the debates especially in the arguments of government supporting speakers, as in the following extract:

> In addition, our asylum system has been used by people who do not have a genuine need for protection under the Geneva Convention as a vehicle to gain entry into the state, in circumvention of normal immigration controls, for the very purpose of giving birth here and availing of what hitherto has been a universal entitlement to Irish citizenship derived from birth in Ireland.[195]

The above quote states very clearly the perception that 'non-genuine' refugees actively pursued the citizenship route to improve their chances of staying in Ireland. They are seen in this context were constructed as abusers of the system, lacking loyalty to the Irish state and 'caring only for the entitlements an Irish passport can

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[192] IRDBDL 271004, 591:62, M. McDowell, MJ, PD; IRDBDL 201004, 591:382, J. McGuiness, FF; IRDBDL 201004, 591:387, M. Higgins, LAB; IRWADL 0131101, 543:1446, J. O'Donoghue MJ, FF; IRWADL 091104, 592:254, M. McDowell, MJ, PD; IRWADL 301104, 593:1446, M. McDowell, MJ, PD

[193] IRDBDL 191095a, 457:713, J. Burton, MJ, LAB

[194] IRDBDL 241199b, 511:863, T. Kileen, FF

[195] IRDBDL 271004, 591: 61-2, M. McDowell, PD, MJ

bring' (Brandi 2007; Tormey 2007:77). The theme of purposeful and conscious abuse of citizenship provisions dominated parliamentary debates and the wider public discourse in Ireland (Tormey 2007). It is also notable that while other kinds of exploitation of citizenship laws were known and discussed in the relevant debates[196], the government focused on the perceived abuse of citizenship laws by migrants and specifically asylum seekers.

Overall, representations of asylum seekers as abusing the system are particularly salient in the Irish documents. Moreover, they increase considerably in the last two years because of the increased preoccupation with the abuse of citizenship laws. This representation of asylum seekers is closely associated with the themes of abuse entailed in the problematisation strategies explored in Chapter Four. Similarly to them, these constructions reflect representations of abuse employed in wider political and media discourses of asylum (Devereux and Breen 2004; Loyal 2003; McGee 2003). Moreover, there is again a clear emphasis on the abuse of systems, specifically the asylum procedures and the citizenship laws.

The themes of abuse and deception are far less prominent in the Greek data with 8 references overall, of which 6 occur in the second part of the research. Of these, three concern abuse of the procedure by economic migrants – it is claimed that 'as soon as economic migrants arrive in a country they claim straight away that they are politically persecuted, request political asylum'[197] and that economic migrants 'carbon-copy asylum claims, obviously in order to secure the legalisation terms.'[198] Similarly to the Irish texts, in these extracts it is suggested that economic migrants use the asylum system in order to gain entry to the host country. A further three references concern the entry of refugees into Greece and are framed within the issue of illegal migration rather than asylum seeking. The manner of entry is constructed as abusive insofar refugees are deliberately trying to deceive the Greek authorities. It is stated, for example, that

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[196] For example, the government offered passports to businessmen with questionable Irish origin in return for investment in Ireland.
[197] GRPCPM 041201, K. Simitis, PM, PASOK
[198] GRPCGS 081003, G. Protopapas, PASOK

> [i]t's different when you engine breaks down while you're crossing the international waters and you get help, and different to enter Greek waters, and in essence put fire to your engine so as to get arrested in Greek territory.[199]

Another speaker claims that

> [...] in Evros[200], as we've been told, just after they cross the border they look for the nearest police station to turn themselves in. When they see a patrol car passing they shout "come to arrest us.[201]

In these extracts asylum seekers are attributed the ability to act in a way that ensures their access to Greek territory. It is noteworthy, however, that the second speaker describes the act of approaching the police in a negative manner. According to Greek law, asylum seekers who wish to make a claim in-country are obliged to do so in a police station. Nevertheless, it is presented in a negative manner by the speaker, a right wing MP, possibly for the sake of argumentation and rhetoric in a heated debate on irregular migration.

Overall, while the references to abuse in Greek documents increase in the second half of the research, their volume is very limited in comparison to the Irish texts. It can be argued that this is partly because of the lesser importance placed on procedures and the maintenance of systems, and the greater emphasis on issues of illegality. Moreover, these differences can be attributed to the differing forms of organisation of the welfare state. This also explains the generalised focus on issues of competition over employment rather than welfare, which has been observed in the problematisation strategies in Chapter Four.

Positive representations of asylum seekers

This section focuses on positive representations of refugees and asylum seekers in the texts. It is an aspect of political discourse that is often not included in the literature, but can provide useful insights in modes of legitimation employed by the

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[199] GRPCMN 071101, G. Anomeritis, MMN, PASOK
[200] Region in north-eastern Greece, which includes the land border with Turkey.
[201] GRODPL 030403, p.3746, C. Markogiannakis, ND

political actors, especially those in the opposition. This is particularly the case in the Irish corpus, where positive representations of refugees and asylum seekers are more salient than in the Greek corpus, with 40 references compared to just 13.

In the Greek documents, positive representations consist of references to the contribution of migrants to the economy. One speaker contrasting to negative representations based on criminality, refers to 'the majority of immigrants, foreign citizens, who contribute considerable to the development of Greek economy.'[202] However, such references tend to refer to immigrants in general, meaning that while it is possible that they include refugees in this category, the speakers are in all probability referring to economic migrants. Such references are therefore shaped by the preoccupation with labour migration. Positive representations of refugees specifically are very few. In a manner similar to Irish positive representations, the foreign minister argues in one document that 'refugees can make a significant contribution to the host society'[203] although the kind of contribution is not clear.

In a further instance, the speaker refers the refugees as 'educated people, architects, lawyers, they speak foreign languages' which seems to reflect the overall importance placed on education in Greek society (Petrakou 2001; Tsoukalas 1995). However, another speaker refers to refugees as 'people who fight for an ideology, and ideas'[204] which reflects conception of refugees as primarily political, interpreting the Geneva Convention definition in a narrow manner. As will be explained later in the chapter, this view reflects the Greek experience with refugees and in certain respects has a negative effect on their treatment.

In the Irish set, instances of positive representations of refugees are more frequent, with 40 references overall. They tend to focus on two themes, the potential contribution of refugees and asylum seekers to the Irish economy, and their contribution to Irish culture. The first representation occurs mostly among

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[202] GRDBPL 060301a, p.5603, F. Kouvelis, SYN
[203] GRARFA 141200, G. Papandreou, MFA, PASOK
[204] GRDBDI 111296, p. 1780, G.Tsafoulias, DIKKI

Table 6.3: Positive representations of asylum seekers and refugees

Year	Greece	Ireland
1996	1	1
1997	1	0
1998	0	5
1999	0	16
2000	1	1
2001	8	0
2002	1	2
2003	0	8
2004	1	7
Total	13	40
Number of documents	8/117	18/106
Percentage	6.84%	16.98%

opposition speakers seems to be informed by a line of argumentation in Irish pro-immigration groups, who supported asylum seekers' right to work on the basis of the labour needs of the Irish economy (Garner 2004). It is argued, for instance, that 'the ban on work and study by asylum seekers should be lifted. We need a more open system which welcomes people to our shores, bringing with them skills to add to our workforce [...].'[205] Such references also present asylum seekers as hardworking, skilled and willing to work. For example, one speaker argues that 'asylum seekers are intelligent, highly skilled and, in many cases, highly motivated. Many of them do not wish to be on unemployment assistance.'[206] Another claims that asylum seekers would 'prefer to be out working but our immigration policy does not allow that.'[207] In short, asylum seekers and refugees are in a way idealised, and are presented in this manner with very little differentiation within the category. Moreover, it is noteworthy that government speakers often designate the subjects

[205] IRDBDL100299b, 500:294, C. O'Caolain, SF
[206] IRDBDL 100299a, 500:358, J. Perry, FG
[207] IRDBDL 040204c, 579:570, D. English, FG

of their positive representations as refugees as not asylum seekers. This is line with the government policies of the time, where refugees are entitled to employment but asylum seekers are barred from it (Frost 2006; Loyal 2003)

Denying that asylum seekers are genuine

Strategies of denying the 'genuineness' of asylum seekers constitute the most common theme of refugee representations in both datasets, although Table 6.3 shows that there are considerable variations with regards to specific sub-themes. I have subdivided these into three categories: claiming that asylum seekers are not genuine without specifying why; claiming that they are economic migrants; and claiming that they are irregular immigrants. In the Greek set, the most common label attributed in order to question the legitimacy of claims is that of 'illegal immigrant' with 33 references followed by 'economic migrant with 13 and by general denials of genuineness with 5. Conversely, in the Irish corpus the most common attribution is that of 'economic migrant' with 35, followed by general denials and 'illegal immigrant' with 27 each. The following section will analyse these differences and attempt to offer some explanations.

General denials of genuineness

This theme occurs only 5 times in the Greek set, therefore the analysis will focus on its use in the Irish corpus. The low frequency of its occurrence in the Greek corpus might be due to the fact that the denial of genuineness is enacted more frequently by claiming that asylum seekers are economic or irregular migrants.

One of the strategies of discrediting asylum seekers in the Irish data, occurring 27 times in total, is to broadly claim that they are not genuine without attributing an alternative label to the migrants in question. This construction involves statements that cast the legitimacy of claims to asylum and refugee status into doubt. For instance, one speaker says that

Table 6.4: References to non-genuineness

Ireland			
Year	Not genuine	Economic migrant	Illegal immigrant
1996	2	1	0
1997	1	1	1
1998	4	2	7
1999	5	4	5
2000	1	1	0
2001	2	4	3
2002	1	3	2
2003	7	11	4
2004	4	8	5
Total	27	35	27
Numbers of documents	17/106	24/106	20/106
Percentage	16.04%	22.64%	18.87%
Greece			
1996	2	0	2
1997	0	0	0
1998	0	2	1
1999	1	2	2
2000	0	2	3
2001	2	4	16
2002	0	1	2
2003	0	2	7
2004	0	0	0
Total	5	13	33
Number of documents	5/117	11/117	24/117
Percentage	4.27%	9.40%	20.51%

> [...] it must be accepted that based on the recognition rates as well as experience here in Ireland the majority of asylum seekers will be found not to come within the definition of the Geneva Convention.[208]

Another states that '[..] close to nine out of every ten asylum applicants in Ireland have no basis for their claim to be refugees.'[209] Statements like the above question the validity of claims to refugee status. As the above quotes indicate, they often employ numerical evidence to support their claims, a technique which is also used in strategies of problematisation. References to numerical evidence provide 'objective'support while perpetuating the idea that claimants are not genuine refugees (Garner 2004; van Dijk 1997a).

Furthermore, doubts over the status of asylum seekers and refugees are implied by the extensive use of the words 'genuine' and 'genuinely', which are used in conjunction with 'asylum seeker or 'refugee'. It is stated, for instance, that '[w]e should spend £50 million on ensuring that the applications of genuine refugees are processed as quickly as possible [..]'[210] and that

> I am determined to do everything possible to strengthen the channels in place to ensure that those asylum seekers who are in genuine fear of persecution receive protection more speedily.[211]

This is a particularly dominant construction in the Irish documents, with 182 references spread through the research period. It is also particularly popular among government-supporting MPs, with 147 references made by them compared to 35 made by opposition MPs. Moreover, 59 references occur in documents expressing the government position such as written answers, press releases, speeches and oral questions. As the table indicates, few of these references occur in 1996, suggesting that the use of 'genuine' increased with the introduction of restrictive legislation (Table 6.5). The employment of the word 'genuine' and the distinction between 'genuine' and 'non-genuine' asylum seekers is also a feature of media discourse of the same period (Haynes *et al* 2004; Prieto Ramos 2004).

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[208] IRPRMJ 011100, J. O'Donoghue, MJ, FF
[209] IRDBDL 100403, 565:323, B. Lenihan, MHC, FF
[210] IRDBDL 100299a, 500:363, I. Callely, FF
[211] IRPRMJ 220103, M. McDowell, MJ, PD

Table 6.5: References of 'genuine'

Year	
1996	11
1997	3
1998	20
1999	52
2000	13
2001	10
2002	8
2003	45
2004	20
Total	182
Number of documents	52/106
Percentage	49.06%

The manner in which this type of denial of genuineness works is rather more complicated than the other ones explored in this chapter. While at a first level such constructions suggest that at least a number of asylum seekers are indeed genuine, they also suggests that there is a number of them who are not. Given the extent of its use by speakers, the strength of this attribution constantly draws attention to the division between allegedly 'genuine' and 'non-genuine' refugees. As Gabrielatos and Baker (2008) observe, correlations like 'genuine refugee/asylum seeker' or 'bogus asylum seeker' are nonsensical terms, but they can become 'triggers' of negative associations (also Leudar *et al* 2008; Lynn and Lea 2003). The extent of the genuine/non-genuine distinction suggests that it an entrenched and naturalised pattern in Irish discourse, similarly to the category 'bogus' in representations of refugees and asylum seekers in British discourse (Lynn and Lea 2003; Gabrielatos and Baker 2008). Moreover, the difference in the extent of its use by government and opposition speakers could suggest that it is used as a legitimation strategy,

where the distinction between genuine and non-genuine justifies the differential treatment of the two groups.

Economic migrants

Representing refugees as economic migrants is a theme that appears in both document sets but with different frequencies. It is considerable more frequent in the Irish documents, with 35 references compared to 13 in the Greek set.

In the Irish set, while the majority of references to asylum seekers as economic migrants occur in the second half of the research period, this theme is in evidence early on. Even in the debates on the Refugee Act, it is argued that it 'would be foolish and irresponsible, however, if we did not also recognise that many applicants are seeking to escape from economic hardship rather than persecution' [212] and that '[m]any economic migrants pose as refugees and asylum seekers when they arrive in this country.'[213] In the second half of the research, this claim is often expressed through the use of the phrase 'for the (sole) purpose of avoiding legitimate immigration controls in order to gain a foothold in the state for economic purposes/reasons[214]' which, with very minor variations is a employed in 8 speeches, written answers and press releases.

The repetition of this phrase reinforces the government's argument that the majority of asylum seekers are in fact economic migrants, a belief which is widespread in discourses of asylum in European states (Gibney 2006; Lewis and Neal 2005; Lynn and Lea 2004; Richmond 2002; Schuster 2003c). At the same time, such claims could be underpinned by the policy objective of keeping the asylum and economic migration systems separate. This characterises European policies regarding immigration and asylum, as well as British policies, which have

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[212] IRDBDL 191095a, 457:711, J. Burton, LAB, MFA

[213] IRDBDL 241199, 511:777, S. Ardagh, FF

[214] IRPRMJ 270901 J.O'Donoghue MJ, FF; IRWADL 010301 531:1334, J. O'Donoghue MJ, FF; IRWADL 131101, 543:1445, J.O'Donoghue MJ, FF; IRSPMJ 170702, M. McDowell, MJ, PD; IRWADL 120303, 561:667, M.McDowell, MJ, PD; IRWADL 010703, 570:505, M.McDowell, MJ, PD; IRWADL 091104, 592:253, M.McDowell, MJ, PD; IRWADL 301104, 593:1445, M. McDowell, MJ, PD

considerable influence on Irish immigration and asylum policy (Mac Éinrí 2002; Ryan 2001). This combination of influences seems to have an impact on the extent of the 'economic migrant' claim. Moreover, as will be explained later on this chapter, claims that refugees are in fact economic migrants are one of the main legitimation strategies in the context of other-representation.

Similarly to the Irish corpus, references to asylum seekers as economic migrants in the Greek set occur more in the second half of the research, but they are not as numerous. These references involve claims that migrants arriving in the country are economic migrants rather than refugees. It is argued for example that economic migrants 'carbon copy' asylum claims, obviously to guarantee themselves better chances for obtaining legal status'[215] or that 'when they arrive in a country and in ours immediately state that they are politically persecutes, claim asylum'.[216] In two texts of the first half of the research period, the label of economic migrant is attributed specifically to Iraqi Kurdish refugees.[217]

The above extracts reflect the perception asylum seekers are in fact economic migrants who use the asylum procedure to gain access to Greece. Compared to the Irish texts, however, claims that refugees are motivated by economic considerations are fewer, possible because the emphasis in the Greek texts is on constructions of refugees as irregular migrants, reflecting the preoccupation with irregular migration in Greek political and media discourses (Pavlou 2001; Petrakou 2001; Sitaropoulos 2000; Skordas and Sitaropoulos 2004). The lower frequency of such references might also be due to the distinctiveness of economic migrants as a group in Greece, and their centrality in Greek political and media discourses (Pavlou 2004). Overall, references to refugees being economic migrants appear to function as a discrediting strategy, both in relation to specific groups of interest to the Greek state –such as the Iraqi Kurds - and in later years, more broadly.

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[215] GRPCGS 081003, C. Protopapas, PASOK
[216] GRPCPM 041201, K. Simitis, PM, PASOK
[217] GROQPL 061198, p.873, T. Kotsonis, MHW, PASOK; GROQPL 250199, p.3676-7, F. Petsalnikos, MPO, PASOK

Illegal immigrants

The theme of illegality is a strong one in both sets, with 27 references in the Irish documents and 33 in the Greek one. Moreover, it presents some similarities in terms of content in the two sets.

In the Irish set, constructions of refugees as 'illegal immigrant' appear to refer both to the manner of entry and perceptions of the validity of claims. First, references to illegality seem to suggest that refugees are not genuine. For instance, one speaker refers to the 'exploitation of our society and national hospitality by the many illegal immigrants who have come here in the guise of asylum seekers'[218] which suggests that it is the lack of a valid claim to refugee status that merits the label of illegal immigrant. Second, asylum seekers are depicted as irregular migrants because they have evaded immigration controls or have been smuggled into the country. It is said, for example, that '[t]he Minister indicated that 98 per cent of asylum seekers evade immigration controls and claim to be unaware of how they arrived in Ireland'[219]. In fact, the irregular manner of entry is strongly emphasised in a number of documents through the phrase 'evading legitimate immigration controls'[220] which is repeated in several documents and constructs migrants as irregular because of their manner of entry. Moreover, this last pattern also highlights the frequent association of irregular entry with economic migration. The consistency of this pattern can create an impression that migrants who enter irregularly are more likely to be economic immigrants rather than asylum seekers.

The emphasis on the 'evasion of legitimate controls' reflects the preoccupation with managed systems of immigration which differentiate between categories of migrants. It also reflects the preference in terms of immigration policy, for

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[218] IRDBDL 281004, 591:367, N. O'Flynn, FF

[219] IRDBDL 110398, 488:1031-32 B. Lenihan, FF

[220] With slight variations such as 'circumventing immigration controls'. For example, IRWADL 141299, 512:1544 J. O'Donoghue, MJ, FF; IRWADL 010301, 531:1339, J. O'Donoghue, MJ, FF; IRPRMJ 270901, J. O'Donoghue, MJ, FF; IRWADL 131101, 543:1445, J.O'Donoghue MJ, FF; IRSPMJ 170702, M. McDowell, MJ, PD; IRSPMJ 101202, M. McDowell, MJ, PD; IRWADL 120203, 561:667, M. McDowell, MJ, PD; IRDBDL 100403, 565: 325, B. Lenihan, MHC, FF; IRWADL 010703, 570:505, M. McDowell, MJ, PD; IRWADL 091104, 592:253, M. McDowell, MJ, PD; IRWADL 301104, 593:1445, M. McDowell, MJ, PD

controlled, regulated economic migration aimed at covering the needs of Ireland's developing economy (Frost 2006; Loyal 2003; 2007; Mac Éinrí 2002). This point is repeatedly made in several documents concerning the ban on the right to work for asylum seekers, a measure supported by the opposition and opposed by the Fianna Fail governments. Among arguments that it would undermine the asylum system and make Ireland more attractive to smugglers, it is also argued that

> any proposal to grant asylum seekers access to the labour market would also undermine the current and effective work permit system which provides a comprehensive channel for legal migration to the State.[221]

As explained in previous chapters, this preference can also be seen as influenced by UK immigration policy as well as by a trend in the EU which prioritises economic migration over granting asylum (Crawley 2006; Flynn 2005; Favell and Hansen 2002; Geddes 2007; Schuster 2003c)

In the Greek corpus irregular entry is also associated with economic migration rather than asylum seeking. It is claimed for example that of illegal immigrants who arrive in Greece for many reasons but mainly economic' [222] and that there should not be confusion between 'illegal immigrants' for economic reasons and political refugees.'[223] Such statements create the impression that clandestine migrants are more likely to be economic migrants than refugees. In one case, a speaker argues that 'illegal immigrants' are 'those who voluntarily leave their country of origin. They don't have a justified fear of persecution, but they search for better conditions of living, mostly for economic reasons.'[224] Thus the labels of 'illegal immigrant' and 'economic migrant' are, to an extent, conflated.

At the same time, the designation 'illegal immigrant' is dependent on the manner of entry. For example, the government spokesman states in one press conference that 'we are not going to permit any illegal immigrant to enter Greece. In case an illegal

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[221] IRWADL 091104, 592:253-4, M.McDowell, MJ, PD; also IRWADL 131101, 543:1446, J. O'Donoghue, MJ, FF; IRWADL 120303, 561:668, M.McDowell, MJ, PD; IRWADL 010703, 570:506, M.McDowell, MJ, PD; IRWADL 301104, 593:1446, M.McDowell, MJ, PD

[222] GROQPL 250199, p.3676, F. Petsalnikos, MPO, PASOK,

[223] GRPCGS 071101, C. Protopapas, PASOK

[224] GROQPL 010403, p.3601, D. Thanos, MHW, PASOK

immigrant is arrested, there will be communication regarding his readmission.'[225] This extract suggests the manner of entry primarily defines a migrant as an 'illegal immigrant'. In fact this designation is given even in cases when the quality of a refugee is explicitly or implicitly accepted. For example, a different spokesperson states that

> [...] the Prime Minister is going to discuss the issue of illegal immigration because, as you know, our borders are extensive. There are many refugees who leave Afghanistan and move towards Turkey.[226]

The insistence of categorising refugees as 'illegal immigrants' is also exemplified in the tendency, among some right wing opposition speakers, to attribute this label to refugees staying in Lavrio Accommodation Centre.[227]

These representations seem to reflect the reluctance to grant asylum, since refugees in Greece at the time were from countries affected by war or extensive human rights abuses, such as Iraq and Afghanistan (Papadopoulou 2004). Furthermore, as in the case of problematisation strategies, the emphasis placed on characterising refugees as irregular or economic migrants should be seen in the context of Greek asylum policy, which has been strongly preoccupied with the prevention of entry and controlling the external borders of the European Union (Baldwin-Edwards 2006; Geddes 2003; Marvakis 2004; Mavrodi 2007).

