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WP 10 Thematic Report “Intercultural Conflict and Dialogue”

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1. Introduction: Description of the Case Studies in Cyprus, Greece and the United Kingdom.

General Introduction

The focus of the 'WP 10 Thematic Report Intercultural Conflict and Dialogue' is **digital networks and the role of digital networks in reinforcing and propagating actual practices of intercultural conflict**. The 'offline' aspect has to do with interviews with migrant individuals and organizations affected by racist conflict, **which are involved in the production of anti-racist digital, and/or participating in off and on-line initiatives for the promotion of intercultural dialogue and cooperation**. In that sense, the focus of WP10 is more on the digital and its impact on intercultural conflict and dialogue in society, and vice versa (see 'MIG@NET Proposal' for detailed description of WP10).

The 'Research Design' document points to hybridity ('The research is based on the integration of virtuality and materiality' p 26.). This is the logic followed in the WP10. The Research Design for the three case studies (Cyprus, Greece and United Kingdom) focused on the following dimensions: identity negotiations; integration of virtuality and materiality; critique of multiculturalist perspectives; gender issues; analysis of intercultural conflict to the stage of possible reconciliation and dialogue. To that effect, the research is divided in to the following sections: 'Ethnonationalist Discourse and Ideology', 'Racist Discourse and European Citizenship', and 'Cyberconflicts'.

Gender is one of the core concerns for MIG@NET. In this WP we tend to employ Gender as a much broader category than involving women and women studies, thus adopting a more intersectional approach (On intersectionality see Crenshaw, 1991). We wish to move beyond a targeted focus on women which often excludes other marginalised groups in society across sections. This intersectionality framework focuses on how masculinity and femininity are being employed in the construction of ethnonationalist and racist discourses. An example of this type of analysis was used by Synthia Enloe in her seminal (1990) *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*. Gender studies have been employed here to inquire to a broader agenda of issues that crosscut different sections in societies. For example, gender can accompany and encompass analyses into class, race, sexual and psychological difference, transgender, equality issues, queer studies and so on. This is a broader take on political economy/politics of representation within critical theory and cultural studies, which also employs gender theories to explain broader exclusions of disability and other marginalised groups in the societies involved. To put it simply, the approach to gender taken here is intersectional and broader than women studies.

The enquiry launched borrows from gender studies concerns to do with ideology, discourse, race and identity to analyse intercultural conflict online without excluding individuals which belong to different classes, races, sex and sexuality from the sampling of the population engaged in these discourses. It is a special enquiry into intercultural conflict through examining ethnonational, racist, and exclusionary discourses in hybrid media environments. In this sense, we are using gender theoretical elements to inquire into these discourses without exclusively sampling women groups. Intercultural conflict is not particular to women, but to diverse sections of society, hence the choice made to not limit to women groups during sampling and employ a more intersectional approach to gender.

This is because in preliminary findings for example in Greece, racist discourse is an anti-establishment discourse that attacks both the established institutions (state, political parties, economic elites) as corrupt and left-wing radicalism as hypocritical and dangerous. Racist violence appears as an inevitable and truly radical response to the "multiculturalist consensus". Because of its everyday apolitical banal character, this type of discourse often finds popularity amongst the Greek residents of areas that experience economic and social degradation. In Cyprus, the question of immigration and immigrants is generally painted in negative frames as a threat to the cohesiveness and homogeneity of the Greek-Cypriot ethno-national identity and culture. Immigration is politicised primarily by 'racialising' migrant workers. In the UK, Russian speakers living in Britain categorise migrants from the third world as not simply the Other but the Negative External Other: such migrants are often depicted as morally and intellectually inferior due to the construction of European as a racial and cultural construct. Ethno-national and nationalist argumentation was used by the protesters during the anti-Putin protests in the UK. In summary in all cases, the dominant discourse on immigration and immigrants relies on ethnonationalist and racist ideas. The discourse not only relies on ethnicity, nationality and race for its construction, but also in a particular patriarchal variety in which men tend to dominate the public sphere, while masculinity, heterosexuality and heteronormativity are seen as the dominant and acceptable discursive norms. These types of discourses are the focus of WP10, as racialization of gender relations is part of the intersectionality framework. Ethnos, nationality and race, along with the domination of the public discourse by masculine elements and is evident in all case studies and is strongly linked to gender relations.

Further, the issue of European citizenship is understood as part of the negotiation of identity for the host societies, but also for migrants in some cases, for example in Greece it is critical as the crisis has posed questions of EU democratic deficit and what it means to be European. Due to the fact the Cyprus only joined the EU recently, there is contestation of the country's European identity, whether it belongs to Europe and what European identity Cypriots negotiate for themselves as Europeans. In the UK, European citizenship is a critical issue among Russian-speaking post-Soviet diasporas,

as post-Soviet migrants tend to come from a varied geographical space and Russia's European credentials are always contested in Cold war terms even today. This has implications for several post-Soviet diasporas and how they are viewed and portrayed in digital networks, and in the public sphere digital and otherwise.

A further note bears significance. In terms of how culture is understood and in consequence intercultural conflict: Culture is not understood here, as just identified with nationality or ethnicity/religion and the nation-state. In Greece immigrant and anti-immigrant groups might be Greek nationals for example, but are not part of the same 'culture' as such, as intersectionality means that groups may identify culture in ideological, class, gender or other terms. This is the same for groups in Cyprus and in the UK. Groups and populations studied here are engaged in racist and anti-racist ideological discourses in digital networks and are not engaged in intercultural conflict (and dialogue) as belonging or identifying only with a national cultural grouping. Intercultural conflict is understood in terms of theory on intercultural communication where cultures within cultures and subgroups clash [for an introductory guide see Fred Jandt's work (2010) *Intercultural Communication: An Introduction*]. Cultures do not respect national political boundaries. In Jandt's view, culture refers to a "group" 's thoughts and patterns, values assumptions etc. and a process of social transmission of these thoughts and behaviours. According to Jandt, this "group" is a community or population sufficiently large enough to be self-sustaining and large enough to produce new generations without relying on outside peoples. More importantly, it comprises of 'members who consciously identify themselves with that group described by Collier and Thomas (1988) as *cultural identity* or the identification with and perceived acceptance into a group that has a shared system of symbols and meanings as well as norms for conduct' (Jandt, 2010: 15).