Overall, denials of genuineness reinforce the distinction between 'deserving' and 'undeserving' refugees or 'good and 'bad' migrants (Anderson 2008; Sales 2003). The genuine, deserving refugees are those who have valid claims to protection which appear to be narrowly defined by the Geneva Convention grounds. Moreover, the issues regarding denials of genuineness are related to broader issues of representation and the use of different labels and categories. The following section will focus on them.

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[225] GRPCGS 200901, D.Reppas, PASOK
[226] GRPCGS 191001, T. Hytiris, PASOK
[227] GROQPL 231101, p. 1697,C. Markogiannakis, ND, p. 1697, G. Garoufalias, ND; p. 1706, V. Polydoras, ND; p.1713, E. Papakosta-Sidiropoulou, ND; GRDBDL 030403, p. 145, M. Varvitsiotis, ND

Labels and nominal forms of reference

This section focuses on the manner that labels are used in relation to each other in the document sets, and the semantic relationships between categories. As mentioned in the introduction, the choice of labels is considered to be very significant in discourse analysis as it betrays 'the adoption of a particular viewpoint and thus becomes an instance of argumentation' (Prieto Ramos 2004:97; also Zetter 2007). I would also argue however, that it is also the relationship and negotiation between labels that is of importance here; as it will be demonstrated, the usage of labels in the two sets is flexible and changeable.

The terms of reference vary considerably in each country. The labels 'refugee' and 'asylum seeker' are used extensively in Irish discourse, albeit often preceded by 'genuine' as was demonstrated in the last section. The term refugee is employed to refer to people who fulfil the criteria of the Geneva Convention as well as a generic category for people fleeing persecution and seeking asylum. For instance, the label 'refugees' seems to be used for people fleeing war and persecution outside Ireland. An example of the first is referring to 'Hungarian, Chilean, Iranian, Vietnamese and Bosnian refugees'[228] which are groups that have been admitted to Ireland as programme refugees. An example of the second includes the phrase '[a]ttention has been drawn [...] to the many conflicts throughout the world which have a bearing on the number of refugees arriving here.'[229] The category 'asylum seeker' is broadly used in its most customary meaning, that of someone who is claiming the status of refugee. In the phrase 'a mistaken perception among asylum seekers that if they come to Ireland they will be able to work'[230], it is clear that the speaker refers to applicants rather than recognised refugees since the only the former are barred from employment in Ireland (Loyal 2003; Loyal and Staunton 2001).

Overall, the two categories are differentiated. In many instances, they are referred to as two distinct groups through the combination 'refugees and asylum seekers'

[228] IRDBDL 100299a, 500:351, B. Daly, FF
[229] IRDBDL 100299a, 500:369, M. Kitt, FF
[230] IRDBDL 241199b, 511:850, I. Callely, FF

which is used 46 times in the Irish texts, split equally between opposition and government speakers. The differentiation between the two categories, however, is stronger among government speakers. For example, the Minister for Foreign Affairs is reported to say that

> [...] if we were affronted at the sight of Chechen refugees queuing for assistance in the Russian Winter, should we not be equally affronted –or more so- by the sight of asylum seekers queuing out of doors for hours on end for basic services in Mount Street.[231]

The extract presents an interesting change in the label employed by the speaker as the term used for claimants in Ireland is 'asylum seeker' and not refugee. The preference for this term is also evident in other government documents, where claimants for status within Irish territory are generally designated 'asylum seekers', while the term refugee is reserved for those who have already been recognised as such. This is also supported by a pattern where the term 'refugee' is accompanied by references to their integration, contrasted to references to reception in relation asylum seekers.[232]

It can be argued overall that government speakers are more likely to try to use the two categories according to their narrow meanings, possibly in an attempt to differentiate claimants for protection in terms of the validity of their claims. The term 'refugee' seems to imply in itself prior recognition of a person as such and a condition of being genuine, while asylum seeker suggests a transitional stage when the application for refugee status is examined, and is often accompanied by suggestions that they might be genuine or not. To this extent, their use seems to confirm Moss's (2001) explanation that the use of 'refugee' is limited because it 'is a word that evokes immediate sympathy; asylum seeker is a colder, more bureaucratic term [...]'. This explanation is supported by the use of the term 'refugee' in British media and political discourse (Leudar *et al* 2008) Moreover, the patterns of the employment of those two categories reflect the tendencies towards proliferation of categories and bureaucratisation observed in the field of asylum

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[231] IRPRFA 191199, L. O'Donnell, MFA, PD

[232] IRSPMJ 030299, J. O'Donoghue, MJ, FF; IRSPMJ 230300, J. O'Donoghue, MJ, FF; IRPRMJ 011100 J. O'Donoghue, MJ, FF; IRPRMJ 050201 J. O'Donoghue, MJ, FF; IRSPMJ 051203, M. McDowell, MJ, PD

and immigration policies in Europe (Chavez 2007; Lewis and Neal 2005; Zetter 2007).

That is not to say that conflation of the two categories does not occur among government speakers, who sometimes use the categories interchangeably. For example, the Foreign Minister moves between the two of them in a speech regarding a refugee art exhibition:

> These works of art portray beautifully the human face of the asylum-seeker. Far too often, we hear refugees and their situation described as endlessly problematical with scant mention of their human story, their talents and their aspirations. Douglas Ross has captured in these portraits our common humanity which requires that we see and deal with asylum-seekers and refugees as human beings, individuals and not as statistics or as a burden on society.[233]

The above extract moves from 'asylum seeker' in the first sentence to 'refugee' in the second and then as two different categories in the third. However, this type of use of categories is more common among opposition speakers. In one debate, for example, a speaker argues that

> Refugees, by definition, do not queue up in the passport office in their country of origin to obtain travel documents. In many cases they flee with little more than the clothes on their back [...]. This is the reality of asylum seekers.[234]

In this extract, the terms 'refugee' and 'asylum seekers' are used as synonymous and appear to refer to the same group of people. This occurs often among opposition speakers, who employ the term 'refugee' where government speakers would employ the term 'asylum seeker' which suggests that speakers try to evoke sympathy and strengthen their arguments against restrictive policies. Overall, there is little to point out that the terms per se have negative connotations in itself - these seem to be evoked by the use of the word 'genuine' discussed in the previous section.

Similarly, refugees are differentiated from 'illegal immigrants' especially in the first half of the research period in documents regarding proposed legislation that

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[233] IRSPFA 220202, L. O'Donnell, MFA, PD
[234] IRDBDL 191095a, 457:749, K. Lynch, LAB

touched upon irregular migrants. It is claimed, for example, that a 'real distinction which exists in law and in practice between a refugee, on the one hand, and an illegal immigrant on the other.'[235] This pattern of differentiation appears 16 times in relation to the 'illegal immigrant' label. The category 'illegal immigrant' is often juxtaposed to that of a (genuine) refugee. This relation is evident in the following extract:

> I warmly acknowledge Ireland's obligations to genuine refugees. [...] I will not be deterred in my efforts to ensure that genuine refugees are accommodated but taxpayers' money is not misspent on rogue refugees or illegal immigrants.[236]

The non-sensical term 'rogue refugee' is correlated with 'illegal immigrant' and both are contrasted to 'genuine refugee', designating the two as mutually exclusive categories. Moreover, the pattern of differentiation is often employed to discredit opposition arguments. For instance, the Minister for Justice criticises a Labour MP for not knowing 'the difference between refugees and illegal immigrants.'[237] In short, the employment of the 'illegal immigrant' label suggests strongly a tendency to create a clear separation into distinct categories (Chavez 2007; Lewis and Neal 2005; Zetter 2007). An interesting pattern of use of this label occurs among opposition speakers, who employ the term in arguments delegitimating proposed policies, by attributing it to Irish migrants to the US. It is argued, for example, that '[m]any Irish people were illegal immigrants.'[238] This type of employment of this term draws on a long history of emigration and is part of the 'historical duty' argument (Garner 2004; Fanning 2002).

The use of labels is far more complex in the Greek set. The most surprising difference is the near-absence of the label 'asylum seeker' to refer to those applying for protection. It is used only 20 times in all documents. On the other hand, the most frequently used label to refer to those entering Greece and might have a valid claim for protection is 'illegal immigrant'. The label 'refugee' is also employed, almost uniformly by leftwing opposition MPs as well as by those belonging to the

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[235] IRDBDL 100398, 488:734, J. O'Donoghue, MJ, FF
[236] IROQPL 250698, 493:368, I. Callely, FF
[237] IRDBDL 090299, 500:83, J'O Donoghue, MJ, FF
[238] IRDBDL 241199b, 511:870, M. Creed, FG

other political parties to signify 'genuine' claimants for protection. In the case of opposition speakers, it is used in a manner that incorporates persons who, in other discourses, would be categorised as asylum seekers.

The link between genuineness and the label of political refugee is underpinned by influences specific to the Greek context. As explained in the first chapter the term 'refugee' has positive connotations in the Greek context because of histories of reception in the first half of the 20th century (Voutira 2003a). In addition, the perception of who is a refugee could be influenced, in the case of left wing MPs, by a left wing history of seeking asylum to Eastern European countries following the end of the Civil War in 1949. Third, it can be argued that perceptions of who a refugee is underpinned by recent experiences of reception, especially of Kurdish and left wing Turkish nationals opposing Turkish regimes. In those cases, the overall positive attitude of the Greek state towards those groups was dependent on adverse foreign relations with Turkey and refugees were used as a tool to oppose the Turkish administration (Heraclides 1997). At the same time, this has meant that the most prominent refugee group in Greece was one that left the country of origin for fairly clear reasons of political persecution, or reasons that were perceived as such by the Greek state for political expediency.

These positive perceptions of the label 'refugee' and more specifically 'political refugee', are implicated in their frequent juxtaposition to the label 'illegal immigrant'. The former two labels are often associated with a condition of genuineness and are contrasted to that of 'illegal immigrant', which in itself refers to conditions beyond legality. The following extracts illustrate this point:

> Protopapas (government spokesman): I said not all 1000 of them are political refugees. Is there anyone who's claiming that?
> Journalist: No. So there'll be a readmission.
> Protopapas: It is possible, amongst them to be some who can be eligible to submit a claim, based on international practice and the directions of UNHCR, to be proven that they are political refugees. It is clear that for them there will be a different treatment. We are very sensitive towards political refugees. What I said is not to confuse illegal immigrants for economic reasons with political refugees.[239]

[239] GRPCGS 071101, C. Protopapas, PASOK

In this exchange between government spokesperson and journalists regarding the arrival of undocumented migrants in Zakynthos, the quality of being a refugee is opposed to that of being an irregular migrant. However, the extract suggests that eligibility for submitting a claim is dependent on already being a refugee; in a way the implication is that being a refugee is a condition beyond proving through procedures. This impression is made stronger by the absence of the category of asylum seeker, which would refer to this transitional stage.

The above extract also illustrates one of the two aspects of the semantic relationship between the labels of refugee and 'illegal immigrant. In instances like the above, speakers clearly differentiate the two categories. Elsewhere it is argued that

> All actions and procedures of examining asylum claims are taking place with the sole purpose of protecting the interests of real refugees and not of the total of illegal immigrants who arrive in our country and who cannot possibly be irresponsibly identified or self-identify as refugees.[240]

In this quote, irregular migrants are argued to be a group without a valid claim to being a refugee – an assessment emphasised by the words 'real' and 'irresponsibly'. The above extract considers refugees and asylum seekers as two distinct groups as well as suggesting that irregular migrants have no valid claim to the status of refugee. Moreover, designating asylum seekers as irregular migrants is a delegitimating strategy used frequently in Greek political discourse.

However, in other extracts, the discursive effect is one of equating refugees with irregular migrants. During answering questions on the pressure on accommodation infrastructures in the north of Greece, the government spokesperson states that '[...] I was told yesterday - when I was in Rhodes for the parade- that there is a huge pressure from refugees in the area of the maritime borders.' He is then asked by a journalist 'What does this mean, minister?' to which he responds: 'Pressure from illegal immigrants. There are continued efforts of entry of illegal immigrants.'[241] This

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[240] GROQPL 181002, p.3264, D. Thanos, MHW, PASOK

[241] GRPCGS 260303, C. Protopapas, PASOK

extract differs from previous ones insofar it collectively attributes the label of 'illegal immigrants' to all clandestine entrants rather than designating them as a different category from refugees that might be entering irregularly.

In another press conference, the prime minister also adopts the same strategy, illustrated in the following extract:

> Journalist: Mr Prime Minister, you announced that you are going to the Laecen summit in order to ask for aid from the European Union for the refugee crisis. There are many refugees who come to Greece from Turkey and create many problems to your country. In what way do you expect the EU to help Greece in this case?
> K. Simitis: Illegal immigration is indeed a very big issue for the whole of EU and for our country. I want to remind you that a while ago a Turkish ship in the waters near Zakynthos couldn't sail to Italy, at least from what they claimed, and we were forced to bring to Zakynthos 800 illegal immigrants[242]

The above extracts exemplify a pattern that exists in 12 documents which involves a change in the terms of reference in exchanges between journalists and political actors. In such instances, even if the questions addressed by journalists employ 'refugee' as a characterisation of potential asylum seekers, the governments speakers tend to employ in their responses the term 'illegal immigrant'. Therefore, without directly delegitimating the status of entrants as refugees as in the previous extract, speakers achieve the same effect indirectly by changing the terms of reference. As press conference transcripts were not among the documents available in Ireland, it was not possible to observe this pattern in the Irish corpus.

The use of labels in the extracts from the Greek texts raise certain issues regarding the interaction of domestic factors influencing the discourse on asylum with the requirements posed by the European Union. On the one hand, the meaning of 'refugee' is shaped by domestic factors. On the other, the insistence to represent migrants entering Greece in a clandestine way collectively as 'illegal immigrants' can be explained by taking into account the position of the Greek state vis-a-vis EU common asylum policies. As a country with external borders, one of the aims of Greek policy is to prevent uncontrolled entry into the European Union.

[242] GRPCPM 041201, K. Simitis, PM, PASOK

Representing asylum seeking as irregular migration has been part of both policies and discourses on asylum within European Union, and as has been demonstrated in Chapter Four, have become part of Greek discourse on asylum as well (Baldwin-Edwards 2006; Geddes 2007; Mavrodi 2007; Summers 2004). Given this context, the representation of clandestine entrants as irregular migrants legitimates policies aimed at preventing entry and access to asylum procedures such as increased controls and deportations on the basis of the readmission agreement with Turkey. Refugees and asylum seekers as categories have at least some legitimate claim to protection and access to legal procedures; 'illegal immigrants' do not.

Overall, two observations can be made regarding the use of categories in both sets. Firstly, unlike in representation strategies of the host community, where the collective actor descriptions do not change the meaning of the positive attribution, the choice of category in the representations of refugees is significant. One notable exception is referring to asylum seekers as refugees, a manner of reference employed by the more 'liberal' political actors in both states, which can be interpreted either as ignorance of the legal meaning of the terms, or as an attempt to transcend externally imposed legal categories. However, when the term 'illegal immigrant' is used instead of 'asylum seeker', it can indicate an attempt to discredit claims to asylum even before they are officially examined and should be considered a 'meaningful political act' (Story 2005). It can be seen in this context as a kind of the negative labelling to which Reislig and Wodak (2001) and Boreus (2006) refer.

Secondly, the tendency to attribute to migrants a label with a distinct meaning that differentiates them from other categories can obscure the complexity of the nature of migrant movements and their implications for protection. For example, the discursive establishment of economic migrants and refugees as distinct groups obscures the possibility that the reasons for migrating can be mixed (Castles and Miller 2003; Castles 2003; Koser 2005). The use of labels in the Irish texts strongly suggests an attempt to create distinct categories with fixed boundaries of meaning. The distinction between 'real' political refugees and all other groups of migrants that exists in Greek discourse indicates a very narrow view of causes of forced

migration and one that is convenient for legitimating restrictive measures. Furthermore, the construction of refugees as 'illegal immigrants', while again convenient for legitimation purposes, obscures the fact that because of restrictive policies followed by European states leave few other possibilities apart from entering irregularly, often by using smuggling networks. However, the relations between the different categories are not straightforward, especially in the Greek set. As the analysis demonstrated, the categories of 'refugee' 'asylum seeker' and 'illegal immigrant' are structured in complex relations of synonymy – similarity in meaning – and antonymy –opposition in meaning (Fairclough 2003).

Representations of agency

A notable occurrence in the data concerns the agency attributed to asylum seekers. Agency is represented in either passive or active terms. In the first instance, passivity is indicated by the use of nominalizations, as in the structure 'the abuse of the asylum system', or by passive voice constructions such as 'the asylum system is abused by illegal immigrants'. In the second case, asylum seekers appear as the subjects of sentences. What is significant is that in both cases any agency attributed to asylum seekers is represented in negative terms since it normally refers to acts that are perceived as illegal, deceitful or criminal (see also Prieto Ramos 2004). While in the case of nominalization agency can be obscured and the audience has to make the inference, for example, that it is asylum seekers who abuse the system, when active structures are used the effect is stronger, especially since this the only type of agency attributed is negative. This can have the effect of stressing that the in-group is subjected to the negative actions of the out-group (Fairclough 2003).

There seem to be similar patterns in both corpora in what concerns agency of the migrant groups selected. Active roles – when asylum seekers or 'illegal' migrants are said to be doing something- seem to be overall associated with negative acts. For example statements such as 'economic migrants who 'carbon copy' asylum

claims'[243] , [the] asylum system has been used by people who do not have a genuine need for protection under the Geneva Convention [...]'[244] or 'a person could refuse to co-operate and pretend not to speak any known language'[245] all suggest a level of deliberate action.

Similarly, in the following two extracts, 'illegal immigrants' are depicted as taking action in order to enter and claim asylum in Greece. It is said, for example, that

> It's different when you engine breaks down while you're crossing the international waters and you get help, and different to enter Greek waters, and in essence put fire to your engine so as to get arrested in Greek territory[246] .

Another speaker claims that '[...] in Evros, as we've been told, just after they cross the border they look for the nearest police station to turn themselves in. When they see a patrol car they shout "come to arrest us'.[247] The image created of asylum seekers is one of deliberately deceiving and taking advantage of the good intentions and qualities of the Greek authorities. Moreover, the fact that asylum seekers can have any agency of their own is depicted in largely negative terms, which can be interpreted as reflecting the tendency and preference of political actors in political discourse to see asylum seekers as passive victims rather than agents somehow taking control of their fate.

However, the representations of refugees as rational agents who deceive the system co-exist with representations of them as victims. It is stated for example that

> Sadly, many refugees suffer at the hands of internationally organised criminal gangs trafficking in their fellow human beings. They are not in the trade on humanitarian grounds; they are in it for money. They exploit their victims and rob them of whatever little resources they may have. They promise their victims that they will find refuge.[248]

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[243] GRPCGS 081003, C. Protopapas, PASOK
[244] IRDBDL 271004, 591:61, M. McDowell, MJ, FF
[245] IRDBDL 191095a, 457:713, J. Burton, MJ, LAB
[246] GRPCMN 071101, G. Anomeritis, MMN, PASOK
[247] GRODPL 030403, p.374, C. Markogiannakis, ND
[248] IRDBDL 241199b, 511:840, N. O'Flynn, FF

The same representation can also be found in Greek documents. It is stated for example that 'illegal smuggling networks [..] exploit them [irregular migrants] materially and morally'[249] and that 'internationally active organised networks [...] exploit, for a hefty payment, the hopes of these destitute foreigners for a better tomorrow and a better life'[250]

Contrary to the previous examples, refugees in the above extract are depicted in an entirely passive way: they are exploited by smugglers and the speakers do not use any expressions that suggest any involvement on the part of the migrants. In the first extract, the speaker even uses the label 'victim'. This points to a co-existence of representations of refugees as both 'victims and villains' (Anderson 2008). On the one hand, asylum seekers in western political discourses are presented as passive victims, to be protected by states and international organisations (Rajaram 2002; Turton 2003a). On the other, asylum seekers are presented as the perpetrators of criminal acts that threaten the order of western societies (Bigo 2005; 2005a; Huysmans 2006; Malloch and Stanley 2005; Tsoukala 2005).

The existence of both representations can be argued to allow for different legitimating strategies. On the one hand, measures can be justified on the grounds that asylum seekers are not 'genuine' or they engage in deceitful activities. Moreover, by establishing that the majority of asylum seekers are not 'genuine', political actors can defend of introduction of restrictive measures on the basis that they do not affect 'real' refugees. On the other, the representation of refugees as victims of smugglers allows for the justification of policies that allegedly aim to prevent this abuse – as will be demonstrated in the last chapter. In another manner, it also reaffirms the humanitarian credentials of the in-group.

A further point that reinforces the above representations relates to the absence of 'voices' of forced migrants. In terms of discourse analysis, it is extremely significant that in the types of political texts used in this research the 'voices' of asylum

[249] GROQDL 280598, p.9850, Y. Kranidiotis, MFA, PASOK
[250] GRODPL 250700, p.499, G. Papandreou, MFA, PASOK

seekers are largely absent (Boreus 2006; Fairclough 2003). The exclusion of voices can mean that a group of people are excluded from participating in debates that affect them, and rendered unable to defend themselves against accusations (Boreus 2006). Given the nature of the data, the absence of voices of asylum seekers or refugees is hardly surprising, but it is significant that an indirect reporting of voices is also absent.