The three case studies involve intercultural conflict between migrants and the host society, but also conflicts between migrants of different origin or culture, and intra-communal conflict. These conflicts occur in digital networks and are influencing and are influenced by what is called here by the different research teams interchangeably as 'real', 'offline', 'material' or 'physical'. Nevertheless, the intention of the research design and philosophical standpoint is to integrate virtuality and materiality as far as this is possible in the analysis. In Cyprus, urban spaces are contested by migrant and anti-migrant groups and played on-line and off-line in an interplay that reproduces digital and non-digital materialities. In Greece similarly, urban spaces in Athens are contested by the practices of its Greek residents, but also by migrant and digital networks showing how online conflict is conditioned by and, in turn, influences the eruption of racist violence. In the UK, conflicts between the Russian speaking post-Soviet diaspora and migrants of other origin, and also conflicts between the former and host society are analysed to identify axes of tensions and dialogue taking place in digital networks in response to political events and how groups are mobilized online to take action in the 'real world'. In this sense, the three case studies are preoccupied with examining

intersectional conflict, particularly racist and anti-racist discourses, ethnonationalism, multiculturalism and ideology in digital networks, and negotiations of identity and difference in the production of digital media and their embeddings in everyday life.

In terms of research techniques, to mention briefly at the outset, the case studies used discourse analysis, participant observation in conflict sites and cyberstudies techniques (please see methodology section for a detailed description of methodological framework, sampling and list of sites, etc.). A particular focus is paid on cyberconflict (Karatzogianni, 2006), and that framework is used for a brief concluding comparative analysis for all case studies presented here, with a view to understand the commonalities and differences in intercultural conflicts and dialogue in the hybrid spaces of the three countries. Cyberconflict theory is used in the broader sense of understanding how 'digitality' and 'reality' interact and spill over during these conflicts, and is not restricted to cyberspace (For a discussion of the virtual, Revolutionary virtual, digital virtual and its relationship to the real see Karatzogianni, 2012b).

In what follows the three teams introduce their subject of research and provide political context for their research populations.

1.1. Cyprus

The notion of the city as a 'battlespace' is hardly new. Lefebvre's claim about 'the right to the city' and the 'urban revolution', which dates from some decades ago, connected to the 1968 events, describes such contestations. Yet, there are crucial developments since then; in the current era globality is masterfully embedded and entangled in the specificities of the particular localities of the city under investigation. We are not dealing with exclusively state-driven projects; civil society and state are all fully interwoven and engaged, often with a division of labour between privatised and outsourced security services of the neoliberal state. Besides, we are talking about an all-out ideological warfare where the different sections of the political Right, as well as other nationalist/anti-immigrant groups are conflating terrorism and migration:

Simple acts of migration are now often deemed as acts of warfare. This discursive shift has been termed the 'weaponization' of migration- shifting the emphasis from moral obligation to offer hospitality and asylum towards criminalizing or dehumanizing migrants as weapons against purportedly homogeneous and ethno-nationalist bases of national power.

(Graham 2010: XX).

Following this line of argumentation, in Cyprus the logic of the new military urbanism must be located within the context of a system of a multiple 'Cypriot states of exception', generated by the country's peculiar history and long-drawn conflict that has left the country de facto divided.¹ What we map in this project is located within three distinct parallel 'states of exception': within inner Nicosia the division of Cyprus is manifested in the adjacent territories of what is defined as a 'non-border' or a 'soft border' between the territory where the EU *acquis* is fully operational, i.e. the south under the control of the Republic of Cyprus (RoC) and where it is suspended, the Turkish army occupied territories where the break-way and unrecognised Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) claims control. In between the buffer zone, the 'Green Line', is the territories handed to the UN to maintain peace between the two sides after the ceasefire in 1974. There is however an additional state of exception, what we would refer as *the migration state of exception*, a subject we return at the end of this Report. Over the last five years, we can definitely record a new vigour and polarization around the question of migration, multiculturalism and identity in Cyprus and increasingly, the research examines the gendered dimensions are dealt with.² Yet what is alarming is the powerful impetus in various 'popularised' and 'quasi-academic' versions question of securitization, with various former army generals³ and former chiefs of the Police the various forms 'economic necessity' type of arguments are mushrooming lately – many imported from Greece and other EU countries and others 'home-grown'. The question of migration and integration crisis is often coloured as a "crisis of multiculturalism". We can refer to Stuart Hall's "multicultural question" (i.e. different groups living together assimilation or degradation) as "the underlying question of globalisation".⁴

This case study maps out the *dissensus*, as Ranciere would have it, the fundamental disagreement over migration and integration in Cyprus, obfuscated as a 'crisis of multiculturalism': in reality we are dealing with a crisis of citizenship in Europe. Like Huntington's catchy book title, '*Who Are We? The Challenges to America's National Identity*', we record in our fieldwork in Nicosia a very similar approach: those on the anti-immigrant Right (including the neo-Nazis) express an intense feeling of being threatened by the immigration and the need to re-affirm the 'national heritage' of the country, as they see it via drastic anti-immigrant action. If this means coercion, and violence, then so be it. Under logic of a siege mentality the enemy is already in the city; any 'drastic' acts are depicted as either 'self-defence' or 'legitimate reaction/retaliation' for the state's alleged failure to take resolute action to 'secure' the nation's survival. However, there is a new polarization in the public discourse over questions relating to migrants (integration, irregular migration, border control and to some degree racism, discrimination and xenophobia), as there is a radicalisation by new groups consisting of persons who live a multicultural life and claim the right to the city as a matter of fact: they defend their way of living and a public sphere which is very much their everydayness. This consist of two distinct groups:

(a) urban multicultural youths and others; (b) migrants who constitute the majority residents of inner Nicosia.