Representations of asylum seekers and legitimation

Negative representations of refugees can contribute to the legitimation of policies in several ways. Firstly, policies can be justified on the grounds that the characteristics or types of behaviour of refugees necessitate a response from the government. This pattern is found in both sets. In the Greek corpus, for example, it is said in relation to a campsite used as a reception centre for refugees that '[...] all necessary measures for the maintenance of order and security are taken [..] in order to prevent any illegal activities by the non-nationals staying there.'[251] The 'illegal activities' in question concerned alleged damage to the campsite which, according to the speaker, necessitated a response by the government. Similarly, an Irish MP comments on the 2003 Immigration Act that

> [...] the purpose of these amendments is to defend the integrity of the refugee process as the means for giving the protection of the State to those who are actually in need of it, to discourage the abuse of the process by those who are not refugees and to get people who turn out to have no right to be here out of the State as quickly as possible.[252]

In this extract, the restrictive measures introduced by the act are linked to the perceived abuse of the asylum system by claimants who are not considered genuine. As with problematisation strategies, abuse of the system as a characteristic of 'non-genuine' claimants is presented as necessitating a response from the government.

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[251] GRWAPL 191198, p.1393, G. Romaios, MPO, PASOK
[252] IRDBDL 100403, 565:323-4, B. Lenihan, MHC, FF

It should be noted, however, that since representations based on attributing negative qualities are not very frequent in either corpus, this is not in itself a strong legitimation pattern. The strongest legitimation pattern is based on representations challenging the 'genuineness' of refugees. In this respect, policies are legitimated on the basis that they concern the 'non-genuine' claimants, not the genuine ones. For example, in a Greek press release the government spokesperson states that

> [...] we can't have economic migrants who 'carbon-copy' asylum claims [...] We are very open and very positive towards refugees. To refugees however. Economic migrants are another matter.[...] We are not an open borders country. [253]

This extract the solution implied in the last sentence – controlling entry – is justified by the statement in the first about false claims by economic migrants. Moreover, the speaker is still able to construct the in-group in a positive manner by stating positive attitudes towards refugees. In this manner, the reason for the policy stance appears to be the perceived lack of genuineness of refugees. Representations of illegality are also heavily entailed in this type of argumentation.

Similar patterns exist in the Irish corpus. The following extract is an illustration of legitimating the proposed Citizenship Act by representing refugees as non-genuine:

> These laws are not designed to turn away genuine asylum seekers who are fleeing from political persecution in their native lands. Ireland has always made them feel welcome. I have always welcomed all genuine asylum seekers who wish to be our new citizens in this land. [...] I have already highlighted the activities of illegal immigrants claiming Irish citizenship on the grounds that they have given birth to a child in this country?[254]

This extract also contains a positive representation of the host country that establishes the good intentions of the speaker. In combination with the questioning of status suggested by the structure 'genuine' asylum seekers, the effect is of justifying the proposed measures on the assumption that it is in fact 'illegal immigrants' who abuse the citizenship provisions. Thus, the legitimacy of the policies of the in-group is achieved by juxtaposing the positive image of the host community with a representation of refugees that distinguishes the 'genuine' from

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[253] GRPCGS 081003, C. Protopapas, PASOK
[254] IRDBDL 281004, 591:366, N. O'Flynn, FF

those that do not have valid claims to protection and abuse the system. Having established the national community as well intentioned, they can defend the introduction of restrictive policies on the basis of illegitimate status and negative characteristics – in this case abuse of the citizenship provisions - attributed to asylum seekers. The patterns of delegitimation based on references to 'non-genuine' status seem to confirm and follow the patterns observed in the relevant literature (Castles 2003; Lynn and Lea 2004; Richmond 2002; Schuster 2003a; van Dijk 1997a).

Moreover, legitimation of policies is enacted through the use of labels. The employment of categories such as 'political refugees', 'economic migrants' and 'illegal immigrants', should be seen as attempts to legitimate policies by differentiating between those entitled to protection and those are not (Lynn and Lea 2003; Lewis and Neal 2005; Van Dijk 1993;1997; Verkuyten 2005). Zetter (2008:181) argues in that respect that the use of the label 'genuine is one of the 'new range of bureaucratic devices and categories' that 'seek to prevent access to the label refugees' (also Chavez 2007; Lewis and Neal 2005). Thus, the use of labels is closely linked to the justification of restrictive policies as it limits the provision of protection to those constructed to be 'genuine' asylum seekers.

The above extracts also illustrates a line of argumentation that appears strongly in the Irish corpus -but not in the Greek one- , the topos of 'non-genuine' asylum seekers and irregular migrants harming the interests of 'genuine' asylum seekers. This pattern occurs 20 times in the Irish texts and takes two forms. Firstly, it is claimed that catering for non-deserving claimants takes up resources that should be directed to 'genuine' asylum seekers. It is argued for example, that the submission of unfounded claims is 'tying up large amounts of resources which could be better used to provide support to genuine refugees.'[255] Secondly, it is argued that abusive claims undermine the asylum system as a whole at the expense of 'genuine' applicants. In the words of an MP, those submitting unfounded claims are seen as

[255] IRPRMJ 120903, M. McDowell, MJ, FF

'undermining the chances of the genuine asylum seeker from achieving the status he or she might seek.'[256]

This type of argument depends on two constructions explored earlier in the chapter: the representation of the majority of asylum seekers as abusive claimants and the argument that many applicants are not genuine. These combine to produce an argument whereby political actors blame 'non-genuine' refugees and asylum seekers for overloading the system and thus preventing the authorities from providing protection to genuine claimants. This allows retaining the positive representation of the host community while utilising the negative representation of refugees to explain problems in the protection field and justify the desirability of stricter legislation. While absent in the Greek context, the argument that measures taken are in the interest of refugees and aimed at their well-being is common in European, especially British, discourses (Anderson 2008; Lynn and Lea 2004; Van Dijk 1997).

In short, the contribution of negative representations and labelling in the legitimation of policies often involve two types of contrasts. The first is the juxtaposition of positive representations of the host community to negative representations of refugees - what is van Dijk has termed an 'ideological square' (Brandi 2007; Van Dijk 1998). Secondly, a noticeable contrast is the distinction between 'genuine' and 'non-genuine' refugees. As the next chapter will demonstrate, both these discursive patterns are employed extensively in the different themes in the argumentation of political actors.

Conclusion

This chapter presented an overview of how asylum seekers are represented in the political discourse of Greece and Ireland. In terms of themes, the analysis of the texts revealed some significant differences in the dominant themes in each country, reflecting the differences in the social, political and economic contexts these

[256] IRDBDL 270503, 567:958, C. Lenihan, FF

representations are operating. These differences extent to both aspects of representation discussed in this chapter - the terms of reference employed by political actors and characteristics attributed to refugees.

One of the main finding of this chapter is that negative representations of asylum seekers based on negative characteristics are not salient in either corpus. The only two themes related to this aspect of other-representation were associations with criminality or abuse. Themes around criminality occur mostly in the Greek set, probably because of the overall dominance of discourses of the criminality of migrants in Greece, while it is nearly absent from the Irish corpus. Themes around abuse of the asylum procedure are frequent in Irish discourse and can be attributed to concerns over the maintenance of efficient procedures and over entitlement to the welfare state – the lesser importance of these factors in the Greek context might explain the absence of this theme from the texts. Their dominance in Irish discourse can also be explained by the influence of British asylum policy and discourses, which contain very similar representations of refugees (Gabrielatos and Baker 2008; Leudar *et al* 2008; Lynn and Lea, 2003; Schuster 2003b). Other similar themes that are addressed in CDA and other relevant literature, such as representations of migrants as culturally different or as terrorists, occur very little in either corpus. The lack of attribution of negative characteristics to refugees contrasts with the more extensive attribution of positive characteristics to the host community, but the reasons for this discrepancy are not clear. One commonality between the two sets, however, concerns the representation of agency of asylum seekers. There is a contrast between representations that emphasise victimhood – normally in relation to asylum seekers being exploited by smuggling networks – and representations that emphasise actively performing criminal and abusive acts. The overall patterns betray a villain/victim binary, which has been highlighted in some of the literature concerning refugees and irregular migrants (Anderson 2008).

A reason for this absence appears to be the prevalence of representations of refugees as non-genuine. Claims that asylum seekers are not genuine, or that they are economic migrants or 'illegal immigrants' occur in both sets. The specific

representations preferred by speakers vary among the two sets. Arguing that refugees are 'illegal immigrants' is the most frequent in Greek texts and reflects the widespread preoccupation with preventing entry as part of broader EU policies on asylum (Geddes 2003; 2007; Marvakis 2004; Mavrodi 2007). In the Irish set, claiming that refugees are in fact economic migrants is more frequent and reflects both the attempt of Irish policy to separate economic migration from asylum seeking as well as similar trends in Europe (Bendel 2007; Crawley 2006; Frost 2006; Geddes 2007; Loyal 2003; Mac Éinrí 2002; Schuster 2003b). However, the most prominent strategy in challenging the genuineness of refugees is attaching the word 'genuine' to the labels 'refugee' and 'asylum seeker'. The extent of the use this pattern means that its discursive impact is very strong as the audience's attention is constantly drawn to the question of genuineness. It also reflects similar patterns of use in the Irish media as well as in British discourses of asylum which also rely on the employment of 'non-sensical' categories (Gabrielatos and Baker 2008:208; Leudar *et al* 2008; Lynn and Lea 2003; Prieto Ramos 2004)

Another aspect of representation that was examined in this chapter was the use of labels –or nominal forms of reference – which speakers use to refer to refugees. The categories used to refer to refugees vary considerably in the two countries. The use of categories in Irish political discourse is closer to western European – especially UK- patterns, in so far that both 'refugee' and 'asylum seekers' are both salient categories, while the use of 'illegal immigrant' as a label is limited. Contrary to Prieto Ramos' (2004) findings regarding the employment of these categories in the Irish media, government speakers mostly use 'refugee' and 'asylum seeker' in accordance to their legal and policy meaning in the texts included in the corpus when referring to these groups within Ireland. Opposition speakers, however, are more likely to employ the label 'refugee' to refer to the same category government speakers designate as 'asylum seekers'. The label 'illegal immigrant', on the other hand, is used comparatively little compared to Greek discourse and normally by strongly anti-immigration speakers challenging the genuineness of claimants. It should be noted, however, that the label 'refugee' is widely used to refer to people fleeing of persecution at the global level. Moreover, it occurs more frequently

among both opposition and government speakers in the 1996 debates on the Refugee Act, when there was little disagreement to the proposed legislation.

The employment of labels in the Greek corpus is more complex. The most notable, in the sense that it is considerably divergent from similar patterns in western European countries, is that 'asylum seeker' is used very little in Greek political discourse. The relative absence of this term can be attributed partly to the relative newness of the importation of policies utilising this term and the distance from western European or English language discourses in which it is customarily employed. Moreover, it can be explained by the dominance of the labels 'refugee' to designate genuine claimants, and 'illegal immigrants to signify those who are not believed to be genuine. These patterns in the employment of different labels are underpinned by the positive connotations of the refugee label in the Greek context and the policy imperatives of stopping migration into Europe and controlling its external borders (Geddes 2003; Mavrodi 2007; Triandafilopoulos 2003; Voutira 2005a). Overall, the employment of these labels point to complicated relations of antonymy and synonymy (Fairclough 2003) but the semantic relations between these two labels are more complex than in the Irish texts. While antonymy is dominant in the Irish corpus, it coexists with synonymy in the Greek set, in the sense that refugees are both differentiated from and equated to 'illegal immigrants'.

What the employment of labels has in common in both sets is the flexibility of relations between them and the overall purpose of delegitimating the claims to refugee status. The semantic relations between the different labels are not fixed – they vary depending on the orientation of the speakers and the context in which they are occurring. Most of the literature on this topic treats the use of different labels as a part of policy attempts to create neat categories that limit the scope for granting asylum (Lewis and Neal 2005; Zetter 2007). While, as will be explained below, this is true in terms of the legitimation of policies, the employment of labels is far from clear and straightforward, especially in the Greek corpus.

Finally, the chapter examined how representations of refugees are employed to legitimate policies. One obvious strategy in this respect is to defend policies on the grounds that the criminal or abusive actions of refugees necessitate restrictive policies. However, the most noticeable one relies on the effect of denying genuineness of claims, both as a theme of its own and through the use of terms of reference. To this extent legitimation relies less on attribution of negative characteristics or actions and more the distinction between 'deserving' and 'undeserving' asylum seekers, which is a salient feature of both sets. Thus, the legitimation of policies occurs firstly through repeated assertions that migrants claiming asylum are not refugees but economic or irregular migrants who are not entitled to asylum. The same effect is achieved by the choice of labels. For example, the preference among Irish opposition speakers for the label 'asylum seeker' instead of 'refugee' when speaking about claimants should be seen as an attempt to emphasise they should not be considered 'genuine' refugees entitled to protection prior to the examination of their claims. Similarly, the employment of the term 'illegal immigrant' in Greek discourse for designating any potential claimant acts as a pre-emptive attempt to discredit entitlement to protection.

Further, the overall negative representations of refugees in contrast to the positive representations of the host community reproduce distinctions between citizens and non-citizens, between 'us' and 'them'. The representations of refugees as 'illegal', 'non-genuine' or as abusing asylum and welfare systems reproduce this binary through contrasting the conditions of legality and illegality, and of entitlement and non-entitlement to the rights and benefits that citizenship bestows (Chavez 2007; Willen 2007). More broadly, the juxtaposition of mostly positive representations of the host country with mostly negative ones of refugees also serves as a strategy of demarcating the boundaries between the 'in-group' and the 'out-group' (Oktar 2001; Triantafyllidou 2000; Van Der Valk 2003). In the Irish context, for example, the impression of order and legality constructed around procedures and conformity to the Geneva Convention one of the main themes in the representation of the host state - is in contrast with the widespread representations of abuse. Moreover, the narrow definition of 'refugee' in the Greek texts, and the reluctance to attribute this

status to current claimants helps to perpetuate the association between being a refugee and Greek national identity.

So far, this thesis examined themes and strategies concerning the construction of refugee movements as a problem, and representations of the host community and refugees, with the aim of highlighting how these contribute to the legitimation of policies. It has been demonstrated that they all interlink to produce effects allowing government speakers to promote restrictive policies, and to an extent opposition speakers to oppose them, even if the content varies considerably between the two contexts. The next chapter has a narrower focus: it looks at what arguments the speakers themselves use to justify policies. The aim is to offer a more precise understanding of what kinds of arguments are prominent in each country and why. Moreover, it aims at exploring to what extent maintaining a conception of the nation state is entangled with such justifications.

Chapter Seven

Policy justifications and strategies

The previous chapters of this thesis focused on three distinct areas related to the legitimation of policies – the problematisation of asylum, representations of the host state and representation of refugees and asylum seekers. This chapter will focus on the reasons and arguments political actors themselves offer in favour or against the proposed policies. The reason for this focus is to offer more insight into some of the concerns and observation offered by theoretical perspectives. Certain themes, such as the importance of reproducing the concept of sovereignty or protecting the welfare state occur frequently in the relevant literature (for example, Bloch and Schuster 2002; Koser 2007; Schuster 2003a; Soguk 1999). The aim of this chapter is to explore to what extent these concerns are reflected in the argumentation of political speakers themselves.

The chapter will be organised around some themes that occurred strongly in the analysis of the texts. The first section explores the argument that the proposed legislation and policies are aimed at the provision of protection and that they conform to legal standards and norms. This is followed by a section on the introduction and maintenance of systems and procedures, a theme that is very prominent in the Irish corpus. The chapter will then move on to explore how policies of controlling entry – especially irregular migration and smuggling are justified, and how controlling entry itself is constructed as desirable solution. Following this, the remainder of the chapter will deal with some of the most prominent justification. While some themes mentioned so for – providing protection, controlling entry, preventing irregular migration and smuggling - occur in both sets, some others tend to be country specific. Justifications focused on state or citizens' security are salient in the Greek corpus, but are used very little by Irish speakers. Conversely, justifications based on preventing racism, protecting collective resources and preventing abuse are prevalent in the Irish corpus. The chapter will attempt to explain these discrepancies based on the domestic and

European contexts. Regarding the latter, the chapter will also explore the extent to which conformity with EU policies is offered as a justification for proposed legislation and policies.

Providing protection

Arguments that legitimate policies by reference to providing protection are very frequent in both data sets. In fact, it is the most frequently coded legitimation theme in either set, occurring 173 times in the Irish documents and 119 in the Greek ones. This theme included statements that the introduced laws and other policies are guided by their commitment to protecting refugees, and in the case of opposition speakers, statements that the level of protection offered is not adequate. Similarly, conforming to legal norms of protection also proved to be a salient theme, especially in the Irish context, with 87 references compared to 39 in the Greek set. In this case, legitimation occurs is through the strategy of authorisation (Fairclough 2003; Van Leuween and Wodak 1999), which includes references to some kind of higher authority such as refugee and human rights law or the institutions that embody them.

The theme of protection appears as a justification throughout the period examined. It occurs frequently in types of documents other than debates, with 66 references appearing in documents that focus on the justification of government policies such as press releases and written answers. References to the aim of policy being to grant protection are frequent in the debates on the 1996 Refugee Act (Table 7.1). The Minister for Justice presents the 1996 Bill by saying that it introduces a refugee policy that 'has at its heart the aim of protecting those who need it rather than immunising ourselves against the fears which others suffer.'[257] Another speaker comments that it will allow 'that those who have been denied the most basic rights in another jurisdiction may find a safe haven here.'[258] These statements imply that

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[257] IRDBDL 191095a, 457:726, J. O'Donoghue, MF, FF
[258] IRDBDL 191095a, 457:745 K.Lynch, LAB

Table 7.1: Providing protection and conforming to Geneva Convention standards

Year	Greece		Ireland	
	Providing protection	Conforming	Providing protection	Conforming
1996	28	16	33	14
1997	18	4	5	1
1998	15	0	11	4
1999	17	2	47	15
2000	6	1	13	14
2001	19	12	10	9
2002	10	3	12	4
2003	5	1	25	7
2004	1	0	17	19
Total	119	39	173	87
Number of documents	45/117	15/117	70/106	48/106
Percentage	38.46%	12.82%	66.04%	45.28%

the purpose of the Act was to create a legal framework for refugee protection and are indicative of the emphasis put on it rather than restrictive measures. This reflects the purpose of the Act, which was to create a legislative framework on refugee protection and asylum procedures, replacing the previous non-statutory arrangements between the government and the UNHCR (Barcroft 1995; Fanning 2002).

However, while legislation introduced in later years had a more restrictive character than the Refugee Act, justifications on the grounds of providing protection are still present. For instance, the Minister for Justice states early in the debate on the 1999 Immigration Act that his 'policy is to ensure that every non-national who is genuinely in need of the protection of this State is identified and recognised as such

as soon as possible after arrival here [...].'[259] The 2004 Citizenship Act is justified by arguing that it is 'not designed to turn away genuine asylum seekers who are fleeing from political persecution in their native land.'[260] This use of references to protection extends to the justification of other restrictive policies. For example, the right to work for asylum seekers was opposed by the Fianna Fail-led governments because it was believed that it would encourage economic migrants to apply for asylum in order to gain access to Ireland. This, according the minister could undermine the speed of procedures 'by attracting large numbers of non-genuine applicants to the detriment of genuine applicants.'[261]

The quotations above distinguish between 'genuine' and 'non-genuine' refugees and asylum seekers, a manner of representation that, as demonstrated in Chapter Six, is very salient in Irish texts. While it is still argued that the proposed legislation or measures are aimed at protecting refugees, the employment of the genuine/non-genuine distinction limits the possibility of protection to those who 'deserve' it. This move allows speakers to continue using the argument that the proposed measures are aimed at protection, while suggesting the necessity of measures that exclude 'non-genuine' applicants.

References to conformity with international, European and domestic law act as a further legitimating device. The Minister for Justice argues during the debate on the 1999 Illegal Immigrants (Trafficking) Act that the government 'strategy leans heavily towards ensuring that our obligations under national and international law in relation to asylum seekers and illegal immigrants are fully met.'[262] Similarly, it is stated in an oral question that

> The Minister's aim, and that of the Government, is to provide a fair and effective system for dealing with asylum applications while continuing to meet our international obligations and maintaining our humanitarian approach to those in need of protection. Since taking up office, the Minister has put in place fair and effective procedures for processing asylum applications following consultations

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[259] IRDBDL 090299, 500:77, J. O'Donoghue, MJ, FF
[260] IRDBDL 281004, 591:366, N. O'Flynn, FF
[261] IRWADL 301104, 593:1446, M. McDowell, MJ, PD
[262] IRDBDL 241199a, 511:788, J. O'Donoghue, MJ, FF

> with the UNHCR and NGOs. These procedures are in line with our international obligations and in the spirit of the Refugee Act, 1996.[263]

Both extracts above strongly state conformity with refugee law, referring to 'international obligations' but also domestic law. References to the 1996 Refugee Act and to the UNHCR perform an authorisation function (Fairclough 2003; Van Leeuwen and Wodak 1999) – they legitimate the statement by referring to a higher authority in the refugee policy field. Furthermore, the second extract clearly links conformity to legal standards to providing protection, but also to the role of procedures in this context. This is a very salient theme in Irish discourse whose role in legitimation will be explored in the next section.

At the same time, references to whether legislation or policy conforms to legal standards are employed by opposition speakers to delegitimate policies. This is less the case in the debates on the 1996 Refugee Act, but becomes an increasing in strength pattern in later years. For instance, the 1999 Immigration Act is criticised for being 'out of kilter with the obligations we have effected in relation to the international community on human rights.'[264] Similarly, the carrier liability provisions introduced in the 2003 Immigration Act are said to be 'seriously subversive of the Refugee Act 1996 and the Geneva Convention of 1951, of which the state is a signatory.'[265] This is not to say that opposition speakers oppose to adhering to the Geneva Convention and human rights instruments. On the contrary, the expressed commitment to procedures and the Convention is equally strong among opposition and government.

These two justification themes in combination highlight the significance of norms of refugee protection in the Irish context. While in practice some of the measures adopted by the Irish government might contravene the Geneva Convention and human rights instruments, it seems to be important for the speakers to express their adherence to this framework, at least as part of a strategy to bestow legitimacy on their policies. This is aptly expressed by the assertion that the

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[263] IRDBDL 020200, 513:982-983, M. Wallace, FF
[264] IRDBDL 240299, 511:18, M. Higgins, LAB
[265] IRDBDL 270503, 567:973, J. Higgins, LAB

introduced procedures 'which are not only fair but are seen to be fair and which fully comply with our commitments under the Geneva Convention.'[266] It can be argued that these consructions reflect an imperative for western European states to maintain their legitimacy by adhering to refugee protection standards (Schuster 2003a; Statham 1999; Van Selm-Thoburn 1998). Chapter Five showed that constructions of the host community as committed to refugee protection were a salient representation strategy, and related to the perception of the Irish state as a liberal democracy (Cleary 2005; Loyal 2003). This is also be related to a project of modernity which identifies progress with becoming more like a European state and with greater involvement in European and international institutions (Cleary 2005; Loyal 2003; O'Mahony, J. 2003).