A turning point was November 2006: Cypriot society was shocked to hear the news of an unprovoked racist attack against Turkish Cypriot students at the prestigious English School of Nicosia by hooded youth holding bats. This was the first organised attack against Turkish Cypriots since the de facto ceasefire brought about by the end of the 1974 war. At the time of the English School attack, the general perception was that this was an isolated incident by a group of brainless youth, condemned by politicians and public persons across the board. It soon emerged however that this attack was only the first in a series of events that would be perpetrated by a newly emerging far right movement, which had laid firm foundations amongst the youth and particularly amongst the student population. In the years that followed, one would see many more racist attacks both within and outside the schools, perpetrated by organised groups of far right youths, targeting Turkish Cypriots and migrants. The election of a left wing pro-reconciliation president in the leadership of the Republic of Cyprus in 2008 created fears amongst the far right elements of the political elite that another plan for the settlement of the Cyprus problem, similar to the Annan plan presented in 2004, would soon be tabled. In order to discredit such a plan and ensure its rejection, a number of political forces amongst the opposition begun to undermine government policies as regards Turkish Cypriots and migrants, using racist populism in order to label these policies as "too soft". The economic crisis raised the unemployment rate amongst the youth to unprecedented levels and produced discontent and frustrations amongst the youth. The populist discourse of the right wing politicians fell on fertile ground and had its impact on the far right groups which felt justified and sufficiently backed to take to the streets and, occasionally, to the schools, recruiting members from amongst the student population.⁵

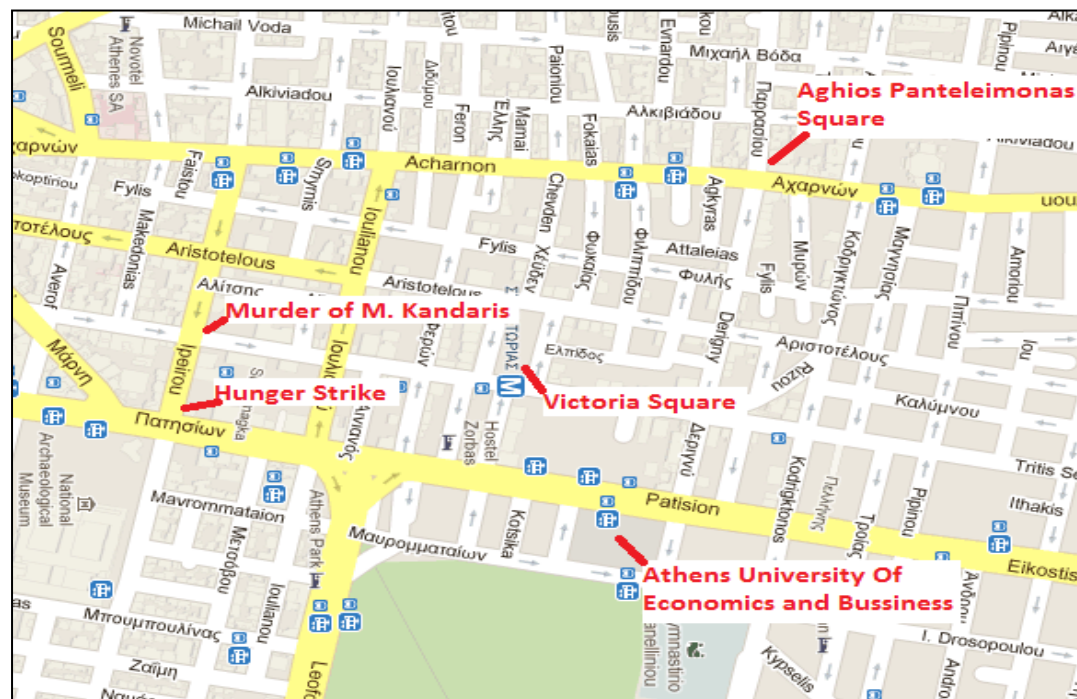
At national level and at the level of media and public discourse, the question of migration/integration is increasingly being interconnected to and conflated with different identity questions and identity politics; hence the link with the multicultural question: what sort of society do we have and what do 'we' want? The key question here is defining who 'We' are. The battle for the heart of the city is what can be termed as 'geocultural contestation' (Wallerstein 2005) and it is played on-line and off-line in an interplay that reproduces digital and non-digital materialities.

1.2. Greece

The Greek study analyses the development of racist conflict in Athens, emphasizing in particular the interconnections between online and offline spaces. Athens is analysed as an urban space that is not determined only by

the practices of its Greek residents, but also by migrant and digital networks that transform it into a transnational space.⁶ On the one hand, this research studies the online discourse of the conflict and the modes of interaction that take place between the opposing groups involved in it. On the other hand, the report identifies how online conflict is conditioned by and, in turn, influences the eruption of racist violence in the Athenian neighborhood of Victoria Square.

Although in the past this area was considered to be an upper or middle class neighborhood, in the 1980s many of its Greek residents began to move towards the suburbs. Since the 1990s, it has come to be populated by several groups of migrants of different nationalities. According to a local estate agent:



'At first, the locals were leaving because they were in a better economic position. Only the elderly stayed. They sold or rented their flats to some Greeks and some foreigners. Today the places that are emptied cannot be re-sold or rented to Greeks. All our transactions are with foreigners. And the number of migrants is rising...Many shops and offices close down too. And no one buys property anymore for commercial usage. Rent prices drop and there is a lot of offer. The owners are now begging the migrants to rent, whereas in the past they just refused to rent to migrants'.

Despite the fact that the abandonment of the local infrastructures (including squares, schools, kindergartens, railway) by the municipality and the state has contributed significantly to these developments, in public discourse it is mainly the presence of migrants that is considered as the principle cause for the downgrading of the area. In particular, the emergence of transit networks of migrants from Afghanistan and Bangladesh on their way to other European

destination is identified as a factor that led to the radical transformation of the area that lost its Greek character middle class character.⁷

In the 2000s, the rise of transit migration and the transformation of many apartments into collective dwellings for transit migrants gave legitimization to the popular discourse of 'gettoization' of the centre of Athens that was first popularized by the free press media and then institutionalized in the discourse of state officials and representatives of the local authorities.⁸ The public squares of the area, which were used by transit migrants as gathering places, became paradigmatic of a perceived 'occupation of public space'. It was in these public spaces that racist conflict began to erupt. Since 2009, the Agios Panteleimonas square was evacuated from the migrants who used it as a meeting place and was occupied by a group of 'concerned citizens' supported by the far right racist group Chrysi Avgi that prohibits all access to the square to those who look like foreigners.⁹ Today these violent groups of the far-right, supported by local youth, are patrolling every night the surrounding area terrorizing and attacking migrants of different nationalities. Especially during the last years with the economic recession, the representations of the center of Athens as being 'invaded' by migrants have come to dominate public debates. Migrants are commonly portrayed as a threat to the security of the Greek Athenian residents and as an obstacle to the economic growth of the city.

1.3. United Kingdom

Contemporary Russian-speaking migration to the UK is a diverse phenomenon in terms of ethnic and social composition. For the purpose of this research ethnic divisions were largely ignored within the diaspora, in order to focus on cross-cultural conflicts involving the Russian speaking post-Soviet diaspora at large: conflicts between this diaspora and migrants of the other origin, and also conflicts between the former and host society. The case study traces axes of tensions relevant to conflicts involving the Russian speaking diaspora in the UK, but also reconciliation and dialogue in these conflicts. According to the WP 10 design the research traces conflicts with elements of violence that are rooted in these tensions. These tensions are related to specific types of space and spheres of life, in order to analyse how migrants engage in cyberconflict (Karatzogianni, 2006), transferring offline violent discourses on to digital migrant networks and vice versa, as well as identifying intercultural conflict and in hybrid-reality environments.

Active migration to the UK from the post-Soviet space started in mid-1990s and has been growing ever since. Settlement visa gradation allows us to discern several categories of migrants: First, there are the so-called 'highly qualified specialists' (HSMP and later Tier 1). They started coming to Britain to work at companies and universities during perestroika: either under

programmes of cooperation between universities and other organisations set up in response to a surge of interest in Russia and recognition of the potential of the Russian market, or due to burgeoning funding difficulties for science in the former Soviet Union. Second, there are the 'marriage migrants'. Marriage-migrants is the fastest-growing category, and is difficult to categorise in terms of the professional characteristics of its members. To some extent the phenomenon of marriage migration is attributable to the impact of the information and communication technologies on social, political and economic life. After all, as stated at the Oxford Internet Institute's convention in autumn 2009, six percent of marriages in Britain today are the result of couples who met online (Dutton *et al.* 2009). The third major category of Post-soviet migrants is Russian-speaking citizens of European Union countries (Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania). These people are frequently working students or young, qualified specialists in blue-collar jobs.

The above categories undoubtedly account for the majority of Russian-speaking residents of the United Kingdom. However, the word 'Russians' in Britain is often prefixed with the qualifier 'rich'. A small but influential group of very successful businessmen and public figures according to their visa status shall be called here either asylum seekers or business (investor) visa holders (for more details Morgunova, 2009).

Further, in terms of gender issues, this research confirmed the existence of a 'hidden majority' (Morgunova, 2010) – Russian speaking female migrants. Most marriage migrants in Britain are women. Another significant share of women coming to Britain from Russia consists of HSMP specialists' family members. The majority of female Russian migrants are educated to a university degree. Female post-Soviet migrants face common problems. Brought to the country by family circumstances after breaking off careers in Russia or other post-Soviet countries, and often lacking the qualifications or linguistic knowledge they need at the new place of residence, these women experience significant difficulties in finding work, achieving professional success, and attaining financial independence in Britain. However, the female migrants are especially active socially and they have set up a large number of Russian schools, clubs, conversation groups and libraries. The social and cultural dimension of the communities is largely defined by their activities: female immigrants work at Russian-language newspapers, participate in internet forums, and attend shows by Russian performers. It is the Russian-speaking women in Britain who promote cultural continuity and the use of their native language in migrants' families.

On the community aspect, it has to be noted that in the last two years the number of organisations, created by Russian-speaking residents of Britain has experienced a dynamic growth. Educated women – that same 'hidden majority' of Russian-speaking residents of Britain – are the most involved in these organisations on-line and off-line. The emerging community organisations include regional associations, such as the Scotland-Russia Forum and the Russian Culture Association for North-East England; self-help

groups, professional associations, such as Russians in the City; special-interest groups, including, for example, the London Intellectual Games Club; virtual associations whose activities have spilled over into the offline world, such as RuPoint and Doska; and umbrella organisations, such as the recently-established British Coordinating Council for Russian Nationals. The growth of community organisations coincided with a new proactive Russian policy to promote links with Russians living abroad and a number of recent articles investigate possible implications of such policies (for example, Byford, 2012).

2. Methodology: Mapping the Intercultural Conflict in Migrant and Digital Migrant Networks in Cyprus, Greece and the UK

2.1. Cyprus – Methodology: Mapping Nicosia - A cultural battlespace and medium of cultural warfare

This case study unpacks the dynamics interwoven of the so-called intercultural conflicts and their resolutions in on-line and off-line settings in Nicosia. The case study examines specific areas in and around the walled city of (inner) Nicosia, the capital of Cyprus, which is the area where many migrant communities as well as Cypriots inhabit and frequent. Nicosia is frequently cited as the 'last divided city', with the two Cypriot communities living on either side of the barbed wire. However, this ignores the most excluded 'Others' of migrants: ethnic and racialised divisions and conflicts exist within the respective territories as ethnicity and migration are key factors in the formation of cityscapes as a specific and historical variation which very much part and parcel of global phenomena.

Our fieldwork covered four interconnected 'spaces' of inner Nicosia¹⁰ include the following:

- Mapping the conflict terrain on web which locates the interplay between on-line and off-line over the 'heart and soul' of Nicosia.
- Mapping inner city from *Faneromeni square* to the territory neighboring the 'Green line', which is an extension of the commercial *Ledra and Onasagorou streets*. Around the corner there is the second area we will be monitoring, the *Trikoupi street*, which is the most multi-ethnic and multi-cultural streets in Nicosia but has received negative media coverage as becoming an 'ethnic enclave'. There are many small shops, which sell food products from different countries, such as halal meat and spices. The *Faneromeni square* has been depicted by the mainstream, conservative and far right media as a highly contested zone- it is a zone for 'cyber-cultural wars': it is the square which

migrants, anti-racists, anarchists and far right groups claim as 'their territory', as it is the square next to historic church, the primary school with the most multicultural population in Nicosia.