In the Greek set, references to protection as a justification for policy are lower than in the Irish corpus, but high in relation to other themes in the set. However, both themes of providing protection and conforming to legal standards decline over the research period. 28 references and 16 references respectively occur in 1996 in the debates on the 1996 Refugee Act of that year which was introduced in order to create a legal framework for protection conforming to European Union requirements. The justification of the law on the grounds of improving protection allows another speaker to respond to criticisms by the opposition by saying that 'with this Bill we give such great possibilities for refugees and granting asylum so you don't need to worry.'[267] References to conformity with legal standards occur mostly in the two Refugee Act debates of 1996. According to a speaker, the aim of the proposed legislation was 'to harmonise [Greek law] with our international obligations emanating from the Geneva Convention as amended by the New York protocol of 1967 [...].'[268] References to refugee protection are also used to legitimate other proposed legislation and policies adopted by the Greek state at that period. For example, an MP defends the ratification of the Schengen Treaty by

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[266] IRDBDL 191095a, 457:711, J. Burton, MJ, LAB
[267] GRDBDL 121296, p. 1827, G. Romaios, MPO, PASOK
[268] GRDBDL 111296, p.1782, A. Andreoulakos, ND

claiming that 'non-nationals who are persecuted in their countries [...] will still have the right to be granted refugee status. This right is not going to change.'[269]

In the second half of the research, justifications relating to providing protection are fewer in number but emphasise more the role of legal instruments. For example, the MPO defends the readmission agreement by stating that it poses no threat to the institution of asylum:

> In what concerns the protection of asylum seekers [...] this is an issue that concerns the rule of law in our country, the international conventions on the protection of asylum and the domestic law that regulates asylum in our country. Therefore there's no danger.[270]

Similarly, the Foreign Affairs Minister justifies the readmission agreement by referring to the protection of refugees by stating that

> Firstly, [...] there is a clear reference to the respect of both human rights and refugee rights in the preface of the agreement, and under no circumstanced do we intend to deny political refugees their rights.[271]

In both extracts, the readmission agreements are legitimated, first, by the speakers' statement that the legal framework for asylum is still respected, and therefore there is no incompatibility between the two. This counters the arguments by both opposition MPs that the agreement undermined the access of refugees to the asylum procedure by preventing entry to the Greek territory and asylum as an institution based on international law. This kind of argumentation draws on the representation of the host community as respecting the Geneva Convention and other legal obligations regarding asylum, and on representations that differentiate between refugees and 'illegal immigrants', highlighting that readmission agreements do not affect the rights of the former.[272]

Left wing- opposition MPs seeking to de-legitimate the asylum policies of the government also refer to protection norms. 48 out of 119 references are made by

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[269] GRDBDL 090697, p. 7315, G. Papandreou, MFA, PASOK
[270] GRODPL 060601, p.9119, M. Chrisochoidis, MPO, PASOK
[271] GRPCFA 281101, G. Papandreou, MFA, PASOK
[272] GRPCFA 281101, G. Papandreou, MFA, PASOK; GRPCGS 061201, C. Protopapas, PASOK

members of opposition parties criticising government policies. For example, MPs of the SYN and Communist parties criticise the ratification of the Schengen Treaty by arguing that it 'places, in our opinion, serious limitations on the granting of asylum, if it doesn't dispense with it altogether.'[273] Similarly, opposition MPs criticise the government's handling the claim of the Kurdish PKK leader Ocalan for asylum by arguing that it showed 'contempt for international conventions and in this case international conventions regarding guarding asylum to refugees [...]'[274] Moreover, opposition MPs often challenge the government's asylum policies by referring to inadequate standards of protection in oral questions. For instance, it is argued that 'it's as if these people live in stables [...] it would be good that at lest those who are here [...] live in a humane fashion.'[275] It can also be observed that references to conformity are made mostly by opposition speakers in order to delegitimate government policies and criticise proposed laws but these draw on the domestic law – specifically constitutional provisions- rather than the Geneva Convention. For example, clauses regarding the detention of asylum seekers are criticised because 'they are not within the remit of constitutional provisions.'[276]

References to conditions of reception are more frequent in the first half of the research period, and conform to the overall perception of refugee protection as humanitarian assistance. Constructing protection as humanitarian assistance – the provision of food and shelter rather than protection based on granting legal status – as well as the provision of employment is common among both opposition and government speakers in this period. In a debate on the Refugee Act 1996 it is stated, regarding Kurdish refugees, that 'we [the government] gave them temporary residence, we found them jobs'.[277] Similarly, the Minister of Public Order responds to a parliamentary question by stating that 'we gave [refugees] the freedom to move, to work wherever they can.'[278] The association between protection and employment 'given' by the government reflects the informal nature

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[273] GRDBPL 090697, p. 7308, C. Aggourakis, SYN
[274] GRDBPL 180599, p. 7101, F. Kouvelis, SYN
[275] GOOQPL 2210198, p. 321, V. Arapi-Karagianni, SYN
[276] GRDBDL 121296, p. 1818, F. Kouvelis, SYN
[277] GRDBDL 121296, p.1823, G. Romaios, MPO, PASOK
[278] GROQPL 210297, p. 4420, G. Romaios, MPO, PASOK

of granting refugee status in previous years. Even without formally being granted refugee status, refugees, especially of Kurdish origin, would be allowed to work in the large informal economy sector (Black 1994b; Mestheneos 2000; Papassiopi-Passia 1994). This policy informed by considerations over Greek-Turkish relations, as the 'good' treatment of Kurdish refugees was meant to challenge the Turkish regime.

Overall, the extent to which speakers in the Greek texts employ the provision of protection to justify policies indicated that, similarly to Ireland, providing protection is significant in the Greek context. While this contrasts with the questionable record of the Greek state in relation to refugee protection, it shows the importance of adhering to such standards as part of belonging to the European Union and to the process of modernisation of the Greek state (Mavrodi 2007; Skordas 2002). This is also indicated by the increased number of references to protection as a legal status shaped by international law in the second period of the research, when the government had adopted a strongly pro-European agenda. The tendency to view western norms with suspicion can explain the preference of left wing opposition speakers for referring to constitutional provisions rather than international refugee law. Chapter Five has already explored how representations of the host community draw on domestic discourses of rights and democratic traditions.

Introducing and maintaining asylum systems

Another theme related to providing protection as a legitimating strategy for policies the argument of having proper systems and procedures through which applications for asylum are examined or other measures related to asylum –for example deportation - are implemented. This occurs 102 times in the Irish corpus and is the second most frequent theme overall. However, it is entirely absent from the Greek corpus.

Table 7.2: References to introducing asylum systems

Year	Ireland
1996	19
1997	0
1998	5
1999	29
2000	11
2001	9
2002	9
2003	7
2004	13
Total	102
Number of documents	57/106
Percentage	53.77%

The emphasis on introducing or maintaining procedures as a justification involves claims that this is necessary in order to have an efficient asylum system in order to offer protection. The Minister for Justice claims in a speech that

> This State is fully committed to its obligations under the Convention by ensuring that we provide a fair and transparent asylum process, protection quickly to those who require it and that we integrate persons granted refugee status into our society as quickly as possible.'[279]

The above statement links the provision of protection and respecting the rights of refugees to having systems and procedures in place. A related theme to the creation of systems concerns the emphasis put on their support and maintenance. This appears 25 times in the corpus and involves statements pointing out that certain policies – such as deportations and carrier sanctions – need to be implemented in order to 'defend the integrity of the refugee process'[280] or

[279] IRSPMJ 170702, M. McDowell, MJ, FF
[280] IRDBDL 100403, 565:323-4, B. Lenihan, MHC, FF

'maintain the integrity of our national asylum system.'[281] A later section will show that the emphasis on the preservation of systems is linked to justifications of policy relating to preventing abuse and protecting collective resources.

This emphasis on systems and procedures can be explained partly by the lack of a statutory framework before the introduction of the 1996 Refugee Act, which rendered the introduction of an asylum system necessary at that point. The high frequencies also point towards a perception of providing protection in terms of a bureaucratic system rather than a humanitarian one supporting Garner's claim that 'the asylum issue in Ireland has been 'bureaucratised' in the Weberian sense' (2004: 167). They also supports his interpretation of this bureaucratisation in the sense that 'the humanistic dimensions of the problem have been minimised by the state in favour of a number of processes appealing to the technical and legal instruments' (Garner 2004: 167). Lentin (2007: 616-617) supports this point by quoting the Minister of Justice as saying that cancelling a deportation order following protests would result in 'a totally chaotic deportation system', even if, in her view, this would undermine the safety of refugees. Moreover, the emphasis on systems can be seen in the context of modernisation discourses in Ireland (Cleary 2005). In a sense, the emphasis on the introduction and maintenance of systems and procedures reproduces the idea of being a modern state, characterised by liberal norms and bureaucratic rationalisation.

A further characteristic of this theme is that it is employed mostly by government speakers. This is not to say that opposition speakers disagree with systems and procedures being essential. For example, a Labour party policy document on asylum proposes a number of measures so that 'the asylum system itself could be restored to a manageable and credible process'.[282] Likewise, a Sinn Fein analogous document states that 'fair and efficient procedures must be devised to expedite all applications.'[283] Along with other statements made in the debates on legislation, these extracts suggest that speakers of all political persuasions consider the

[281] IRPRMJ 170702, M. McDowell, MJ, FF
[282] IRPDLA 111000
[283] IRPDSF 010301

existence of appropriate procedures desirable. What is being criticised, especially in debates, is the inadequacy of the measures taken by the government or the proposed legislation rather than the idea of systems themselves.

In contrast, the introduction or maintenance of asylum systems and procedures is notably absent from the Greek corpus, occurring only as a criticism by opposition speakers on the deficiencies of the Refugee Act. To an extent, its non-employment by government speakers might reflect the actual circumstances regarding asylum seeking in Greece. The deficiencies in the implementation of proper systems and procedures has been noted in the relevant literature and criticised by NGOs (Amnesty International 2004; 2004; NOAS 2008; Skordas and Sitaropoulos 2004; Tsibiridou 2004). Tsibiridou (2004) observes that this is a widespread absence in what concerns migration and human rights issues, resulting in the exclusion of migrants and minorities, which she links to an opposition to modernisation and bureaucratisation in Greek society.

The previous section explored how policies are legitimated by arguing that they offer better protection to refugees and conform to legal and normative standards of protection. It also discussed how the introduction and maintenance of procedures and asylum systems is seen as an essential part of this process in Irish discourse. The following sections will examine how policies are justified on the basis of restrictive arguments, including the necessity of controlling entry, and of protecting the security of the state and citizens.

Controlling entry, preventing irregular migration and smuggling

The theme of preventing entry of refugees into the territory of the state is employed extensively as a legitimation for policies in both sets. It appears 107 times in the Greek corpus and 63 in the Irish, while a similar theme of controlling

Table 7.3: References to preventing irregular migration and smuggling

Greece				
Year	**Controlling entry**	**Controlling migration**	**Preventing irregular migration**	**Preventing smuggling**
1996	5	1	1	0
1997	8	0	3	0
1998	6	0	0	1
1999	9	1	2	0
2000	11	1	8	1
2001	40	18	18	6
2002	13	4	9	3
2003	15	3	9	7
2004	2	1	0	1
Total	109	29	50	19
Number of documents	54/117	30/117	15/117	11/117
Percentage	46.15%	25.64%	12.82%	9.40%
Ireland				
1996	1	0	0	0
1997	1	0	2	0
1998	0	2	5	6
1999	15	9	10	35
2000	0	0	1	1
2001	0	1	1	4
2002	4	2	9	6
2003	13	2	10	13
2004	29	16	2	1
Total	63	32	40	66
Number of documents	24/106	15/106	26/106	24/106
Percentage	22.64%	14.15%	24.53%	20.75%

migration appears 29 and 32 times respectively. The arguments employed to justify restrictive policies refer to the desirability and necessity of controls, but also include a range of justifications drawing on negative consequences that will be explored in following sections. This section will also deal with the two most prominent themes linked to preventing entry and exerting control over migration: preventing smuggling and irregular immigration. They are fairly strong in both states. In the Greek documents, references to preventing irregular migration occur more often as a theme than references to smuggling, with 50 references compared to 19. In Ireland, the emphasis is reversed: there are 40 references to irregular migration and 66 to smuggling.

In the Irish set, there are few references to any of these themes in the 1996 Refugee Act debates, but they become more prominent as more restrictive legislation and policies are introduced. For example, the 1999 Illegal Immigrants (Trafficking) Act is presented by the Minister for Justice as an

> [...] important proposal which goes to the heart of our right to exercise control over immigration to our country and which seeks to protect against abuse the sanctuary which we can offer those genuinely in need of it. All states have a need for effective laws dealing with the entry, residence and departure of non-nationals in the interests of the well-being of society[284]

Similarly, an MP defends the introduction of the 2004 Immigration Act by stating that 'we cannot go on for weeks on end without a law that permits the Garda Siochana [the Irish police] to control and monitor the presence of non-nationals in our state.'[285] This approach to immigration seems to have cross- party support. For instance, a Labour MP while disagreeing with proposed policies states that 'we need to see controlled immigration as a good thing'[286] and a Fine Gael one expresses similar sentiments by stating that he 'will not give the impression of being in favour of an open door policy because we should control our immigration policy.'[287]

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[284] IRDBDL 241199a, 511:755, J. O'Donoghue, MJ, FF
[285] IRDBDL 040204a, 579:446, M. McDowell, MJ, FF
[286] IRDBDL 241199a, 511:766 J.Higgins, FG
[287] IRDBPL 271004, 591:74 J. O' Keefe, FG

All the above statements illustrate certain themes that occur repeatedly in relation to controlling migration and preventing entry. First, controls are presented as necessary for the state and to an extent 'natural'. This is suggested by the phrase 'all states have a need for effective laws' in the first extract, and the negative modality 'cannot' in the second. Conversely, not having controls is presented as impossibility in the second and fourth extracts. The first extract also alludes to two further arguments used to justify the need for controls: it is argued that they are necessary to prevent abuse and therefore guarantee protection, an argument used extensively to justify restrictive measures.

Controlling entry as a necessity also underpins the themes of preventing irregular migration and smuggling. It is stated for instance that 'the Minister is satisfied that there is a well established need for this form of immigration control [carrier liability] to supplement the existing immigration controls at our borders and under the visa system to combat the growth in illegal immigration to the State.'[288] A second policy area underpinned by references to the necessity for control regards smuggling. The measures taken in the 1999 Illegal migrants [Trafficking] Act are said to be aimed at 'those who are involved in trafficking in illegal immigrants [....]'[289] and have the intention 'to make trafficking of migrants an offence and to provide a framework to deal with people engaged in illegal trafficking.'[290] The above extracts associate the prevention of entry through forms of border control with combating irregular migration and smuggling. To that extent, they reflect closely trends in European and British policies (Flynn 2005; Geddes 2007; Sales 2007; Sammers 2004; Sommerville 2007)

Apart from the justifications that are going to be explored in the following sections, there are three further arguments that are used to legitimate controlling entry in the Irish texts. First, speakers utilize the concept of sovereignty to present controls as an essential feature of the state. Controlling entry is sometimes presented as a right of the state. Speakers refer, for instance, to 'our right to exercise control over

[288] IRDBDL 100304, 565:327, B. Lenihan, MHC, FF
[289] IRDBDL 241199a, 511:787, D. Roche, FF
[290] IRDBDL 241199b, 511:848, I.Callely, FF

immigration to our country'[291] and to 'the rights of a sovereign state to control access to its territory and who can cross it borders'.[292] This construction draws on conceptions of the modern state as a sovereign entity with control over its territory (Bigo 2005; Salter 2008; Soguk 1999). The underlying assumption in these extracts is that migration is challenge to the ability of the state to control phenomena at or within its borders (Bigo 2005; Joppke 1998; Koser 2005; Soguk 1999). Moreover, the 'right' to control borders is also associated with democracy as a feature of the modern state. In one quote, the minister summarises succinctly the relationship between controls, sovereignty and democratic states arguing that

> It is innate in any parliamentary democracy and constitutional sovereign state such as ours that the Executive or the Government must have the right to control entry into its territory through its various agents and apparatuses.[293]

The reference to democracy and to the constitution alludes to another aspect of sovereignty – that of the state as drawing its legitimacy from its citizens (Held 1989; Salter 2008). The assumption made is that the 'right' of exercising controls over entry derives from transference of such powers from the citizens to the state, with the aim of protecting individual rights (Levy and Szneider 2006; Salter 2008). Moreover, the word 'innate' suggests that the right to control borders is inextricably linked to the nature of the modern state. A further way by which speakers legitimise controls is by suggesting that they are universal and enduring. For example, it is said that the use of immigration controls 'has long been universally recognised'[294] and that the 'primacy of the importance of the control of non-nationals entering the state has been universally recognised from earliest times.'[295] These statements certainly do not suggest a concept of sovereignty and controls as contextual and historically determined, as theorists have suggested (Biersteker and Weber 1996; Soguk 1999). On the contrary, they construct controls as a necessary, universal element of the sovereignty in order to justify policies.

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[291] IRDBDL 241199b, 511:834, N. Ahern, FF
[292] IRDBDL 100403, 565:365, C. O'Connor, FF
[293] IRDBDL 040204a, 579:448, M. McDowell, MJ, PD
[294] IRDBDL 040204a, 579:448, M. McDowell, MJ, PD
[295] IRDBDL 040204b, 579:525, P. Kelly, FF

The necessity for controlling entry – including the prevention of irregular migration and smuggling – is linked to European Union policies and objectives. For example, one speaker justifies the provisions of the 2003 Immigration Act by arguing that Ireland's 'participation in certain aspects of the Schengen Acquis with our EU partners means that we are subject to binding legal instruments in the area of carrier sanctions.'[296] Elsewhere, it is claimed that 'we owe it to the European Union to be in a position to protect our fellow member states from a situation where we have no law for the regulation of non-nationals.'[297] In these extracts, measures aimed at controlling entry are presented as an obligation arising from European Union membership, even if Ireland has opted out from the provisions of the Schengen Treaty because of its Common Travel Area with the United Kingdom. The sense of obligation might also draw on discourses that have constructed the membership the European Union as beneficial to Ireland and part of the identity of the modern Irish state (Cleary 2005; O'Mahony, J. 2003). In contrast, speakers do not refer often to the Common Travel Area in order to support controls, although it is mentioned elsewhere as a reason for coordinating Irish immigration policy with its British equivalent.

In the Greek set, controlling entry also plays a central role in the legitimation of policies, and is equally presented as necessity for the state. This is often expressed with two set phrases. The first entails statements that the country is not a 'fenceless vineyard', a popular metaphor suggesting lack of control over a territory, which is used 30 times in the texts. The second involves statements that Greece does not have 'open borders' or that it is not 'an open borders country' which occur 13 times. The latter one often occurs in the context of preventing the entry of refugees into Greek territory. For example, commenting on the possibility of admitting refugees from Kosovo, the government spokesman states that

> it is inconceivable that some think that Greek borders are open and free to cross. We have taken measures for dealing with the possibility of pressure from a refugee current.[298]

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[296] IRDBDL100403, 565:327, B. Lenihan, MFC, FF
[297] IRDBDL 040204c, 579:588 M. McDowell, MJ, PD
[298] GRPCGS 300399, D. Reppas, PASOK

In the case of preventing the entry of refugees from the maritime borders from Turkey, it is stated that 'we say no to open borders policies'[299]

Similarly to the Irish texts, controlling entry is presented as necessary and desirable in the Greek texts. As the extracts above indicate, lack of controls, prevented in terms of 'open borders' and the metaphor of Greece as 'fenceless vine', is constructed as an impossibility. However, the emphasis in Greek documents is not so much on having a structure of entry controls but on preventing entry to the largest extent possible. Speaking about difficulties of reception and possible arrivals of refugees, the Minister for Health argues that 'this situation should stop at the borders.'[300]

Preventing irregular migration and smuggling – both measures aimed at preventing entry – are also stated as aims of proposed legislation and policies. Measures such as the 'hiring of new border guards and new personnel'[301] are 'to combat illegal immigration at the borders and within the country [...].'[302] Similarly, it is stated that

> [...] these [border] areas have multiple problems because of the entry of irregular migrants [...] with the aid of usually international, smuggling networks. [...] we need to prevent such phenomena.[303]

Both reasons are frequently given by government speakers, but right wing opposition ones are also very likely to stress the importance of preventing irregular migration and smuggling. In fact, two of the texts included in the corpus regard proposals for stricter laws submitted by the New Democracy party.

Moreover, the issue of cooperation with Turkey in order to prevent entry comes to the fore in the second half of the research. As in demonstrated Chapter Four, Turkey is constructed as a problem factor in terms of illegal entry, a discourse that borrows from earlier constructions of the neighbouring state as an enemy.