- The third area of study is the contested buffer zone: we are mapping here a terrain of struggles over claims to the 'right to the city' by studying the mobilizations and contestations of 'Occupy the Buffer Zone' (OBZ).
- Not far from Faneromeni square the final connecting areas are frequented by migrants, mostly female migrants and extends from the *Solomou square bus stop* and the area nearby used mostly by migrant women as their meeting place. We have focused on two municipal gardens: the CYTA park, which is known to local migrants as 'the Sri Lankan park' and the park by Venetian walls, known as to local migrants as the 'Filipino park'. [*Migrant parks, gendered spaces*]

Different migrant communities inhabit and frequent the area: south east Asians (Filipinos, Sri Lankans, Indians, Chinese), Pontiac Greeks and eastern Europeans. There are also Greek-Cypriots who live in the area as well as trendy Europeans and Brits, who enjoy the multicultural vibrancy of the area. The ethnic demography of Cyprus is subject to a changing population dynamic precipitated by both EU and Third countries in-migration. The spatial mapping of ethnic groups within the city, but it is not sufficient as an indicator of ethno-urban demarcations. The lack of systematic studies on patterns of residency is therefore a major limitation to understanding the dynamic formation of an inclusive/exclusive Cypriot urban public. Another limitation derives from the use of urban space as to publicly available leisure zones, e.g. parks, beaches, town squares etc.

Inner Nicosia is a contested digital and geographical space. There are regular media reports distorting/exaggerating and amplifying incidents whereby the inner city is depicted as being 'unsafe', 'dangerous', a 'threat to public order', whilst other reports claim that Greek-Cypriots are abandoning the area because it is 'filthy' and 'full of smelly migrants'. Lately there have been numerous reports of racist attacks on migrants by extreme right-wing groups. There have been fights between different groups in Faneromeni, which prompted the most popular newspaper to claim that 'Faneromni is becoming Exarhia'.¹¹ The conflict is also digital and there is a contest between the different blogs. The radical blogs refer to the need to defend the multicultural and libertarian spirit of inner Nicosia, whilst the extreme right speak of 'cleansing' the area from migrants and anarchists.

There is no formal mechanism for dialogue, but there are some attempts by the municipal authorities and some locals who want to avoid the polarization to clam maters. The Cypriot police has pursued the radicals as 'anarchists' and 'trouble-makers'; yet the extreme right groups also complain about the police. So far there has been no arrest of any of the members of these violent extreme right groups or closing down of blogs, despite their inciting racial hatred.

The contestation is escalating via the Internet amongst anti-racist groups, small centres and NGOs. There is a new vigour in extreme right wing blogs and Facebook pages, which have recently appeared on-line, as well as a number of anti-racist initiatives many of which are on-line. This case study analyzes the context, content and discourses both on- and off- line of web spaces and will conduct a study based on ethnographic observation and participant observation of the various actions and contestations, as well as dialogue efforts made.



Fig. 1 Map of Nicosia, divided Capital of Cyprus



Fig. 2 A common site barrels dividing the city



Fig. 3 Arabic unisex hairdresser next to (Orthodox Christian) Theologians' Brotherhood in *Trikoupi street*



Fig. 4 A store catering for migrants in Trikoupí street



Fig. 5 Image of Faneromeni Square



Fig. 6 Another image of Faneromeni square



Fig. 7 Municipal Garden, (Sri Lanka park) and slogans II



Fig. 8 Slogan war. ELAM (fascist party name) converted into GELAME (we laugh). "Fucking society wake up" says above.

2.2. Greece: Methodology and Sampling of Racist and Anti-Racists Sites

We have chosen to study this conflict from a perspective that emphasizes the intricate interconnections between on- and offline practices. In this sense we have selected six different webpages. Three of these were selected as representative of anti-migrant and three as representative of anti-racist on-line communities (see below). Apart from that we have made two different profiles on Facebook trying to get in contact with anti-migrant and anti-racist users and groups alike. Moreover, we have conducted field research in the neighborhoods in the center of Athens (identified in detail in introduction to the Greek study above). We have spoken to shop owners and inhabitants of these areas migrants and locals, men and women. In particular, we have conducted participant observation, 13 in-depth semi-structured interviews with Greek and 12 with migrant men and women who either live or work in the area.

2.2.1. List of sites and online sites

Anti-racist web-sites

1. TVXSS (<http://tvxs.gr/news/all>)
2. Athens Indymedia (<http://athens.indymedia.org/>)
3. Anti-racist Facebook Pages:

Racist web-pages

1. Stochos (<http://www.stoxos.gr/>)
2. Greek Alert (<http://www.greekalert.com/>)
3. Racist Facebook pages

2.3. United Kingdom: Methodology and Description of online and offline data sampling of Russian Populations and digital networks in the UK

As stated in the research design document, a combination of virtuality and reality is at heart of the research approach. Offline communications are seen as an essential source of data, as well as the environment in which the conflict unrolls and reconciliation is sought. Importantly, Internet communications of migrants are seen as an agency, empowering the divisions and/or the dialogue. Conflicts involving Russian migrants are latent and do not make headlines but become especially prominent and emphasised when migrants settle and naturalise. Interestingly, radical opinions, strategies and actions in this conflict are more actively expressed online, rather than offline.

Thus imagined or real disjunctions, expressed on-line, have a potential to be radicalised under the influence of external (offline) circumstances. But the online communications also influence migrants' political allegiances and the process of integration. The case study was largely constructed on the online sources, described below. Due to the differences in the nature and purpose of these mass media, sampling decisions were different for each of them, but the focus was kept on the main concepts agreed between partners in the WP10 package.

2.3.1. Bratok

*Bratok (Rupoint, Rutalk)*¹² – the most influential Russian-language Forum in Britain, created in 2002. The site is post-moderated. Despite the fact that the site has been sold at least once, it is still moderated by the same group of people. The Rutalk is an extensive source with a comprehensive coverage of various aspects of life. It covers such distant topics as drinks and parties, personal finances, political discussions, news of cultural life, cars, estate and property, employment issues, immigration advice, education for adults and kids, health, travel, sport, hobbies (such as, for example, foodies' club), discussions aimed at participants of specific age (e.g. after 50 or teenagers). There are also gendered discussions ("woman's corner"). Many of offline respondents named Bratok/Rutalk their first point of advice and reference.