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[299] GROQPL 010403, p.3601, D. Thanos, MHW, PASOK
[300] GROQPL 061198, p.838, T. Kotsonis, MHW, PASOK
[301] GRINPO 300602, M. Chrisochoidis, MPO, PASOK
[302] GRINPO 300602, M. Chrisochoidis, MPO, PASOK
[303] GRDBPL 250700, p.499, G. Papageorgiou, PASOK

However, since 1999 there have been more efforts towards a policy of rapprochement between the two states, which involved co-operation in economic and other matters (Baldwin-Edwards 2006; Rumelili 2007). Government speakers tend, especially after 2000, to stress the importance of co-operating with Turkey in controlling irregular migration into Greece and in extension to the European Union. Addressing journalists in 2001, the Foreign minister places the readmission agreement with the Turkish foreign minister in the context 'our effort to combat this issue [of irregular migration] and we agree it's very important. The authorities of the two countries will co-operate on this matter.'[304] Similarly, in another press conference it is stated that 'our efforts won't have the expected results if there isn't co-operation from the neighbouring country.'[305]

This shift in discourse is also related to the influence of EU policies. A further justification for the need for controls touches upon the need to control the external borders of the European Union. This theme appears early in the texts – for example the prime minister states in a press conference in 1996 that 'the control of our borders is not only an issue that concerns us, it also concerns the whole of the European Union.'[306] Similarly, in 2004 it is argued that 'as a member of the European Union, Greece cannot but follow the common immigration policy of Europe, accepting the need to control immigration currents.'[307] This statement, made in a policy document after the PASOK party lost the elections, reflects their views as a government, especially after 2000. In that period, government speakers express strongly their alignment with common immigration policies while stressing the benefits and possibilities of this for the Greek state. Generally, the arguments reflect the demands imposed on member states with external borders – such as Greece - by the increasingly restrictive EU policies which involve considerable pressures to prevent entry of refugees and other migrants (Baldwin Edwards 2004; Geddes 2003; Marvakis 2004). From the argumentation patterns of Greek speakers, it can be deduced that these pressures have been largely internalised and used as a

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[304] GRPCFM 081101, G. Papandreou, MFA, PASOK
[305] GRPCGS 200901, D. Reppas, PASOK
[306] GRPCPM 290396, K. Simitis, PM, PASOK
[307] GRPDPA 041004

justification for restrictive measures (Geddes 2003; Marvakis 2004; Mavrodi 2007). The representation of co-operation with Turkey in the field of controls should be seen in the context of preventing entry into the European Union.

A further justification for measures preventing entry is the idea that refugees should remain close to their areas of origin. This is expressed in documents that state the Greek government's position of not accepting refugees from conflict zones such as Kosovo, Iraq and Afghanistan. It is argued, for instance, that as 'refugees must remain close to the borders [of Kosovo], close to their area of origin, so as to return to their homes as soon as the conflict ends'[308]. In another document regarding Greek- Turkish cooperation, it is stated that providing humanitarian assistance to refugees was so as 'they don't leave their homes, they don't leave the country, or at least remain within the borders of Afghanistan. This would be useful for them and for our countries.'[309] These extracts state the preferences of the government but they also present remaining in the country of origin as the idea solution for refugees, suggested by the word 'must' in the first extract and the expression 'useful for them' in the second. These statements reflect the state centric order underpinning the refugee system, which assumes the attachment of refugees to a bounded territorial community (Bigo 2005; Joppke 1998; Soguk 1999). In addition, they also reflect UN and European asylum policy that prefers refugees to remain in their countries of origin, and thus prioritises initiatives such as protection in the country of origin and development aid (Boccardi 2002; Harvey 2000; Joly 1999; Schuster 2005).

References to conforming to the EU policies and objectives

The relation of domestic policies to European ones is a theme present in both sets, although more prevalent in the Greek texts with 89 references as compared to 58 in the Irish set. While this theme is present in both sets, the salience and diversity of subthemes is greater in the Greek texts. Moreover, the salience of the theme in

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[308] GRDBPL 310399, p. 5782, K. Simitis, PM, PASOK
[309] GRPCFA 081101, G. Papandreou, MFA, PASOK

Table 7.4: References to conforming to European Union policies

Year	Greece	Ireland
1996	6	8
1997	5	0
1998	2	6
1999	9	14
2000	3	3
2001	34	3
2002	17	3
2003	10	11
2004	3	10
Total	89	58
Number of documents	47/117	35/106
Percentage	40.17%	33.02%

Greek discourse is reinforced by a further 24 references to 'burden sharing' – by which I refer to statements regarding views that the European Union should shoulder part of the economic cost of the policies that Greece has to implement on their behalf.

References to conformity to EU policies as justification for domestic proposals are in evidence early in the period studied. Some of the main themes of referring to EU policies as a justification for policies have already been explored in previous sections of this chapter. Firstly, it is claimed that one of the aims of proposed legislation and policies is to 'harmonise our national asylum policy with the Dublin Convention'[310] and to 'harmonise domestic law with the convention which regulate asylum in the European Union [...].'[311] Secondly, references to the European Union are employed to justify policies aimed at preventing entry, on the grounds that Greece has a responsibility for controlling the external borders of the EU.

[310] GRDBDL 111296, p. 1770, A. Saatsoglou, PASOK
[311] GRDBDL 111296, p. 1778, K. Spiriounis, PASOK

The relationship between EU and Greek asylum policy becomes clearer after 2000, and is used as a backdrop for explaining the necessity of the measures taken. In short, the position of Greece regarding asylum and migration policies is constructed along three lines. First, measures taken by Greece regarding migration and asylum are seen as part of EU policies. The Prime Minister expresses this view when he states that:

> [...] there should be a common approach to matter of asylum and visas that goes beyond Schengen. On matters of asylum we need procedures, often accelerated ones, to deal with these matters, because economic migrants when they arrive in a country, when they arrive here, the claim asylum and therefore it's not easy to return them to the countries where they came from.[312]

In the above statement it is clearly argued that problems specific to Greece – such as the increased numbers of asylum seekers (who might be economic migrants) need to be addressed with common policies. The necessity and desirability of this approach is suggested by the use of modalities such as 'should' and 'need to'. Government speakers also emphasise the role of Greek initiatives in formulating policies such as –according to speakers in the documents - common border controls, proposals for EU readmission agreements, border guard units and a migration observatory based in Athens.[313] This theme suggests that the government is attempting to appear as actively pursuing Greek interests through policy initiatives. In addition, speakers state their belief that the European Union should shoulder at least partly the costs associated with border control policies. One of the proposals of the Greek administration, for example, is claimed to be 'the creation of a funding mechanism for returns.'[314]

These themes seem to be only partly in line with the role of Greece in the context of EU policies on asylum and immigration. On the one hand, there is a widespread adoption of the goal of preventing entry, both discursively – as has been discussed in a previous section- and in terms of policy (Geddes 2003; Mavrodi 2007). For example, preventing entry was imposed as a condition for entering the Schengen

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[312] GRPCPM 041201, K.Simitis, PM, PASOK
[313] GRPCKS 041202, K. Skandalidis, PASOK; GRPCPM 141201, K. Simitis, PM, PASOK; GRPCPM 051201, K. Simitis, PM, PASOK; GRPCFA 110602, G. Papandreou, MFA, PASOK
[314] GRPCKS 041202, K. Skandalidis, PASOK

Treaty (Mavrodi 2007). On the other, while non-binding recommendations have been voluntarily adopted by Greek governments, the adoption of directives and normative standards of protection has been slow and incomplete (Mavrodi 2007). Moreover, funding was supplied by the EU in order to finance border control measures (Marvakis 2004).

While using the EU as a basis for justification is not as frequent in the Irish documents as it is in the Greek corpus, but is still one of the highest scoring themes and evenly spread among years. In most references, speakers refer to a need or imperative for the proposed legislation to comply with EU policies. This is expressed in statements such as 'we must have the same laws, rules and regulations as our EU partners'[315] or that that Ireland 'must honour our agreement with the EU member states in regard to the Dublin Convention.'[316] Even in the case of the 2004 Citizenship law, it is argued that 'the amendment to the Constitution brings Ireland into line with citizenship norms in other European countries.'[317] Overall, the above statements indicate a sense of obligation of conforming to EU laws and policies, sometimes indicated by the modality 'must' as in some of the above extracts. The implementation of the Dublin Convention –referred to in the second extract- is one of the policy areas that occur frequently in the relevant texts. Similarly to the Greek texts, there is the underlying belief that so-operation with the European Union will result in more efficient policies. In a speech in 2002, for instance, the Minister for Justice states that 'international co-operation, especially cooperation at EU level, is absolutely essential if challenges posed for the state are to be addressed in a fair, effective and efficient manner.'[318]

The overall frequency and meanings involved in this theme suggest that following EU asylum policy is significant. As has been suggested in previous sections of this chapter, this might derive from membership to the Union and the importance given to it in terms of the European identity of the Irish state (Cleary 2005; O'Mahony, J.

[315] IRDBDL 241199a, 511:793, N. Ahern, FF
[316] IRDBDL 241199b, 511:851, T. Kileen, FF
[317] IRDBDL 281004, 597:398, M. Ferris, SF
[318] IRSPMJ 300702, M. McDowell, MJ, PD

2003). Notwithstanding tensions in this relationship that occurred towards the end of the research period, participation in its institutions has been associated with the modernisation of the country (O'Mahony, J. 2003). At the same time, statements regarding conformity to EU policies could seem at odds with the Irish opt- out from Schengen measures dictated by the CTA arrangements with the UK (Hickman 2007; Mac Éinrí 2002; Ryan 2003). In the texts, however, statements expressing the need to conform to both EU and Common Travel Area obligations coexist. Not having sufficient controls, for example, is presented as 'not fair to [...] our UK partners, in particular, because we have a common reciprocal arrangement with the UK that allows freedom of movement for our and their people.'[319] It can be argued that one of the reasons that controls are considered necessary is to guarantee the prevention of entry of migrants to the CTA. To that extent, the speakers do not see adhering to both the CTA requirements and EU arrangements as contradictory.

Protecting state security

Chapter Four of this thesis has already demonstrated that constructions of migration as a threat to the security and interests of the state is a significant theme in strategies of problematisation. The preoccupation with these themes is reflected in the justifications used by political actors, where policy options are supported or opposed on the grounds of strengthening or undermining state security. This theme is more salient in the Greek data, were perceptions of asylum seeking as a threat to state security were one of the most prominent themes of justification. The employment of the theme of state security is limited in the Irish corpus, with 11 references overall. While the perception of adversarial relations with other states is very strong in the Greek context, Irish foreign relations have been characterised by a history of neutrality (Laffan and Tonra 2005).

Legitimating or delegitimating policy by reference to state security and the national interest – a term that refers exclusively to security concerns in the Greek set - are strong themes in the Greek corpus, especially in the first four years of the research

[319] IRDBDL 040204c, 579:573, D. Cassidy, FF

Table 7.5: References to national security

Year	Greece	Ireland
1996	10	3
1997	6	0
1998	1	0
1999	23	2
2000	4	0
2001	16	2
2002	1	0
2003	2	1
2004	0	3
Total	63	11
Number of documents	24/117	8/106
Percentage	20.51%	7.55%

period. State security emerges as a consideration in the 1996 Refugee Act debates and is used extensively as a legitimation and delegitimation device in the first half of the research period.

What is broadly claimed is that the aim of policies is, or should be, to protect the security of the state. One MP, for example, argues that policies 'must fulfil the criterion of security for which our country is obliged by reality to take special precautions.'[320] Similarly, another speaker opposes the acceptance of refugees from Kosovo by stating that his party

> [...] do not agree with the acceptance of a wave of refugees which might be caused by the war in Kosovo and which might be employed to implement future devious [doliwn] plans by the US and Turkey against our country.[321]

[320] GRDBDL 111296, p. 1778, K. Spyriounis, PASOK
[321] GRODPL 310399 , p. 5793, D. Tsovolas, DIKKI

The extract reflects the unwillingness of both government and opposition Greek political actors to accept refugees from Kosovo, because of the belief that they are going to be used by the perceived enemies of the Greek state. One of the reasons for this refusal was the Muslim religion of the refugees which associates them, in the Greek context, with the Turkish state, and which concerns about possible destabilisation of relations with ethnic minorities within the country (Thielemann 2003).

More broadly, state security concerns were very salient in the first four years of the research period, and drew on a history of adversarial relations with neighbouring states – especially Turkey – and discourses that have long constructed Greece as a homogeneous state whose national identity is threatened by minorities in its territory. Refugees and other migrants are seen as potential threats to the security of the state insofar they can be used as 'foreign policy tools' by other states (Loescher 1992; Schuster 2003a).

Moreover, justifying the non-admittance of refugees is often put in the context of the national interest. Several of these references concern the so-called Ocalan affair[322]. The Greek government position was that 'it would not grant him (Ocalan) asylum' because this was

> [...] dictated by the will to protect the national interest, because otherwise the dangerous deterioration in Greek-Turkish relations would be certain, with unpredictable results because of the Turkish aggression.[323]

On the other hand, the opposition argued that apart from undermining protection, not granting asylum 'put foreign policy in danger' because it 'made possible the arrest of the Kurdish fighter and PKK leader by the Turks.'[324] The decision not to grant asylum, and the opposition to it, are constructed in terms of what would be

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[322] In 1999, when the Greek government opted not to give protection to the Kurdish PKK leader. He escaped to Kenya, aided by Greek secret services, allegedly in order to claim asylum in South Africa. Ocalan was kidnapped in Kenya, possibly by Turkish secret agencies and was returned in Turkey where he was tried and imprisoned. The Greek authorities denied responsibility or knowledge for his kidnapping while in their care.

[323] GRODPL 180599, p.7090, A. Akrivakis, PASOK

[324] GRODPL 180599, p. 7103, F. Kouvelis, SYN

the best policy in the light of Greek-Turkish relations, which have traditionally been constructed as hostile (Koliopoulos and Veremis 2007; Heraclides 1997).

Two observations can be made in relation to the protection of national security as a justification for policies. Firstly, it is employed by both government and opposition speakers in order to legitimate and delegitimate government policies – 36 references are made by the former and 27 by the latter. Secondly, while government speakers draw on discourses regarding threats from Turkey in the first half, in the second government discourse focuses on co-operation which, as was explained in the previous section, is seen as necessary for preventing entry and irregular migration. This accounts for the overall decline of the use of this justification in the second half of the research and reflects the period of rapprochement and co-operation between the two countries, influenced by EU policies (Baldwin-Edwards 2006; Koliopoulos and Veremis 2007; Rumelili 2007).

Preventing crime and protecting the security of citizens

This section deals with other themes pertaining to security, such as preventing crime, maintaining public order and protecting the sense of security of citizens. These is overall quite strong themes in the Greek corpus, with references spread evenly over the years (Table 7.6). It should be noted however that none of the themes mentioned above is particularly noticeable on their own. However, in total they amount to 68 references, which they suggest that justifying policies by referring to aspects of the security of citizens as rather salient in Greek discourse. As such themes do not have a strong presence in the Irish corpus, the analysis here will focus on the Greek documents. The different frequencies in which this kind of justification appears in the two sets can be attributed to noticeable differences in the domestic context. As argued elsewhere in the thesis, the perceptions of threats associated with migration - to the security of the state as well as threats emanating from perceptions of increased crime – are stronger in Greek than in Irish political discourse (Prieto Ramos 2004; Tsoukala 2005).

Table 7.6: Preventing crime and protecting the security of citizens

Greece				
Year	Crime	Organised crime	Public Order/security	Sense of security
1996	1	0	1	0
1997	2	4	1	1
1998	1	0	1	0
1999	1	1	1	1
2000	5	3	4	6
2001	1	3	12	5
2002	0	2	0	1
2003	0	1	2	0
2004	0	0	0	0
Total	11	14	22	14
Number of documents	8/117	9/117	13/117	9/117
Percentage	6.84%	7.69%	11.11%	7.69%
Ireland				
1996	2	1	3	0
1997	0	0	0	0
1998	0	0	0	1
1999	1	4	2	4
2000	0	0	0	0
2001	0	0	1	0
2002	0	0	0	1
2003	0	1	0	2
2004	3	0	5	0
Total	6	6	11	8
Number of documents	5/106	5/106	9/106	6/106
Percentage	4.72%	4.72%	8.49%	5.66%

Firstly, there are respectively 11 and 14 references to preventing crime and organised crime. As has been demonstrated in Chapter Four, migration and crime are associated quite strongly with criminality in Greek documents. Correspondingly, preventing crime and organised crime is used as justification for measures aimed at control and preventing entry. For example, the Prime Minister states that controlling borders and the activities of border guards 'will make combating irregular migration and current forms of organised crime (drugs and arm trade, smuggling and prostitution) more effective.'[325] The right wing opposition is also likely to draw on the need for preventing crime in order to delegitimate policies. This is succinctly expressed by a right-wing opposition MP who criticises the proposed Bill on border guards by saying that it 'should deal with the issue of criminality and illegal immigration [...] because they are directly linked; this is a fact that I don't think anybody can doubt.'[326] As mentioned in previous chapters, the right wing opposition draws heavily on a securitarian discourse that represents migrants in general as illegal and criminal, and migration – including asylum seeking as a threat to the security, cohesion and identity of the Greek state.

Furthermore, preventive measures are justified on the grounds of maintaining public order and protecting the security of the citizens. For instance, the 2001 Immigration Act is linked to protecting 'the security of the Greek society.'[327] Likewise, the establishment of Border Guards is presented as 'guaranteeing the peace and security of the citizen [...].'[328] As with problematisation themes, these justifications are rarely linked to asylum seeking specifically but reflect the general preoccupation in Greek discourse with the association between migration and crime (Georgoulas 2001; Tsoukala 2005). However, as asylum seeking has been subjugated to irregular migration, it can be argued that these discourses are relevant in so far they reinforce the migration/crime link. This link occasionally becomes explicit in the documents. For instance, the minister for Merchant Navy states, regarding the arrival of refugees at Zakynthos, that '[w]e need to take all

[325] GRSPPM 090599, K. Simitis, PM, PASOK
[326] GRODPL 260700, p. 524, M. Varvitsiotis, ND
[327] GRDBPL 060301a, p. 5594, T. Tsiokas, PASOK
[328] GRODPL 250700, p. 499, G. Papageorgiou, PASOK

those measures to balance issues of human rights on the one hand with issues of security and public order.'[329] Moreover, protecting the sense of security of the citizens is also presented as a reason for controlling borders and preventing irregular migration. For example, the establishment of border guards is said to aim at 'guaranteeing better security conditions for Greek citizens.'[330]

The total number of references indicates that justifications of policy based on the prevention of crime and protecting both objective and subjective notions of security are salient in Greek discourse. This reaffirms observations in the relevant literature regarding the preoccupation with these phenomena in Greek society (Gropas and Triandafyllidou 2007b; Kiprianos *et al* 2003; Pavlou 2001; Triandafyllidou and Veikou 2002; Tsoukala 2005). In addition, the concern of the feelings of security of the citizens might also betray concerns over the reaction of the public towards increased migration (Statham 2003). These representations, and their reproduction through problematisation strategies, allow political speakers to justify policies by arguing that their purpose is to guarantee the security of the state. At the same time, they are reproducing the idea of the modern state as the protector of the citizens' security (Held 1989; Joppke 1998; Levy and Szneider 2006).

Preventing racism

References to preventing racism as a justification are strongly entailed in strategies of legitimation and delegitimation in the Irish corpus. There are 45 references overall which are mostly found in the 1999 and 2003 debates (Table 7.7). As the theme has a low occurrence in the Greek set, the analysis will focus on the Irish one.

Overall, both opposition and government speakers refer to tackling racism as a necessary component of policies in the context of immigration and refugee policies. Opposition speakers, for example, argue that '[t]here is a need for proposals to

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[329] GRPCMN 071101, G. Anomeritis, MMN, PASOK
[330] GRODPL 250700, p.498, G. Papageorgiou, PASOK

Table 7.7: References to preventing racism

Year	Greece	Ireland
1996	0	0
1997	1	0
1998	1	4
1999	0	16
2000	0	2
2001	5	0
2002	3	4
2003	3	13
2004	0	6
Total	13	45
Number of documents	9/117	20/106
Percentage	7.69%	18.87%

ensure the extremes of racism, xenophobia and patronising attitudes are tackled'[331] and that 'racism need to be dealt with head on.'[332] Similarly, a government speaker states in a speech that political representatives should 'tackle the latent racism in Irish people [...]'[333] and another that he expects the minister of Justice to 'attack the nasty racism that is emerging in society.'[334]

While there seems to be little disagreement that racism needs to be tackled, opposition speakers use references to the need to tackle racism in the context of criticising government policies. Moreover, it is argued that the government should try to dispel the fears of the public. It is argued for example that politicians 'should allay the fears of the public that these people [refugees] will come into their areas and take their jobs'[335] and that the Minister for Justice should 'tackle racism head

[331] IRDBDL 100299b, 500:293, G.Mitchell, FG
[332] IRDBDL 100403, 565:353, F.McGrath, IND
[333] IRDBDL 241199b, 511:870, M. Creed, FG
[334] IRDBDL 270503, 567:964, C. Lenihan, FF
[335] IRDBDL 100299a, 500:378, G. Reynolds, FG

on and welcome the increasingly multicultural nature of this society'[336] . Elsewhere, opposition speakers propose measures aimed at 'myth busting' and 'eliminating prejudice against refugees'[337], although there is very little indication of what these measures would consist of in practice.

However, government speakers are more likely to argue that the lack of policy will lead to the appearance or increase of racism in Irish society. In the words of the Minister for Justice:

> I stand firmly over the proposition that we should have firm, identifiable and workable laws and apologise to nobody for working hard to achieve that end or for making firm distinctions between legal and illegal migrants, on the one hand, and bona fide asylum seekers and what some speakers conceded was masquerading asylum seeking, on the other. If I do not make that distinction, the public will make it and it will play straight into the hands of extremists who will capitalise on it and use it to divide society.[338]

In this passage, the minister legitimates controls by making the argument that the lack of policies that distinguish between 'genuine' and non-genuine' asylum seekers would be negatively perceived by the public and that would be exploited by extreme right wing elements (Statham 2003). The policy response, reflected in the argumentation by government speakers, was to emphasise 'heightened restrictions for immigration and asylum approval' (Tormey 2007:75). This also reflects the view that controls are necessary to maintain the social cohesion of Irish society, adopting a similar approach to British governments (Back *et al 2002*; Lewis and Neal 2005; Sales 2007; Schuster 2003a). Moreover, it could be argued that there is a correlation between the tendency to accept the existence of racism – discussed in Chapter Five – and the emphasis on dealing with racism as part of the immigration and asylum policies of the country. In fact, this reflects the emergence in the late 1990s of policies aimed at dealing with racism, such as anti discrimination and equality legislation (Boucher 2000; Fanning 2002).

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[336] IRDBDL 290503, 567:1555, P.Gogarty, GP
[337] IRDBDL 100403, 565:371, F. O'Dowd, FG
[338] IRDBDL 040204c, 579:590-1, M. McDowell, MJ, PD

Likewise, it could be argued that the lack of emphasis on preventing racism as a justification for policies in the Greek set might be linked to the tendency to deny the existence of racism on the part of the host community, and to attribute it instead to uncontrolled migration, which were discussed in Chapter Four. The solution to this seems to be preventing entry into the Greek territory. It could also depend on the lack of racism prevention and multicultural policies on the part of Greek governments, and dominated by the perceived homogeneity of Greek society (Pavlou 2007).