In total, the archive contains more than 109,000 threads and 2.7 million messages. In order to narrow the focus of the web-site analyses, the researcher limited the corpus to two the most relevant and popular sub-forums: sub-forum 'Political life', where participants discuss political news and developments in the native countries, in Britain and in the world, and sub-forum 'Rasgovorchiki' ('informal conversations') where participants exchange opinions on their everyday life in Britain and generalise their observations.

Working with the texts and messages posted to the subforum the research fellow used a technique developed and tested in earlier research (Morgunova, 2006). First, a compilation of the list of words that categorise the key concepts (for the cross-cultural conflict and dialogue WP the list comprised the following *culture, conflict, national, migration*) and searched the site for the above notions. Then, discussions where the notions were used were identified and a number of them read. Then, extended the list of key-words to use in the next search (for example at this stage the following words were added – civilisation, racism, Britons, urban etc). After the second search the most popular selected (in terms of number of readers) and populated (number of replies) threads. They were then read through and discarded accidental ones (where for example the word 'conflict' did not have any cross-cultural relevance). The data was analysed in terms of axes of tension involving migrants and their system of 'othering'. Us vs. Them dilemmas were categorised as negative/positive and external/internal dichotomies, forming at

the same time a complex system of migrants' belonging. Moreover, this is a significant element consistent with the cyberconflict theory model and empirically resonates with previous research by Karatzogianni (2006) to examine groups engaged in conflict in digital environments.

The interface of the web-forum was limited to verbal means of expression only, but messages were often linked to a number of external media sources, avatars and nicks can be also seen as an additional source of data. These were used as a supplemented source of data in the study.

2.3.2. The London Moscow Blog

*The 'London Moscow' blog*¹³ lives' at platform Lifejournal, the most popular among Russian bloggers abroad. The blog was created by a London-based professional Konstantin Pinaev in 2007. The blog has a subtitle 'notes of an émigré'. It is scored 63rd in the popularity chart in the whole Runet – Russian language Internet globally. Sometimes there are up to 1,000 comments per post. Pinaev is a Moscow University graduate (year 1999) and works in marketing in London. The political stance of the blogger is visually articulated by the use of M. Khodorkovsky¹⁴, former oligarch, now a political prisoner, behind bars image as the avatar. As becomes clear from the title of the blog, London embodies the whole UK for the blogger, and the space of this city (places, people, events, problems, relationships) becomes the main object of his examination. This combination of virtual, mental (ideological and emotional) and physical mapping of the city makes this blog especially interesting for the study.

The corpus search described above was impossible due to technological differences between blogs and forums. The blog is well illustrated. The decision was made to use the findings of the web-forum Rutalk (such as identified axes of tensions) to further the analyses. The blog was read at length and relevant discussions were marked and analysed.

2.3.3. Migrant Voice

Migrant Voice – a network, newspaper and web-portal – was created in 2010 with a mission statement 'presenting alternative position on migration'. It aims at bridging the gap between the locals and the migrants: 'We share the same space in cities, we meet everyday' – says Maurice Wren, the director of Asylum Aid NGO in his interview to the website.¹⁵

The Migrant Voice initiative innovatively goes through the ethnic divides among migrants; it does not distinguish between privileged and struggling migrants' and include in the notion of a migrant for example pop stars as the

singer Madonna, who indeed says that she migrated to Britain and now feels that she lives here.¹⁶ At the same time the medium argues that questions of poverty and crime are not to be associated exclusively with migrants. The mission statement encourages proactive participation in civic and political life of the country:

Migrant Voice will transform how migrants are seen and heard in the media: from passive, disempowered and marginalised victims, to makers of their own media content. It will mobilise migrants who are concerned about the way their communities are portrayed by the media to engage in positively influencing the immigration debate and changing public attitude.¹⁷

The home page provides a digest of materials collected by contributors-volunteers the MV and the list of most popular contributions. Some contributions are authored, some – anonymous, but they are mostly commissioned by the website rather than taken from external sources. The site marks integrational/domestic information with the array of interviews with migrants in the main window (it uses flash technology to keep attention on the domestic news). International dimension is expressed in the news feed. Female participation is strong, with the director of the organisation being a woman of Asian origin. There are no specific thematic sections for women, but the site uses a great number of female images, stories about woman, materials written by women themselves.

The examination was based on the framework established for the other web sources, with a specific focus on inclusion/exclusion of East-European and Russian migrants (racially white) in the discourse and on participation of new (A8) migrants in the network. Elements of visual discourse analyses were employed as well as critical discourse analyses of texts.

2.3.4. Migration Watch UK

Migration Watch UK was created in 2008 and it is an independent think-tank lobbying reduction of migration and changes in settlement policies. Migration Watch UK web-site calls for so called 'balanced migration', commission research, comment on official statement and work with media. The research published on the website was read at length to apprehend the changes in migration policies, designed by the current UK government.

2.3.5. Offline research

Online data was expanded and verified by the off-line study. Visits to off-line events in London, Edinburgh and Glasgow, note taking, formal semi-structured interviews with migrants were conducted. The respondents were often approached through both on-line networks and off-line contacts. As the

research population cannot be verified by census data, every effort was made to ensure diversity of the sample within the limit of the focus of the examination. It proves very difficult to separate data sourced online and offline. For example, the researcher got in touch on-line with one of the respondents - Xenia Bobkova, the lawyer who organised a private on-line club 'Russians in the City' with 2000 members. The interview with her was conducted via Skype, but she agreed to make the researcher a temporary member (because neither job, or social standing or occupation would allow the researcher's membership otherwise). The researcher participated in the club's offline meetings, where they got in touch with other club members and met Xenia in person. The temporary membership allowed receiving club's newsletters. They were also examined and in one of the newsletters with Xenia's permission a survey was posted in an on-line form.

There were no formal focus groups organised during the MIGNET project, but the researcher took part in two formal round tables relevant to the research agenda. During the events there was opportunity to channel the discussions, ask questions during the discussion, and record them. Two informal group discussions were conducted, where only note taking was exercised.

3. Political Context, Ethnonationalist Discourse and Ideology for the Three Case Studies

3.1. Cyprus: Public discourses, Anti-immigration and the far-right agenda: A nazification process via the Media?

On June 19th the public in Cyprus had the chance to watch a political telecast on Sigma Channel.¹⁸ The subtitle written as the telecast's caption was: 'The action of ELAM in Cyprus. Apart from the ELAM leader, the invited panel consisted of members of AKEL,¹⁹ DHSI,²⁰ the leading members of KISA,²¹ a former member of the European Parliament and a well-known academic and sociologist. What is remarkable regarding the discussion is that a debate concerning an emerging radical right-wing trend reflected on the action of ELAM, developed round two basic axes:

- (a) migration
- (b) identity issues and specifically the relation between Cyprus and motherland Greece



The terms used in order to describe things and certain situations are not neutral. In contrast they signify, color, or highlight views and approaches or even ideologies.²² This is why dealing with public discourse in online and offline practices plays a valuable role. Regarding the case of the above mentioned tele-discussion, it is important to note some interesting aspects that reveal the public discourse constructed on camera in order to understand how it is also spread in off-camera perceptions.

The ELAM cadres tend to present themselves as ardent Greek nationalists and patriots in the Cypriot context, as they import in copy-paste fashion the key ideological elements found in the political discourse of the corresponding neo-Nazi party in Greece. ELAM adopts a vocabulary developed by 'nationalists' in Greece, especially after the electoral success in the Greek national elections of May and July of Chrysi Avgi.²³ This political grouping, which had been receiving 0.01 in the election won twice in one month 7% of the vote and significantly higher in the urban centres. From all the far right groupings in Europe Chrysi Avgi is the one which most closely and unashamedly identifies itself with German Nazi party and Adolf Hitler. Chrysi Avgi does not hesitate to use violence even in the public eye. The first political party to fully condone and congratulate the thuggish attack in the public eye was ELAM. The incident, when one of the Chrysi Avgi Parliamentarians and spokesman assaulted on television two women panelists from the Left-wing parties, caused a media frenzy in the Greek public sphere.

ELAM's discourse is based on the complete polarisation they are trying to generate: 'ELAM is alone against all the others'. In that way it succeeds to develop a certain identity and therefore a role within the official political scene being at the same time the pure 'antisystemic force': Its leader stated, when invited member in the tele-debate: 'I'm glad that some refused to be here today, because of my presence. I'm happy that the political parties that degenerated Hellenism both in Greece and Cyprus, those 'kings of corruption', refused to come and discuss with me tonight'.

The party utilizes the nationalist discourses in the typical manner other neo-Nazi groups are doing, i.e. claiming 'rights for whites' (as the British BNP or

claiming that Greek-Cypriot are the victims of racism by the foreigners who have colonized the Republic of Cyprus effort to return antiracists arguments as boomerangs. The official website of the party states: 'Racism exists against the Greek Cypriots, whose jobs are being taken by the illegal immigrants and by the Turkish "Cypriots", who take advantage of state services (hospitals, schools) and ghettoise our neighbourhoods'. 24

The effort construct the identity of the 'antisystemic victim' par excellence and therefore define the 'real enemy', they highlight:

- (a) The mass media fight against us. They do not give us the chance to express ourselves.
- (b) Police cannot control all areas and prevent criminals (immigrants) from killing, stealing etc. Therefore our duty is to take the law in our hands.
- (c) Whoever loves his land, fights for his nation and wants a better future for his children is a nationalist. And that's a title of honour. If you call that a fascist, I do not care.
- (d) All ruling parties, all parties are the same.
- (e) We respect democracy. This is why we take part in the national elections"

The above points construct the profile and the general axes of the nationalist discourse. These aspects are being further analysed in certain arguments referring to the above-mentioned two big units: migration and national identity. At that point let us note that such a discourse does not only refer to the radical right-wingers but it is also even partially adopted by a large range of the dominant bourgeois political scene. This could perhaps be characterised as the most crucial change in the public discourse; the emerging fascist and racist organisations managed to shift the central axis of the dominant discourse to nationalist and racist ideas. For instance, the immigration policy referring to 'immigrant concentration camps' and to 'border control' is a policy adopted by the larger range of bourgeois parties of power being at the same time supported by a broader number of people in Greek and Cypriot society.

Αποτρόπαιη δολοφονική επίθεση μέρα μεσημέρι από αφρικανούς
λαθρομετανάστες σε τυφλή γυναίκα!



Πολλοί ισχυρίζονται πως η κοινωνία μας έχει καταντήσει ζούγκλα. Το ίδιο κι εγώ. Κάναμε όμως λάθος! Γιατί και στη ζούγκλα υπάρχουν κάποιοι κανόνες ενώ στην κοινωνία μας όχι!

ΠΕΜΠΤΗ, 29 ΜΑΡΤΙΟΥ 2012



ΑΡΧΕΙΟΘΗΚΗ ΙΣΤΟΛΟΓΙΟΥ

▼ 2012 (1)

▼ Μάρτιος (1)

Πρόκειται όπως αναφέρεται και στον τίτλο του ιστ...

ΓΙΑ ΜΕΝΑ



Babis Potzidis

Προβολή πλήρους προφίλ

Πρόκειται όπως αναφέρεται και στον τίτλο του ιστολογίου, για την ανέγερση του παλαιού Γυμναστικού Συλλόγου "Τα Παγκύπρια" (Γ.Π.Σ.). Τη μελέτη του project ανέλαβαν οι αρχιτέκτονες Γιάννης Κίζης, Κωσταντής Κίζης, Θύμης Δούγκας και Γρηγόρης Παταλοσασβής, με την πολύτιμη βοήθεια ομάδας συνεργατών σε όλους τους επιμέρους τομείς που συνέβαλλαν στην βέλτιστη απόδοση της ιδέας.