Protecting resources and economic wellbeing

Protecting resources is again a theme that is stronger in the Irish dataset rather than in the Greek one, with 41 references compared to 8.The reasons for this absence have been discussed in earlier chapters, and the analysis here will focus on the Irish set. Interestingly, the themes of protecting the welfare state and protecting employment do not feature very highly in terms of justifications. In fact, references to protecting resources – in terms of costs but also labour – are only associated with the asylum system.

One of the main themes of using references to protecting resources is claiming that restrictive policies will reduce the costs entailed in refugee protection. For example, the provisions of the 2003 Immigration Act are argued to 'avoid the unnecessary expenditure of taxpayers' money on supporting applicants whose claims are likely to be without merit.'[339] Similarly, it is argued regarding the 2004 Immigration Act that the government's 'objective should be to reduce the costs and the workload involved in immigration procedures.'[340] More often, however, justifying policies by reference to resources is linked to maintaining the efficiency of asylum procedures. This occurs in relation to a number of policies and legislation. The 1997 administrative orders are said to be aimed at preventing 'overlapping and

[339] IRDBDL 100403, 565:332, B. Lenihan, MHC, FF
[340] IRDBDL 040204c, 579:577, M. Hoctor, FF

Table 7.8 Protecting resources

Ireland			
Year	Resources	Welfare	Employment
1996	1	0	0
1997	3	0	0
1998	3	1	1
1999	4	1	1
2000	1	0	0
2001	4	0	0
2002	3	0	0
2003	16	0	0
2004	6	0	0
Totals	41	2	2
Number of documents	27/106	2/106	2/106
Percentage	25.47%	1.89%	1.89%
Greece			
1996	1	0	2
1997	1	0	0
1998	2	0	0
1999	0	0	0
2000	0	0	0
2001	1	0	10
2002	1	0	2
2003	2	1	1
2004	0	0	0
Totals	8	1	15
Number of documents	6/117	1/117	7/117
Percentage	5.13%	0.85%	5.98%

duplication which is a waste of human and financial resources.'[341] Similarly, the Minister for Justice argues that the 1996 Refugee Act as amended by the 2004 Immigration Act 'provides greater scope for the more efficient management of asylum applications.'[342]

The above statements reflect three salient themes the Irish texts. First, they draw on constructions of asylum seeking as a burden and a threat on the collective resources of the country, a theme explored in Chapter Four. In terms of legitimation, the speakers represent the state and the government as having a role of safeguarding these resources by reducing the costs involved in asylum seeking. This for example is indicated by the use of the phrase 'taxpayers' money' in the first quote. Contrasting the idea of collective resources to asylum spending has been identified as part of a 'new racist discourse', which excludes non-citizens from 'claims to public money based on nationality' (Garner 2004:173; Brandi 2007). Second, the emphasis of the efficiency of procedures as a way to protect resources should be seen as an extension of the preoccupation with the maintenance of asylum systems, discussed earlier in this chapter.

Thirdly, the representation of resources as collective is juxtaposed to the idea that non-genuine refugees and asylum seekers are a burden on them, but also to the protection of genuine applicants. In fact, several references to resources link their preservation with providing protection to 'genuine' refugees. For example, the Minister for Justice defends manifestly unfounded procedures by arguing that they 'allow asylum applications which obviously lack foundation to be considered in an accelerated manner thereby freeing up resources for applications with some merit.'[343] Similarly, it is noted regarding the Amendments to the 1996 Refugee Act that

> The waste of time and resources on each no show represents time and money that could be for better spent investigating the applications of people who are genuinely interested in being protected by this state from persecution. In order to address

[341] IRDBDL 100299a, 500:354, B.Daly, FF
[342] IRPRMJ 081204, M. McDowell, MJ, PD
[343] IRPRMJ 270901, J. O'Donoghue, MJ, FF

> this in a more efficient way [...] the Bill provides for a number of amendments to section 11 of the Refugee Act.[344]

The above statements clearly suggest that resources should be targeted at those applicants that are considered 'genuine'. Interestingly, the costs speakers refer to are normally related to procedures examining applications, not welfare costs. However, it reflects the preoccupation with protecting collective resources found in the Irish and European political discourse (Fanning 2002; Garner 2004; Gibney 2006; McGee 2003; Schuster 2003b).

Opposition speakers also employ references to the protection of collective resources, but from a different perspective, arguing that granting asylum seekers the right to work would reduce public spending. It is argued for example that allowing asylum seekers to work 'would reduce social welfare and health costs'[345] Moreover, this argument relates to the concept of protecting the state's resources insofar it is argued that working 'will be of benefit to the economy'.[346] Arguing in favour of the employment of asylum seekers is a rather prominent theme among opposition speakers, with 45 references overall compared to 15 by government speakers. The benefit to the economy involved in including asylum seekers in the labour force, is in fact one of the most prominent pro-immigration arguments in Ireland, extensively used by business interests and activists alike (Garner 2004).

Preventing abuse

Legitimising policies by claiming the need to prevent abuse of the asylum system is a theme limited to the Irish corpus, with 58 references, while nearly absent in Greece, with just two references to it. In the Irish corpus it is rarely mentioned from 1996 to 1998 when the main debates were about the introduction of proper legislation and procedures, but increases from 1999 onwards. There are three

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[344] IRDBDL 100403, 565:330, B. Lenihan, MHC, FF
[345] IRDBDL 110398, 488:1025, J. Higgins, FG
[346] IRDBDL 110398, 488:1025, J. Higgins, FG

Table 7.9: Preventing abuse

Year	Number of references
1996	5
1997	0
1998	3
1999	14
2000	2
2001	2
2002	5
2003	14
2004	12
Total	57
Number of documents	31/106
Percentage	29.25%

sub-themes that can be detected in relation to arguments regarding abuse: preventing the abuse of resources, of systems, and of citizenship provisions. The previous section discussed how Irish speakers employ the protection of resources as an argument to justify restrictive policies. An extension of this is the argument that preventing abuse is also necessary to protect resources. As a speaker claims,

> [...] by achieving greater efficiencies through a reduction in the large-scale abuse of the asylum process, we can inevitably bring about substantial savings right across the Exchequer, in the budgets of all the other Departments involved in providing services for asylum-seekers.[347]

In the extract above, preventing abuse is presented as a cost –saving exercise. Second, preventing abuse as a justification concerns the abuse of the asylum system. As demonstrated in Chapter Four, one of the main themes of problematisation was the perception of the asylum system being exploited by economic and irregular migrants in order to gain access to the country, often with

[347] IRDBDL 100403, 565:322, B. Lenihan, MHC, FF

the help of smuggling networks. The corresponding justification is that restrictive policies are necessary in order to prevent this type of abuse. This is a concern that appears in the 1996 debates – although in a limited number of references – and remains salient throughout the research period. For example, it is stated that

> The Bill must also ensure that the refugee determination process is not abused. While we are aware of the difficulties that can face genuine refugees in fleeing and escaping persecution, it would be foolish and irresponsible, however, if we did not recognise that many applicants are seeking to escape from economic rather hardship than persecution.[348]

Similarly in 2003 it is stated that

> [...] the purpose of these amendments is to defend the integrity of the refugee process as the means for giving the protection of the state to those who are actually in need of it, and discourage the abuse of the process by those who are not refugees [...][349]

The extracts above reprise some themes that have been discussed earlier. They are underpinned by the distinction between 'genuine' and 'non-genuine' refugees, and the abuse of resources and the asylum system is depicted as a threat to providing protection. Thus, restrictive policies are justified on the grounds of preventing abuse because essentially their aim is to provide protection.

The third subtheme regarding abuse occurs in the last year of the research period and concerns preventing the perceived abuse of citizenship provisions by parents of Irish-born children. The Citizenship Act 2004 is argued to prevent 'continuing abuse of the jus soli entitlement to citizenship'[350] but this abuse is also linked to preventing the abuse of the asylum system. The Minister for Justice, for example, argues in defence of the Act that

> [...] our asylum system has been used by people who do not have a genuine need for protection under the Geneva Convention as a vehicle to gain entry into the State, in circumvention of normal immigration controls, for the very purpose of giving birth here and availing of what hitherto has been a universal entitlement to Irish citizenship derived from birth in Ireland.[351]

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[348] IRDBDL 191095a, 457:711, J. Burton, MJ, LAB
[349] IRDBDL 100403, 565:323, B. Lenihan, MHC, FF
[350] IRDBDL 291004, 591:58, M.McDowell, MJ, PD
[351] IRDBDL 271004 591: 61-2, M.McDowell, MJ, PD

In the above extracts, the need to prevent the perceived abuse of the citizenship system is clearly linked to preventing the abuse of the asylum system. As has been discussed before, the debates over 'citizenship abuse' focused largely on asylum seekers rather than on other forms of exploiting citizenship provisions (Brandi 2007; Tormey 2007).

The salience of the theme of abuse as a justification for policies confirms its significance for the Irish corpus. One of the reasons why the theme of preventing abuse is so prevalent could be the influence of UK policies and discourses. There are several analogies between how abuse is constructed in the Irish and British discourses of asylum. However, in the specific Irish context its employment as legitimating device seems to reflect the overall preoccupation with maintaining order thought the existence of systems. Moreover, as Tormey (2007) argues the argumentation of political speakers in the citizenship debates relied on arguing that the proposed law protected the moral order of Irish society.

Discursive strategies

Moral evaluation

One feature of how speakers support their views is through the evaluation of policies and references to values (Fairclough 2003; Van Leeuven 2007). The first type of moral evaluation has already been discussed in earlier sections, and refers to presenting policies as 'good' or 'bad' – this type of moral evaluation appears in both sets. The second type involves attributing certain values to policies, and is a very widespread occurrence in the Irish set only. The asylum procedures, or the way they are implemented are characterised as 'fair',' comprehensive', 'rational' 'effective', 'open', 'impartial', 'humane' and balanced. Such values are widely referred to in Irish political discourse. Elsewhere, the idea of systems is linked to

efficiency. One MP, for example, states that he wants 'to ensure that their [genuine refugees] applications for refugee status are processed quickly and efficiently.'[352]

Brandi's (2007) analysis of the Citizenship referendum debates points out that values of rationality, transparency and reason were repeatedly used by the government to describe its proposals. Moreover, it can be argued that the values attributed to the legislation and procedures point towards a value system that can be ascribed to western European modernity. Values such as fairness and impartiality would be widely accepted in western European states governed along the lines of liberalism and the rule of law (Cole 2002; Tsoukalas 2002; van Dijk 1993; Wagner 1994). The values of effectiveness, comprehensiveness, and balance point towards Garner's (2004) point about the 'bureaucratisation' of the asylum system where priority is given to technical aspects rather than humanitarian ones. It can also be claimed that these values reflect national identity discourses of the last half-century which emphasised the modernisation of Ireland.

Authorisation through the past and history

Authorisation by referring to the past has already been discussed in Chapter Five, as part of the positive representations of the host country. Here the focus is on how speakers refer to past experiences of emigration and forced migration in order to enhance their legitimation and delegitimation of policies. This is a strategy that occurs in both countries; however, it is more prominent in Irish documents.

In the Irish set, the experience of emigration is employed to point out the moral obligation imposed in relation to refugees, as in the following extract:

> It is significant that this debate coincides with the 50th anniversary of the foundation of the United Nations. More significant however, is the fact that it coincides with the 150th anniversary of the Great Famine, which sparked off the Irish diaspora. This has remained a perpetual characteristic of our history for the

[352] IRDBDL 100299a, 500:369, I. Callelly, FF

> past 150 years and, therefore, we, more than most other countries, have an obligation to support refugees and asylum seekers.[353]

The speaker makes an explicit link between the history of Ireland – referring to significant and emotionally charged events such as the famine and the mass emigration of the 19th century- to signify the attitude speakers should have towards asylum seekers and refugees. This is a common strategy in the debates on the 1996 Refugee Act and used by both government and opposition MPs. As the introduced legislation became more restrictive, the historical duty argument is increasingly used by opposition MPs to delegitimate legislation. For instance, an MP rejects the proposed policies by stating that:

> We should be ashamed of ourselves given the millions of Irish people who have gone to the far ends of the earth and who were non-nationals and illegal aliens in many of the countries in which they went. So much for our traditions... [354]

As the speakers above argue, the experience of migration should make the Irish more sympathetic and understanding towards refugees and immigrants (Garner 2004; Gray 2004; Tormey 2007). The historical duty argument has been used extensively by anti-racist and pro-immigration movements in Ireland, the media and opposition parties (Conway 2006; Garner 2004). This is supported by the analysis of the texts, since opposition employ the historical duty argument 107 times compared to 41 by government speakers.

There are two diverging views in the literature on the employment of the historical duty argument. On the one hand, Conway (2006) argues, based on the analysis of opinion and editorial articles from *The Irish Times*, that its use can create spaces for inclusion of migrants and refugees. On the other hand, it is argued that the historical duty argument can reinforce the identification of emigrant experience with the host community, which can result in the exclusion of the experiences of current refugees (Garner 2004; Gray 2004; McVeigh and Lentin, 2002; Tormey 2007). In the same vein, it can be claimed that speakers draw on discourses of

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[353] IRDBDL 261095b, 457:1614, D. Bree, LAB
[354] IRDBDL 040204b, 579:487, J. Costello, LAB

history and national identity because of their significance in the Irish context. The analysis of the texts for this thesis seems to support the latter view. References to the past are utilized by both opposition and government speakers, regardless of whether they support restrictive legislation.

In the Greek documents, references to past experiences of emigration are used to support a more liberal stance to migrants, as the following extract indicates:

> [...] our Country is a country that, possibly because it could not feed all its population, had, from ancient times onwards, out-going migration. And this must make us show understanding towards those who, mainly for reasons of sustenance, enter our country, regardless of how serious the consequences on the economy of the country might be, especially on the problem of employment.[355]

The speaker evokes the Greek history of emigration to justify a view that Greeks should show understanding to migrants. As with arguments of this type he suggests a moral obligation to be so because of the collective experience of emigration, and regardless of the consequences migration might have. However, in the following extract, the collective experience of migration is used in a very different manner:

> The term refugee, in all its variations and interpretations, from the historical one – such as the person banished from his historically established hearth- to the democratic one – meaning the exiled- is very familiar to us, synonymous to our historical process. Our Eastern Mediterranean and refugee identity constituted a significant foundation for our_ability to face, as a nation and in terms of Greek policy, the challenge of the most severe law, which is the right of the nations, the universal declaration of human rights and the national fights for liberation. It is the most austere law on the planet. Very few European countries would measure up to it.[356]

In the above extract, the speaker draws from discourses of national identity that have incorporated the experience of being a refugee – especially in what concerns refugees from Asia Minor. Nevertheless, he does not advocate attitudes that are in line the moral obligations posed by the experience of emigration; rather, what is suggested is that the 'refugee identity' of Greek people renders then better than other European countries in dealing with refugee issues. The implication is, in the

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[355] GR111296, p. 1784, F.Ioannidis, PASOK
[356] GR111296, p.1777, C. Kipouros, PASOK

context of debating the Refugee Act, that the legislation is justified because of the collective refugee experience.

Overall, the use of the collective migrant experience to oppose restrictive legislation is less frequent due to the dynamics and composition of the Greek parliament. Both pieces of legislation were introduced by the centre –left Greek Socialist Party to bring legislation in line with European Union policies and with the immigration act to regulate immigration at domestic level. The main opposition Party, the conservative New Democracy, has had a more securitarian and anti-immigration agenda that PASOK, and is therefore even less likely to employ arguments stressing empathy towards asylum seekers, refugees and immigrants. Therefore, these arguments are employed almost exclusively by members of the minority opposition Communist and Coalition of the Left parties.

Conclusion

One of the strongest themes in this chapter is the extent to which political actors in both corpora justify policies by arguing that they are aimed at providing protection. The high number of such references might be interpreted as an actual belief in the significance and appropriateness of policies in terms of protection. However, given the restrictive nature of most of the measures introduced, they should be considered as attempts at legitimising policies by arguing that they are aimed at protection. This interpretation is strengthened by the high incidence of 'authorising' such statements with references to the Geneva Convention and the UNHCR – the legal instruments and organisations that embody these principles. Thus, while the practices of the state might be restrictive, but at the discursive level it is seen as necessary to be perceived as complying with protection norms. In short, it can be argued that the strong tendency to legitimate policies on the grounds that they offer protection and adhere to conventions reflects an imperative for western European states to maintain their legitimacy (Dunne and Wheeler 1999; Donnelly 1999; Levy and Szneider 2006; Schuster 2003a; Statham 2003; Van Selm-Thoburn 1998).

One of the differences between the justification arguments in the two sets occurred in relation to this theme. While Irish speakers refer to the Geneva Convention and international legal norms in authorisation strategies, Greek speakers are more likely to refer domestic legal instruments – specifically the Greek constitution. It has been argued that this can be partly to the more ambivalent relationship between Greece and western modern values, compared to the greater adoption of such values in Ireland. The greater 'modern' attachment in the Irish texts is also indicated by the importance placed the justification of policies on the grounds that they introduce or improve systems and procedures. This, it has been argued, could be interpreted as a tendency towards rationalization and order, in line with the ongoing project of the modernisation of Ireland. This is also supported by the extensive moral evaluation of such policies with references to values of efficiency and fairness. In Greek documents, while protection as following a legal regime is more prominent in the second half, protection is overwhelmingly seen as a humanitarian activity at the discretion of the state.

One question that arises in this context is how, given the extensive commitment to the above themes, their coexistence with far more restrictive themes of legitimation can be explained. One explanation for this lies in the way that the speakers themselves seem to limit the obligation to provide protection. This links to the strategy of distinguishing between 'genuine' and 'non-genuine' refugees, which has been explained in Chapter Five. Here, this distinction is used to suggest that protection should be reserved to those who really deserve it by virtue of being 'genuine'. Thus policies that restrict access to asylum are justified on the grounds that they are in the interest of 'deserving refugees'. These constructions underpin every justification employed in favour of restrictive policies.

The most prominent of these is the necessity of controlling entry which is a strong theme in both datasets. The need for measures preventing entry – border controls, preventing irregular and smuggling - is stressed more in the Greek set than in the Irish one, reflecting the interaction between the geographical position of Greece and the influence of EU policies focusing on preventing entry. With the exception of

preventing smuggling – which is often linked to protection – the preoccupation with preventing entry is lesser in the Irish set, although it is still constructed as necessary and desirable. In fact, a notable similarity between the two sets is that government – and often opposition – actors reject any alternatives of more liberal entry policies. Similarly, the related theme of needing to conform to EU policies and norms exists in both sets, but is stronger in the Greek set. Again, this could be attributed to the bigger impact of EU policies given the role of the Greek state in guarding the external borders of the Union. To an extent, conforming and actively participating in common policies is presented both as an obligation and a benefit for Greece, often in terms of the getting financial support for measures preventing entry. While this is not a strong consideration in the Irish texts, conforming to EU policies is also constructed as an obligation for the Irish state, possibly because of the significance of EU membership for the country. In fact, adhering to EU policies is more frequently mentioned as a justification than the influence of Common Travel Area arrangements, which could be said to have a greater impact on shaping Irish immigration and asylum policy (Ryan 2003; Mac Éinrí 2002)

Another pattern that occurs in both countries is juxtaposing the stated need to provide protection with preventing negative consequences within the system and the host community. The content of such justifications, however, differs between the two sets. Justifications based on state security, especially during the first half of the research period, are frequent in the Greek corpus, reflecting already existing discourses of relations with other states. Similarly, the importance placed on protecting the security of citizens, preventing crime and maintaining public order reflect the wider preoccupation with the relation between crime and migration in Greek society (Gropas and Triandafyllidou 2007b; Tsoukala 2005). In contrast, state security as a justification features very little in the Irish corpus, reflecting a history of neutrality in terms of foreign relations. Similarly, references to preventing crime and maintaining public order are more limited as well.

Conversely, certain themes appear in the Irish corpus but not at all or with very few references in the Greek one. Tackling racism is frequently associated with the

legitimation of policies, reflecting the greater recognition of the existence of racism and the increasingly multicultural nature of Irish society. The high occurrence of the theme of preventing abuse could be explained by the importance placed on systems and the greater proximity to western European discourses on asylum. Similarly, the emphasis placed on the protection of collective resources could be attributed to the existence of the liberal welfare state and the extent of provisions for citizens, in contrast to their lack in the Greek context.

Despite the content –influenced differences in the themes of the two sets, it can be argued that discourses regarding the construction of state and nation are reproduced extensively. The emphasis on preventing entry is one of the themes where this reproduction is enacted. It can be argued that this in itself reproduces the concept of the nation state as a territorially bounded unit whose borders need to be guarded against external threats, but the discursive effects are more varied and complex than this. Irish speakers, for example, explicitly refer to the concept of sovereignty to construct controls as something timeless and indispensable to the nature of modern state, adopting an essentialist view of the state. Further, Greek speakers reproduce the order of the state system through statements arguing that refugees should remain in their area of origin, and by presenting state security as a consideration of asylum and immigration policies.

Moreover, the state is constantly constructed as a guardian of the population and their interests. In the Greek texts, this often takes the form of protecting the security, and sense of security of citizens through the adoption of measures controlling entry, drawing at the same time at constructing of asylum seeking as a phenomenon with overwhelmingly negative consequences for the host society. While the emphasis on security is lesser in the Irish texts, speakers position the state as a guardian of order and legality through protecting, for example, asylum systems and citizenship provisions from 'abuse'. Similarly, the state is presented as the guarantor of the interests and well-being of the society, often in the form of preserving collective resources from being spent on 'non-genuine' claimants. In short, the justification themes in both sets constantly reproduce the boundaries

between the state as a safe space of legality and entitlements to citizens, and threats on them created by increased immigration.

The particular character of the state in the form of nationalist discourses and specific identities are also reflected in the argumentation of the speakers. The emphasis placed on introduction and protection of asylum systems in Irish discourse, as well as the values – such as fairness and efficiency - attributed to them, point towards a very 'modern' idea of the state. Asylum seeking, as Garner (2004) rightly observes, is 'bureaucratised'. While protection is the dominant form of justification in the Greek set, this cannot be attributed to a commitment to modernity or liberal values to such an extent. 'Bureaucratising' through the introduction of systems does not emerge in Greek discourse, and this might be explained by a more ambivalent relation to modernity and the persistence of already existing discourses of national identity. In the Greek set, reproduction and change in national identities are both evident. On the one hand, speakers reproduce aspects of Greek identity constructed in opposition to a Turkish other, as well as constructions of a refugee identity closely connected to constructions of national identity. On the other, the argumentation of the speakers, especially in the second half of the research period, conveys the European orientation and dependency on EU policies.

Conclusion

The introduction of this thesis outlined the conditions surrounding asylum seeking in Europe: a steady trajectory towards policies of restricting access and undermining protection. The research project itself explored these issues in the context of Greece and Ireland, and examined how political actors legitimate such policies. The aim of this conclusion is to highlight some of the patterns of the findings and their implications for research.

In summary, there are three areas where this research project has tried to highlight and make a contribution to. First, the thesis has shown how deeply embedded asylum discourses are in specific domestic discourses. In all four aspects of legitimation explored in this thesis – the problematisation of asylum seeking, the representations of the host country and of asylum seekers and the argumentation of political actors - political actors draw on already existing discourses which have been shaped by particular political, social and historical formations. One conclusion that can be drawn from the comparison of the two case studies is that historical formations, social and political contexts and already existing discourses associated with them play a crucial role in the formation of discourses of asylum. In that respect, CDA approaches which emphasise the contextual nature of discourse (for example, Wodak *et al* 2000; Wodak 2001) are particularly valuable as an analytical tool.

Second, the findings of this project demonstrate the need for empirical research which highlights the impact of different contexts on the asylum discourses of individual countries. Admittedly, this conclusion is based on the qualitative examination of two case studies for a specific time frame, which limits the generalisability of the findings and relies on the interpretation of textual data (Denzin and Lincoln 1998; Strauss and Corbin 1999). Nevertheless, the empirical investigation of themes can demonstrate the influence of contexts. The project has highlighted similarities and differences in the discursive patterns of the two

countries, and has shown what domestic and regional factors can account for these patterns.

The combination of empirical and contextual examination has also brought on some questions regarding the literature on asylum and immigration. One of the observations that can be made at this stage is that there are some areas for further investigation in what concerns asylum seeking in Greece and Ireland. Focusing on the interaction of contexts in this research also brought up significant questions in terms of the assumptions in some of the literature in the field of asylum and migration. A substantial body of literature that discusses asylum seeking based on the histories and experiences of asylum seeking in western European countries. While this is often based on empirical research, it should not be unquestioningly accepted that the theoretical knowledge and agendas deriving from it are directly applicable to other national contexts. It should also be taken into account the meanings of certain concepts can vary among different national contexts.

The next sections of the conclusion will elaborate on these observations. First, I discuss the main findings and relate their explanation to social, political and historical contexts. Findings related to the second aim of the thesis – the reproduction of the nation state and national identities – are explored in the following section. Next, the conclusion discusses some implication in terms of the literature and research on asylum seeking. The thesis concludes with an exploration of the effect of discourses of asylum on practice and policy.

Similarities, differences, and the importance of contexts

A first finding of this project is that several themes and strategies are common among the documents of both countries. The theme of providing protection and respecting –or appearing to respect – norms of protection featured strongly in the policy justifications of the speakers, and the representations of the host states. Equally, the themes of controlling borders and preventing entry were strongly present in both sets. There were also remarkable similarities in how they were

articulated by the speakers. In both countries, preventing entry – also in the form of stopping irregular migration and smuggling - was constructed as desirable and necessary. These similarities can be attributed to two factors. First, they reflect the overall trend of policies controlling immigration in Europe and the European Union. Second, the emphasis on controlling entry can be attributed to the exercise of sovereignty: control over entry to the territory, as was explained in the introduction, is a core feature of nation states (Cohen 2001; Koser 2007; Salter 2008).

Strategies of construction asylum seeking as a problem also included certain common themes. Representing asylum seeking as economic or irregular migration, and therefore problematic for the state, featured in both corpora, again reflecting the policies and discourses of the European Union. The construction of asylum seeking as a burden and a threat to welfare, resources and employment were also present. Again this similarity can be explained by taking account the nature of the modern state, and the tensions between the particularist prioritisation of the entitlements of citizens and the universalist norms of protection and human rights (Joppke 1998; Schuster 2003a).

The theme of racism is represented as a problem in both countries. The perception that racism is an expected reaction to increased immigration is common among political actors of both countries, as are, to an extent, denials that the political actors or the country as a whole are racist. This commonality reflects the transition from being countries of emigration to countries of emigration, and their transformation from countries which constructed their identity as monocultural and homogeneous countries that have become increasingly diverse (Christopoulos 2001; Fanning 2002; Lentin 2007).

Two further areas that present commonalities are the representations of the host country and the representations of asylum seekers. The host country is overwhelmingly presented in a positive manner: good qualities such as hospitality are stressed, as well as respect of protection and human rights. The host countries

are thus presented as well-intentioned towards asylum seekers, democratic and lawful. Another noticeable similarity concerns the linguistic manner of representations, where collective actor descriptions construct positive characteristics as shared by the whole community. The representation of asylum seekers in both sets relied less on explicitly negative characteristics – with the exception of abuse in the Irish corpus – and more on constructions that deny the validity of their claims to asylum. In both cases asylum seeking is argued to be economic immigration or irregular migration, and asylum seekers are claimed to be non-genuine for those reasons. These constructions are realised not only through statements suggesting the asylum seekers are not genuine refugees, but also through the employment of labels.

Given that these aspects of representation have been observed in several western countries, it can be assumed that they are standard features of political discourse and to an extent universal (Lynn and Lea 2003; Mehan 1997; van Dijk 1993; 1997a; Van der Valk 2003; Wodak *et al* 2000). The same can be observed with other discursive features. Legitimation strategies, such as rationalisation and authorisation, are evident in both corpora. Likewise, the language of natural disasters appeared in documents of both countries, although to a lesser extent than the literature might suggest. A more striking similarity was the heavy use of the word 'problem' to refer to asylum seeking and immigration.

Further, the analysis revealed that the political placement of the speakers was influential in both countries. Irish speakers in the 1996 debates appeared equally liberal despite the fact they belonged to different political parties, a pattern which could be attributed to the universal support for legislation on refugee protection at that point. In later debates, a clearer division appeared, with government speakers using arguments in favour of restrictive legislation, while opposition speakers adopted arguments in favour of a more liberal policy. This pattern is less observable among Greek speakers, whose arguments seem more influenced by the political ideologies of their parties. The conservative opposition, for example, drew more hevily than other parties on nationalist discourse constructing Turkey as an enemy,

and were more likely to deny the existence of racism than speakers of left-wing parties.

The differences that occurred in the two sets could be placed into three categories. First, there are themes that are absent from one of the two countries. Secondly, there are themes that are considerably stronger in one country than in the other. Thirdly, there are differences in how certain themes are conceptualized in each country.

Three themes – abuse, security and crime - occur strongly in one country but nearly not at all in the other. This configuration appears to be largely dependant on domestic contexts. The strong presence of the theme of abuse in the Irish documents appears to draw from the importance of the existence of systems and procedures, in the sense that the order, structure and organisation they provide are threatened by their perceived abuse. Second, the dominance of this theme seems to reflect the influence of UK discourses and policies on asylum, where the theme of abuse also features strongly (Flynn 2005; Lynn and Lea 2002). Third, it can be seen as a reflection of tensions regarding entitlement and a continuation of discursive constructions of deserving and undeserving poor (Devereux and Breen 2004; Garner 2004). Conversely, it is not clear why the theme of abuse is absent from the Greek documents and the literature on asylum and immigration in Greece does not discuss constructions of abuse. Possible explanations could be the lack of organised asylum systems in Greece, the difficulties asylum seekers face in accessing asylum procedures, and the lack of a welfare state that could enable a widespread sense of entitlement.

Considerations of security in the Greek corpus are also stongly shaped by domestic discourses. The construction of asylum seeking as a problem for the security of the state, and as a consideration for asylum policy reflects a history of adverse relations with neighbouring states and especially Turkey, and the belief that minority populations serve the interests of other states. Similarly, themes associated with crime and security reflect discourses in Greek society that have associated crime

with immigration since the beginning of the 1990s (Georgoulas 2001; Pavlou 2004; Tsoukala 2005). In Ireland, both of these themes occur very little. The long-standing neutrality of Ireland can account the absence of concerns over security, as other states are not seen as security threats (Laffan and Tonra 2005). Explaining the low occurrence of references to crime is more complicated, as this theme has not been extensively researched (O'Donnell 2005). One explanation might be that asylum discourses in Ireland are more preoccupied with the abuse of the system, rather than the kind of crime – such as violence against the person, burglaries and thefts – on which Greek discourses focus.

A second area of differences concerns the relative strength of themes in each corpus. Several themes appear in both sets, but their frequencies vary considerably. For example, providing protection and conforming to international standards as a justification for policy occur more in Ireland than in Greece. One possible explanation for this is the greater commitment of the country to European and international norms associated with the projects of modernization and Europeanisation (Coulter 2003; Loyal 2003; O'Mahony 2003). The commitment to protection is also expressed through 'historical duty' arguments which suggest that granting protection is an obligation arising by the Irish history of emigration. The analysis showed that these arguments are used by both government and opposition actors, and both for legitimating and opposing policies. I would argue that the extent of the employment of the historical duty argument is related to constructions of Irish Famine emigration as 'refugee' migration, being involuntary and traumatic.

The number of references to protection, and especially the number of references to conforming with standards of protection are lower in Greece, and also decline considerably over the years. Despite the collective and celebrated experience of being a refugee in Greece, 'historical duty' arguments are less frequent there. It has been argued that the explanation for this difference could be with ambivalent relation of Greece with modernity and Europe, which underpins attitudes of mistrust towards western conceptions such as human rights. This explanation is also

supported by the tendency of Greek political actors to refer to domestic sources of refugee and human rights rather than international ones. It is also noteworthy that the theme of providing protection is employed by opposition speakers to delegitimate government by arguing that standards of protection are low.

Another difference is that economic migration dominated the problematisation strategies and justifications of Irish speakers while irregular immigration was more prominent in the Greek documents. Similarly, representing asylum seekers as economic migrants was more frequent that as irregular migrants in the Irish set while the opposite was true in the Greek one. These differences can be attributed to a combination of domestic and EU contexts. Asylum issues in Greece are framed in terms of 'illegal' immigration, which reflects and legitimates policies of preventing entry (Mavrodi 2007; Sitaropoulos 2002). At the same time, the need to prevent entry is dictated by the asylum and immigration policies of the European Union and the obligation to protect the external borders of the EU. This necessity is acknowledged by the political actors themselves in their argumentation, especially in the second half of the research. In the Irish set, similar policies are legitimated mainly on the grounds that they are aimed to stop unauthorized economic migration. This perception is influenced by immigration policies which privilege regulated, high skilled migration (Allen 2007; Fanning and Mutwarasibo 2007; Loyal 2003; 2007).

References to the European Union as a justification for policy are higher in the Greek corpus, which is hardly surprising given the impact EU policies have in Greece, and also richer in content. There is a very clear argument that the EU should offer financial support for border control activities, as well as for the reception of asylum seekers. In the second half of the research, co-operation with the EU on border control policies is constructed as beneficial for Greece, as is participation to EU decision making on asylum policy. Policies are presented as necessary because of the participation of Greece in the Common asylum policy of the European Union, and speakers express the belief that the challenges posed by migration will be dealt with more efficiently through EU co-operation. This

argumentation largely reflects the policy context in Greece, which at the time strongly supported co-operation, especially in border control (Mavrodi 2007).

A third area of differences concerns themes that are conceptualized in different ways in the two countries. For example, the analysis showed that Greek and Irish political actors conceptualise protection differently. The Greek documents indicate that protection is seen, especially in the first half of the research period, as providing food, shelter and medical help. In other words it is constructed in a manner that suggests it is seen as humanitarian assistance – also indicated by the way that humanitarianism is the most frequently mentioned quality in representations of the host state- rather than a legal status based on legal framework for protection. This latter construction appears more frequently in the second half of the research. Further, obligations to protect human rights and refuges are attributed by Greek speakers to domestic legal frameworks, such as the Greek constitution.

These particularities can be attributed to the specificities of the Greek context. The lack of a human rights tradition in Greece and the mistrust towards European human rights standards can explain the preference for humanitarian –based rather than rights-based - constructions of protection and the preference for domestic sources of rights. The increase of references to providing protection and conforming to international standards in the second half of the research can be attributed to the increasing commitment to the Europeanisation of Greece (Gropas and Triandafyllidou 2007a; Mavrodi 2007). Further, the emphasis placed on the humanitarian aspects of protection reveals the influence of the priorities of Greek asylum policy and the pressures of EU objectives. The aims of preventing entry and minimising numbers of asylum seekers run counter to acknowledging obligations imposed by international law. In contrast, granting protection in the Irish corpus is associated strongly with the existence of asylum systems and procedures, and the necessity in order to prevent abuse claims which, according to Irish speakers undermine protection. This, it has been argued, could be interpreted as a tendency towards rationalization and order, in line with the ongoing project of the

modernisation of Ireland. In short, the assessment by Garner (2004) and Mullally (2003) that the asylum system in Ireland has been bureaucratised and de-humanised is confirmed in the analysis of these texts.

A further area of difference in conceptualisation concerns the meaning and use of labels in the two countries. Chapter One demonstrated that the word *refugee* has a very specific meaning in Greece, associated with Greek history and identity (Voutira 2003a; 2003b). The identification of the refugee label with the Greek experience is reflected in the use of labels by the political actors, who juxtapose being an illegal immigrant with being a refugee, and thus legitimate the exclusion of the former from claims to refugee status. 'Asylum seeking' is not a term used in Greek discourse, and neither is the term 'asylum seekers', except for documents referring to laws and procedures. This contrast is magnified by the near-absence of the 'asylum seeker' label, which could create some space for a legal status between between an irregular migrant and a refugee.

The use of labels in Ireland is much closer to customary definitions of 'refugee' and 'asylum seeker', and 'illegal immigrant' is used much less than in the Greek documents, although it is again juxtaposed to 'refugee'. Overall, the use of labels in Irish discourse is much closer to the literature's assertion of attempts to create neat categories. The discourse of 'illegal immigration' is overall less evident in the Irish corpus, while it is more likely for asylum seeking to be constructed as a back door for unauthorised labour migration, and for asylum seekers to be presented as economic migrants. Compared to Greece, Ireland faces fewer pressures by unauthorised entry, and is under less pressure by the EU to control its external borders. Further, policies of labour migration also influence these constructions of asylum seeking. Labour migration policies in Ireland follow closely the model of other western European countries which entails a preference for 'managed' skilled and unskilled migration.

Lastly, differences were evident in the way asylum seeking as a burden is conceptualized. In Ireland, asylum seeking poses a threat to resources that are

constructed as jointly owned by the citizens. I would argue that the predominance of these themes is related to the emphasis placed on the efficiency of asylum systems, which seems to include considerations of their cost-effectiveness. The constructions of burden are strongly linked to costs incurred by maintaining systems for processing applications for asylum, especially since it is often stated that most applicants are not genuine refugees. In contrast, constructions of burden in the Greek documents are rather generic and allude to the belief that Greece, as a small country does not have the capabilities for dealing with asylum seeking.

Reproducing identities

The second aim of the thesis was to explore to what extent discourses of asylum draw from and at the same time reproduce already existing discourses on state and national identity. The analysis of the texts suggests that certain core functions of the state are reproduced through the legitimation strategies of political actors. First, arguments regarding the need to control borders and prevent the entry of asylum seekers are very strong in both sets. These arguments depend heavily on constructions of asylum seeking as a phenomenon with negative consequences for the host state. Moreover, as the literature suggests, asylum seeking is constructed as threatening and uncontrollable. These representations reflect closely the arguments that asylum seeking is seen as threatening the sovereignty of the state, and that states attempt to control entry as a way to reassert its sovereignty (Bigo 2005; Koser 2007; Salter 2008; Soguk 1999). In Greek discourse, controls are also presented as essential and without alternative for the state. The link between controlling borders and sovereignty is stated by Irish speakers, who consider controls as a right of sovereign states.

Justifications for controlling entry also point to the function of the state as the protector of the security and interests of the citizens. This idea is reflected in themes constructing asylum seeking as a threat to security, link it to the rise in crime, and construct it as a burden for the resources of the state. As Chapter Seven showed, Greek speakers argue that policies are justified because they protect the

security of the citizens and the state. In the Irish set, the emphasis is on the protection of the interests and entitlements of the citizens.

This summarises the tensions between universalism and particularism discussed in the introduction of this thesis. On the one hand, the discourses of control, protection of security and entitlement reproduce particularist conceptions of the state where its primary obligation is to its citizens (Held 1991; Joppke 1998; Schuster 2003a). On the other hand, political actors strongly state their commitment to universalist values of protection and human rights. To this extent, it can be argued that there is some validity in the argument that adhering to protection norms and important for the identity and legitimacy of the states as liberal democratic ones (Levy and Szneider 2006; Schuster 2003; Van Selm-Thoburn 1998). It can be seen as an external influence which has been internalised by the political actors in both states in order to 'fit in' with European liberal norms. This is also supported by a pattern of authorisation strategies by suggesting that international institution –mostly the UNHCR- approve of proposed policies. I would argue that the high frequencies of these references are linked to the reproduction of the identities of the Greek and Irish states as western, European and liberal, and that they are strong rhetorical devices for legitimating restrictive policies. As Gibney (2006:143) observes, 'western states acknowledge the rights of refugees but simultaneously criminalise the search for asylum.'

Moreover, the legitimation strategies of political actors reproduce the boundaries between the national community and the Other. Asylum seeking is constructed as a phenomenon that poses dangers for the host society, thus contrasting the bounded, protected territory of the state with dangers coming from outside. Secondly, one of the techniques of perpetuating this distinction in discourse is by juxtaposing positive representations of the host state and society to negative representations of the 'out-group', asylum seekers in the context of this research. The legality of the western democratic state is opposed to the illegality and non-genuineness of asylum seekers.

In Irish discourse, the opposition between legality and illegality is also magnified by the representations of asylum seekers in relation to asylum systems. The abuse and deception of asylum claimants is juxtaposed to the efforts of the government to maintain organised and efficient asylum systems, a policy which, as mentioned earlier, is heavily moralised by references to values such as fairness and efficiency. Political actors are more likely to stress that asylum policy is 'fair' 'reasonable' and 'balanced', which, along with the emphasis on the respect of obligations, conveys an image of the host state as level-headed and principle-guided.

Features of national identities are also reproduced in both sets of documents through the use of discourses relevant to the experience of emigration. As it was demonstrated, one of the main strategies for legitimating or delegitimating policies in both sets was by referring to past collective experiences of emigration. In the case of Greek and Irish political discourse, it also serves to reproduce identities based on the experience of emigration. The identification of the term 'refugee' with the Greek experience is reproduced through its juxtaposition to non-Greek 'illegal immigrants' and through the references to it in the positive representations of the community. In the Irish documents the use of the historical duty argument revokes nationalist constructions of Irish emigration as traumatic.

Theoretical observations and implications

One of the difficulties encountered in this project regards the comparison of the two bodies of literature on Greece and Ireland. The literature review of revealed there are considerable differences in the research of several topics. For example, there is very little research on the interrelation between asylum seeking and perceptions of crime in Ireland. Similarly, how racism is research in the literature of the two countries differs. The Irish literature generally adopts racialisation as its theoretical framework, while this concept does not seem to be in use in the Greek literature. These differences complicated the comparison between the discourses of the two countries, but also raised questions for the analysis of the data.

As the discussion of the finding demonstrates, the analysis of the data for this project affirmed the relevance of many constructions of asylum seeking discussed in Chapter One. However, some of the findings revealed themes that are not discussed extensively in the literature, and others seem to run counter to some of the claims made. Further, there are issues raised in the literature that do not seem to appear in the documents studied for this project.

For example, the literature on Ireland seems to suggest that the CTA is a more influential factor on immigration policy than EU objectives. In this project, the emphasis on EU is stronger. The explanation for this be that the CTA influence on asylum policy suggests a loss of sovereignty. While the same can be argued with regards to the EU, Irish governments has a history of strong commitment to the European Union which have survived the recent rejection of the Nice and Lisbon treaties by the Irish public (Adshead 2008; O'Mahony, J. 2003). Further, the greater occurrence of references to the EU policies might reflect the perception that being a member state and participating in EU policies is not a threat to the Irish sovereignty (Adshead 2008).

Similarly, there seems to be an assumption in some of the literature on the use of labels that the categories 'refugee' 'asylum seeker', 'illegal immigrant' are employed in the same manner across Europe. This impression might be due to their accepted meaning in English language – their use in the Irish context certainly reflect policy understanding of these terms . However, the meaning and use of these labels is different in the Greek context because of historical legacies and current policy considerations. As Chapter Six showed, this is a complex process of negotiating the meaning of the terms and much more fluid than the literature touching on the use of labels (for example Chavez 2007; Zetter 2007; Lewis and Neal 2005) suggests.

Two further findings in the Irish corpus that diverge from the literature. While asylum seeking is often discussed as burden on the welfare state, in this project it is conceptualized predominantly as a burden on the resources needed for maintaining

the asylum system. Secondly, Irish political actors are as likely to deny that there is racism in Irish society as they are to accept it. CDA literature on this topic tends to focus on denials of racism when studying political elites, and tends to ignore discourses within political elites that might be inclined to do the opposite, even if it is only for opposing government parties.

The theme of terrorism features very little in either country. The literature reviewed in Chapter One suggests that asylum seeking has been linked strongly to fears over terrorism after September 11. However, the low occurrence of this theme in the documents studied here might suggest that these concerns are not very strong in Greece and Ireland, possibly because these two countries are not heavily involved in military and political initiatives combating terrorism. While there is the possibility that terrorism become a stronger theme in more recent years, it could be argued that the literature reflects more the concerns of western European states such as the UK and the US. Further, any concerns over terrorism in EU policies do not seem to have been transmitted to Greek and Irish discourses on asylum.

Another theme that appeared much less than expected is that of national identity. It featured in a limited way in the strategies of problematisation in the Greek set, but not in the justifications of the political actors. To the extent it appeared in Greek discourse, while including concerns over homogeneity as the literature suggests, it was strongly linked to concerns over national security. The low occurrence of this theme might be due to the selection of texts, which focused on asylum seeking rather than labour migration which would pose more questions of challenges to identity. Moreover, the Irish documents show a concern with integration of refugees rather than asylum seekers, which suggests some preoccupation with national identity.

The observations above suggest that there is scope for contextualizing the analysis of constructions of asylum seeking in order to examine whether they have wider applicability. This point could be more pertinent to Greece than to Ireland, as the latter might present more similarities to other European countries in terms of the

organization of its asylum system and its asylum policies. The convergence of Irish immigration policy with western European countries has been discussed elsewhere (Messina 2009). Greece, however, seems overall a very particular case, where domestic and EU influences produce very specific discourses and practices. Admittedly, this project concerns the political discourse of asylum in two specific states, and the findings might not be generalisable for this reason. Further, being qualitative, this project relies to an extent on the interpretation of findings, however rigorous and consistent this might be. However, the complexity of patterns in these two case studies suggests that empirical research that takes into account a variety of contexts could help the better understanding of the factors that shape asylum policy and discourse in different settings.

From discourse to practice: the influence of discourse on the framing of asylum policy in Greece and Ireland

So far the conclusion discussed the findings of this thesis in relation to the aims of this research. This section aims to discuss the implication of this research project further. One of the beliefs of CDA is that discourse is not only shaped by social structures and practices, but it can shape reality as well. I would argue that this is significant given the current conditions surrounding asylum seeking in Greece.

After 2004, Greece remained the target of criticism. Reports published by European NGOs and the Council of Europe showed that the Greek asylum system still cannot cope with increased numbers of asylum seekers arriving in Greek territory (NOAS 2008; Proasyl 2007). More significantly, these reports show that abuses of human rights are still widespread and have probably become more extensive than in previous years (NOAS 2008; Proasyl 2007). Several reports and news items highlighted problems ranging from inadequate facilities to inadequate provision of food and water (BBC 2008; Brabant 2008; Pro Asyl 2007; Smith 2008). The persisting problems with Greek asylum policy are to a large extent due to the pressures of the Dublin II regulation and the objectives of preventing entry. The Asylum directives were finally introduced in 2008, but at the same time the government proposed

measures that abolish the Appeals process and minimize the involvement of non-police bodies in the asylum examination process (Hellenic League for Human Rights 2009). At the same time, as this thesis has suggested, there are discursive constructions in Greek society that run counter to the respect of refugee and human rights.

The situation of asylum seekers in Ireland is far less dramatic or newsworthy than the situation in Greece. Ireland adopted the Asylum Qualifications Directive and the Temporary protection Directive, but opted out from the Reception directive because it opposes any right to work for asylum seekers (Thorton 2007). This system has been seen as dehumanising (Garner 2004; Fanning 2007), but in combination with the fewer pressures Ireland faces, makes for less human rights abuses and breaches of protection. A new immigration Bill passed in 2008 is expected to impose further restrictions of granting asylum (Irish Refugee Council 2008), but curtailing the scope of protection in Ireland is a combination of preventing entry and bureaucratic control. The inhumane treatment of refugees and asylum seekers witnessed in Greece is not a matter of concern in Ireland.

I would also suggest, given the findings of this thesis, that current responses to asylum seeking have been shaped by the discourses studied in this project. In both countries, asylum seekers are represented as not genuine and therefore not entitled to protection, and asylum seeking poses so many dangers for the host state that it is necessary to control entry even more stringently. Such constructions, in combination with their prevalence in the media of the two countries, can feed in already existing xenophobic and racist tendencies and practices. The constant questioning of the status of refugees, along with other negative constructions, justifies restrictive measures and legitimates policies aimed at the prevention of entry and access to the protection system. The discursive effect of negative presentations, in that sense, undermines protection. The message conveyed is that the majority of asylum seekers have not bona fide claims to protection but use the asylum system – or in the case of Irish discourse 'abuse' the system – in order to gain access to better conditions of living in the countries of reception. The

discursive construction of reality is one where the possibility of asylum is being increasingly excluded.

The challenge for further research, in a way, is to understand the mechanisms of exclusion better, so as to challenge the current discourses. In that respect, further research might be needed on areas related to discourse that have not been widely investigated yet –constructions of crime in Ireland is one such example. More importantly, given the seriousness of the inadequacy of government responses in Greece, and the extent of human rights abuses, more academic research should try to investigate asylum seeking as an autonomous area of migration, rather than subjugate its study to the labour migration paradigm.

Appendix I

List of Irish Documents

Document	Year	Genre
IRDBDL 081195a	1996	Debate
IRDBDL 081195b	1996	Debate
IRDBDL 191095a	1996	Debate
IRDBDL 191095b	1996	Debate
IRDBDL 261095a	1996	Debate
IRDBDL 261095b	1996	Debate
IRDBDL 100398	1998	Debate
IRDBDL 110398	1998	Debate
IRDBDL 090299	1999	Debate
IRDBDL 100299a	1999	Debate
IRDBDL 100299b	1999	Debate
IRDBDL 240299	1999	Debate
IRDBDL 241199a	1999	Debate
IRDBDL 241199b	1999	Debate
IRDBDL 091299	1999	Debate
IRDBDL 100403	2003	Debate
IRDBDL 270503	2003	Debate
IRDBDL 290503	2003	Debate
IRPDB 040204a	2004	Debate
IRPDB 040204b	2004	Debate
IRPDB 040204c	2004	Debate
IRDBDL 021104	2004	Debate
IRDBDL 091104	2004	Debate
IRDBDL 271004	2004	Debate
IRDBDL 281004	2004	Debate
IROQDL 090497	1997	Oral Question
IROQDL 021297	1997	Oral Question
IROQDL 250698	1998	Oral Question
IROQDL 121099	1999	Oral Question
IROQDL 020200	2000	Oral Question
IROQDL 151100	2000	Oral Question
IROQDL 111201	2001	Oral Question
IROQDL 230501	2001	Oral Question
IRLQDL 171203	2003	Leader Question
IRPDLA 111000	2000	Policy Document
IRPDLA 271004	2004	Policy Document
IRPDSF 010301	2001	Policy Document
IRPRFA 011298	1998	Press Release
IRPRFA 030699	1999	Press Release
IRPRFA 191199	1999	Press Release
IRPRFA 220600	2000	Press Release

IRPRFA 010700	2000	Press Release
IRPRFA 260201	2001	Press Release
IRPRMJ 160797	1997	Press Release
IRPRMJ 290897	1997	Press Release
IRPRMJ 160698	1998	Press Release
IRPRMJ 210798	1998	Press Release
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IRPRMJ 060998	1998	Press Release
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IRPRMJ 141299	1999	Press Release
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IRPRMJ 160200	2000	Press Release
IRPRMJ 140600	2000	Press Release
IRPRMJ 050700	2000	Press Release
IRPRMJ 011100	2000	Press Release
IRPRMJ 180101	2001	Press Release
IRPRMJ 050201	2001	Press Release
IRPRMJ 280301	2001	Press Release
IRPRMJ 270701	2001	Press Release
IRPRMJ 270901	2001	Press Release
IRPRMJ 190702	2002	Press Release
IRPRMJ 210202	2002	Press Release
IRPRMJ 121102	2002	Press Release
IRPRMJ 150103	2003	Press Release
IRPRMJ 220103	2003	Press Release
IRPRMJ 120903	2003	Press Release
IRPRMJ 191103	2003	Press Release
IRPRMJ 180903	2003	Press Release
IRPRMJ 290904	2004	Press Release
IRPRMJ 081204	2004	Press Release
IRSPFA 220202	2002	Speech
IRSPFA 181203	2003	Speech
IRSPPM 271198	1998	Speech
IRSPMJ 030299	1999	Speech
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IRSPMJ 101202	2002	Speech
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IRSPMJ 090604	2004	Speech
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IRWADL 301096	1996	Written Answer
IRWADL 300997	1997	Written Answer
IRWADL 211097	1997	Written Answer

IRWADL 100298	1998	Written Answer
IRWADL 260598	1998	Written Answer
IRWADL 231199	1999	Written Answer
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IRWADL 151100	2000	Written Answer
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IRWADL 230501	2001	Written Answer
IRWADL 231001	2001	Written Answer
IRWADL 131101	2001	Written Answer
IRWADL 010703	2003	Written Answer
IRWADL 120203	2003	Written Answer
IRWADL 120203b	2003	Written Answer
IRWADL 080704	2004	Written Answer
IRWADL 091104	2004	Written Answer
IRWADL 301104	2004	Written Answer

List of Greek documents

Document	Year	Genre
GRARFA 141200	2000	Article
GRDBPL 111296	1996	Debate
GRDBPL 121296	1996	Debate
GRODPL 090697	1997	Debate
GRDBPL 120399	1999	Debate
GRDBPL 050399	1999	Debate
GRDBPL 310399	1999	Debate
GRDBPL 180599	1999	Debate
GRDBPL 250700	2000	Debate
GRDBPL 260700	2000	Debate
GRDBPL 060301a	2001	Debate
GRDBPL 060301b	2001	Debate
GRDBPL 060601	2001	Debate
GRDBPL 271101	2001	Debate
GRDBPL 200602	2002	Debate
GRDBPL 030403	2003	Debate
GRINGP 230404a	2004	Interview
GRINGP 230404b	2004	Interview
GRINPO 300602	2002	Interview
GROQPL 210297	1997	Oral Question
GROQPL 040497	1997	Oral Question
GROQPL 241097	1997	Oral Question
GROQPL 280598	1998	Oral Question

GROQPL 221098	1998	Oral Question
GROQPL 061198	1998	Oral Question
GROQPL 250199	1999	Oral Question
GROQPL 050299	1999	Oral Question
GROQPL 201000	2000	Oral Question
GROQPL 231101	2001	Oral Question
GROQPL 180102	2002	Oral Question
GROQPL 240703	2003	Oral Question
GROQPL 010403	2003	Oral Question
GRPCFA 170198	1998	Press Conference
GRPCFA 081101	2001	Press Conference
GRPCFA 281101	2001	Press Conference
GRPCFA 110602	2002	Press Conference
GRPCFA 080103	2003	Press Conference
GRPCGS 100996	1996	Press Conference
GRPCGS 101096	1996	Press Conference
GRPCGS 200397	1997	Press Conference
GRPCGS 100697	1997	Press Conference
GRPCGS 280197	1997	Press Conference
GRPCGS 040598	1998	Press Conference
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GRPCGS 140998	1998	Press Conference
GRPCGS 150998	1998	Press Conference
GRPCGS 150299	1999	Press Conference
GRPCGS 280399	1999	Press Conference
GRPCGS 290399	1999	Press Conference
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GRPCGS 020499	1999	Press Conference
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GRPCGS 070499	1999	Press Conference
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GRPCGS 061101	2001	Press Conference
GRPCGS 071101	2001	Press Conference
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GRPCGS 231101	2001	Press Conference
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GRPCGS 270602	2002	Press Conference
GRPCGS 210502	2002	Press Conference
GRPCGS 230702	2002	Press Conference
GRPCGS 180303	2003	Press Conference
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GRPCKS 041202	2002	Press Conference
GRPCMC 010403	2003	Press Conference
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GRPCPM 290396	1996	Press Conference
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GRPCPM 051201	2001	Press Conference
GRPCPM 141201	2001	Press Conference
GRPCPM 110602	2002	Press Conference
GRPCPM 210602	2002	Press Conference
GRPCPO 190203	2003	Press Conference
GRPDPA 041004	2004	Policy Document
GRPRFA 180602	2002	Press Release
GRPRLO 260803	2003	Press Release
GRPRND 051004	2004	Press Release
GRPRSY 251198	1998	Press Release
GRSPFA 260202	2002	Speech
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GRSPPM 140103	2003	Speech
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GRWAPL 170297	1997	Written Answer
GRWAPL 250297	1997	Written Answer
GRWAPL 260297	1997	Written Answer
GRWAPL 071197	1997	Written Answer
GRWAPL 081097	1997	Written Answer
GRWAPL 151097	1997	Written Answer
GRWAPL 061098	1998	Written Answer
GRWAPL 191098	1998	Written Answer
GRWAPL 191198	1998	Written Answer
GRWAPL 101198	1998	Written Answer
GRWAPL 110299	1999	Written Answer
GRWAPL 050399	1999	Written Answer
GRWAPL 160399	1999	Written Answer
GRWAPL 280499	1999	Written Answer
GRWAPL 180599	1999	Written Answer

GRARFA 141200	2000	Written Answer
GRWAPL 030403	2003	Written Answer
GRWAPL 121203	2003	Written Answer

Appendix II

Constructing asylum as a problem

(1 30) New problem

Asylum seeking as a new phenomenon for the host country/ asylum seeking as significantly changed in comparison to earlier times

(1 15) Increased numbers

Statements presenting asylum seeking as a problem because of rising numbers

(1 31) Growing

Statements about numbers or intensity of asylum seeking as growing or likely to grow

(1 33) Numbers opposition

Statements challenging the perceived increase in numbers

(1 12) Geographical position

Statements about geographical position influencing migration patterns and/or numbers of applicants

(1 1) Asylum as economic migration

Statements about economic migration posing a problem to asylum systems

Statements about the asylum system being used by economic migrants

Statements about asylum seeking as institution being threatened/adulterated by economic immigration

(1 19) Asylum as irregular immigration

Statements about the asylum system being used by illegal migrants

Asylum seeking as institution being threatened/adulterated by illegal immigration

(1 34) Smuggling

Statements about asylum seeking being associated with smuggling and trafficking

Statements about asylum system being used by smugglers

(1 28) Asylum Problem abuse

Statements claiming the asylum system is being abused

Asylum seeking as a threat

(1 4 5) Threat to state security

Asylum seeking perceived a threat to state security, state interests, sovereignty or territory

(1 4 20) Threat to regional security

Threats to regional peace that have a negative effect on country

(1 4 27) Terrorism

Asylum seeking being associated with terrorist threats

(1 35) Turkey (Greek set only)

Asylum seeking being associated with actions/intentions of the Turkish state; possibly intending to harm Greek interests

(1 4 14) Crime

Statements linking asylum seeking to (increased) crime

(1 4 26) Organised crime

Statements linking asylum seeking to organised crime

(1 4 21) Public order

Asylum seeking associated with threats to law and order in the host society

(1 4 29) Perception of security

Asylum seeking represented as causing insecurity among the population

(1 32) Social cohesion

Asylum seeking presented as a threat to the cohesion of the host society

(1 4 8) Racism

Asylum seeking as causing or increasing racism among the population

(1 4 18) Identity

Asylum seeking as a threat threats to national identity and demographic composition

(1 9) Health

Asylum posing a threat to health of host population

<u>Burden</u>

(1 7 6) Welfare

Asylum seeking presented as a burden to the welfare state and welfare provisions for citizens

(1 7 22) Cost

Statements claiming that asylum systems are incurring high costs for the host state

(1 7 23) Resources

Asylum seeking as a burden to material and immaterial resources

(1 7 25) Asylum Problem threat employment

Asylum seeking as threatening employment chances/ opportunities for citizens

(7 4) Linguistics - metaphors problem

Using language that constructs asylum seeking as a problem

Representations of the host country

<u>Values and behaviour</u>

(2 1) Hospitality

Host community presented as hospitable/welcoming to asylum seekers

(2 2) Sensitivity

Host community presented as sensitive to the needs/problems of asylum seekers

(2 3) Generosity

Host community presented as generous in terms of provision of assistance/ protection

(2 13) Humanitarianism

Claims that behaviour towards asylum seekers is governed by humanitarian principles

(2 17) Tolerance

References to being tolerant to asylum seekers

(2 22) Solidarity

References to the concept of solidarity to asylum seekers

(2 34) Compassionate/sympathetic

Being compassionate/sympathetic/empathetic towards asylum seekers

(2 26) Openess

Being open/broadminded towards asylum seekers

(2 39)) Denials of racism

Denying that host community is racist

(2 40) Acceptance of Racism

Accepting existence of racist attitudes/behaviour

(2 38) Negative presentation of in-group

Existence of above qualities challenged by speakers

<u>Human Rights and Geneva Convention</u>

(2 4) Respecting HR

Host community presented as respecting human rights/human rights instruments/human rights of asylum seekers

(2 5) Respecting the Geneva Convention

Respecting the Geneva Convention/conforming to the Geneva Convention requirements

(2 11) Democracy

Adherence to democratic principles/ claims that state is a democratic country

(2 21) Civilized

Describing values/behaviour country as civilized

(2 10) Comparing with other countries

Positive values/characteristics stressed with comparisons to other countries

Representing asylum seekers

(3 1) Criminal

Representations of asylum seekers associating them with criminal activities

(3 5) Terrorist

Claims that asylum seekers might be involved in terrorist activities

(3 3) Not genuine

Claims that asylum seekers are not 'genuine'/do not have valid claims to asylum

(3 14) 'Genuine' (Irish set only)

Using the adjective 'genuine' or adverb 'genuinely' in conjunction with the categories 'asylum seeker' or 'refugee'

(3 4) Illegal immigrants

Claims that asylum seekers are in fact illegal immigrants

(3 11) Economic migrants

Claims that asylum seekers are in fact economic immigrants

(3 15) Changing categories

Replacing categories of 'asylum seeker' or 'refugee' with the category 'illegal immigrant'

(3 10) Abusing system

Claims that asylum seekers abuse/exploit the asylum procedures/ falsely claim welfare support

(3 8) Different culture

Claims that asylum seekers are culturally different

(3 12) Ungrateful

Asylum seekers as not appreciative of what they are given

(3 13) Deserving and undeserving

Contrasting 'genuine' and 'non genuine' asylum seekers

(3 9) Harming 'real' asylum seekers

Asylum seekers' false claims actively harm claims by 'genuine' asylum seekers

(3 16) Positive representations of asylum seekers

Positive representations of asylum seekers

Constructing solutions

(4 21) Providing protection

Statements that goal of policy is to provide protection/improve protection regime

(4 23) Protecting human rights

Protecting human rights of asylum seekers

(4 18) Conforming to Convention/Human rights standards

Statements that legislation/policy adheres to Convention and/or human rights standards

(4 40) Introducing/improving systems

Claiming that aim of policy is to introduce/improve asylum systems

(4 20) Protecting the integrity of the system

Goal of policy to maintain the integrity of the asylum system

(4 41) Controlling borders/preventing entry

Aim of policy to prevent entry

(4 2)Controlling migration

Aim of policy to regulate migration

(4 12) Sovereignty

Asylum policy presented as a right of the state/to preserve sovereingty

(4 17) Preventing illegal immigration

Goal of policy to prevent/deter irregular migration

(4 26) Preventing smuggling

To prevent/deter smuggling

(4 9) Conformity with European Union

Goal of policy to conform to EU policies

(4 15) State interests burden sharing

Statements about desirability of sharing burden with other countries

(4 13) State interests - reputation

Goal of policy to protect or maintain reputation of country

(4 14) Root causes

Policy aimed at addressing the root couses of migration

(4 22) Deterrence

To deter asylum seekers from being in the state

(4 30) Policy causing racism

Statements that policies cause racism

(4 31) Integration

Goal of policy to promote integration/should promote integration

<u>Security</u>

(4 5) State security

Goal of policy to protect the security and integrity of the state

(4 1) Common Travel Area (Irish set only)

Asylum policy to protect/maintain benefits from common travel area/ to be in line with UK immigration policy

(4 2) Turkey (Greek set only)

Greek asylum policy to protect state interests from Turkish threats

(4 32) Territory

Asylum policy to protect the territory of the state

(4 37 27) Preventing crime

To deter/prevent crime

(4 37 28) Preventing organised crime

To deter/prevent organized crime

(4 37 40) Protecting public order/security of citizens

Policies aimed at maintaining public order and the security of the population

(4 37 39) Protecting sense of security

Policies aimed at increasing sense of security of citizens

(4 8) Protecting interests of citizens

Policies aimed at safeguarding interests of citizens

(4 7) Protecting health

Goal of policy to protect citizen's health

(4 37 32) Protecting social cohesion

Aim of policy to protect social cohesion

(4 33) Preventing racism

Goal of policy to prevent racism/promote social cohesion

<u>Burden</u>

(4 6) Protecting jobs

Goal of asylum policy to protect employment for citizens

(4 8) Protecting welfare system

Goal of policy to protect welfare system

(4 25) Protecting resources

To protect or make better use of resources

(4 29) Right to work (Irish set only)

Statements that asylum seekers should be allowed to work

(4 16) Preventing abuse

Statements claiming that goal of policy is to prevent abuse

Legitimation strategies

(8 1) Moral Evaluation

Legitimating policies by arguing they are good or bad

Legitimating policies by reference to values

(8 2) Mythopoesis

Legitimating policies using narration of stories

<u>Authorisation</u>

(8 3 1) Authorisation – experts

Authorising statements by referring to the claims of experts in the relevant field

(8 3 2) Authorisation – conformity

Authorising statements claiming that 'everybody does this'

(8 3 3) Authorisation - people/public

Authorisation by referring to the wishes of the public

(8 3 4) Authorisation - past, history or tradition

Authorising statements by referring to past, history or tradition

(8 3 5) Authorisation - law

Authorisation by referring to law or institutions that represent legal standards

(8 3 6) Authorisation experience

Authorising statements by referring to the experiences of others in relation to the same issue

(8 3 7) Authorisation statistics

Authorising statements by referring to statistical data

<u>Rationalisation strategies</u>

(8 4 1) Instrumental rationalisation – objective strategy

Claiming that actions are necessitated by an external reality

(8 4 2) Instrumental rationalisation – results

Claiming that actions are necessary to achieve desired results

(8 4 3) Theoretical rationalisation – definition

Attributing certain qualities to phenomena in order to justify proposed actions

(8 4 4) Theoretical Rationalisation – explanation

Claiming an action is necessary because of the qualities of the individual or groups that are the objects of the action

Free nodes

For:

Speakers supporting the government

Against

Speakers supporting the opposition

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