With reference to migration, quoting again the invited discussant of ELAM 'Cypriots suffer and you (members of the NGO KISA) are supporting the immigrants. We create social solidarity networks in order to find jobs to our compatriots'. In such a discourse immigrant becomes a synonym for 'thief', 'killer', 'illegal', 'criminal' and therefore ELAM is absolutely legitimised to 'clean the country'. The official website of the organisation is full of articles about immigrants' illegal action that create insecurity and panic because of the

Κάντε κλικ στην εικόνα για περισσότερες πληροφορίες ...

Τρίτη, 12 Ιουνίου 2012

Άγριες συμπλοκές συμπατριωτών μας με αλλοδαπούς στον Στροβόλο (BINTEO)



Την περασμένη Παρασκευή είχαμε σε μία γειτονιά του Στροβόλου, άγριες συμπλοκές μεταξύ κατοίκων της περιοχής, και αλλοδαπών που έχουν κατακλύσει την περιοχή το τελευταίο διάστημα.

presence of immigrants in the cities.

The nationalist discourse that equates immigrants with criminality is not only expressed by declared members of far right-wing organisations. It is important to examine how deeply rooted are such discourses in broader on-line and off-line practices. For instance, the 're-inhabitation' of the Old City and the 'regeneration programs' are becoming contemporary demands in order to 'get the city back' (from the immigrants or the poor who used to live in former abandoned places because of the low value of land).

On the offline level, while interviewing some shop-owners in the Old City of Nicosia, they kept on claiming that 'before I opened my shop here, there was nothing around. Just ruins and some shops of "foreigners". I gave life to the place. People come and visit the Old City after that and are no longer afraid'.(shop-owner My Shop/ Old City)

Coming to the next aspect regarding national identity let us at first quote what the above mentioned shop-owners replied when asked about the main problem in the Cypriot society according to her point of view:

You have to decide firstly who you are. Cypriots do not know who they are. Are they Greeks, are they Cypriots, are they Turks, what are they? They call themselves Greeks. But they are not Greeks, they are Cypriots. Irish or Scottish people know who they are. They don't want to have anything to do with England. When Cypriots start saying I'm Cypriot, then they 'll start solving the problem.



During the telecast a member of the Greek Chrysi Avgi asked for an intervention. He referred to the member of 'sister party' ELAM, greeting him and saying: 'fight for your faith to Jesus Christ and for our nation's freedom'. Religion and nation were the two points used in his greetings showing to the invited panelists that nationalists are those who fight for ideals and value systems such as 'homeland' and 'God' both in Cyprus and Greece.

Though, the above mentioned incident was actually expected as long as this is the dominant nationalist discourse's vocabulary. Shortly the points that compose such a vocabulary, coming of the tele-debate, too, are:

- (a) racial purity
- (b) tight relation with 'motherland' Greece
- (c) religion
- (d) monopolising faith to the nation and homeland
- (e) irredentism.

Furthermore, what is truly crucial to mention is how such a discourse influenced the panel as a whole as well as some viewers who called and asked for an intervention. The following references show the way on-line and off-line or else bottom-up and top-down practices constitutes dialectical whole within virtual and physical publics:

I'm not a member of ELAM. I have nothing to do with ELAM. But I don't support that nationalism is a bad word. Loving your nation cannot be a bad word [...] I want to preserve my hellenic identity. I cannot be characterised as being bad. These things have lead to the rising of ELAM. (former Independent/ Member of the European Parliament).

Of course I'm worried and bothered about the big number of Chrysi Avgi in the Greek elections. For me Cyprus and Greece are one, therefore I'm worried about Chrysi Augi. [...] References to the nation cannot be monopolised! (DHSY)

I know what NGO's like KISA are doing. They gather illegals from the streets and give them all papers needed (viewer).

3.2. Greece: Political Context, Ethnonationalist Discourse and Ideology

After the fall of the dictatorship in Greece, the dominant discourse and politics gradually moved towards the delegitimization of far right-wing political forces. This shift, which was reinforced after the election of the socialist government in 1981, built the ground for a consensus over the respect of political and social rights. In this political context, far right-wing and racist claims and beliefs lost their appeal and were mostly marginalized in public debates. Since 2004, the rise of the far-right wing political party LAOS brought back into public discourse racist claims.²⁵ In addition, especially after the eruption of the December 2008 revolts,²⁶ migrant struggles became much more integrated into broader social movements. The polarization over migration and racism was intensified after the eruption of the economic crisis in 2009. In particular, the neo Nazi group Chrysi Avgi became active after 2008 in targeting and violently attacking migrants and providing social support to citizens in need in specific degraded areas.

3.2.1. Ethnonationalist discourse and ideology

Ethnonationalist discourse in Greece was prior to the 1990s mostly focused on Greek emigration, which was the dominant trend for the greatest part of Greek history. Since the 1990s, however, immigration became an important issue in public debates. More specifically, Albanian migrant criminals became the primary targets of popular insecurity and xenophobia, which was widespread in the mainstream press²⁷ and Greek police circles.²⁸ By the beginning of the 2000s, however, we notice a clear shift: xenophobic and racist discourse targeting Balkan immigrants loses its legitimacy. In most of the mainstream press, issues related to regularization policies are dominant, while migrant criminality remains in the agenda only in the right wing press²⁹ and in the alternative far right-wing TV channels. This shift in the dominant discourse is linked on the one hand, to the implementation of the ad hoc regularization programs and on the other hand, to the rise of LAOS. At the same time, a new media racist rhetoric emerges that targets mainly Asian and African migrants. This spreads and gains popularity rapidly mainly through the development of digital networks that mark the resurgence of a new type of biologism, in which racial and cultural/religious difference are considered as (naturally) incompatible with Greek culture and impossible to assimilate or integrate.³⁰

Despite these transformations, however, there are also continuities in ethnonationalist discourse. In contrast to racist discourse in other European contexts, in Greece racist discourse is attached first and foremost to criminality.

ΛΥΣΤΕ ΤΑ ΧΕΡΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΑΣΤΥΝΟΜΙΑΣ. Η ΕΓΚΛΗΜΑΤΙΚΟΤΗΤΑ ΧΤΗΠΗΣΣ ΚΟΚΚΙΝΟ.

Σφάζουν και πωλούν σκύλους στο κέντρο της Αθήνας.

Πληθώρα καταγγελιών φθάνει στα γραφεία της Ελληνικής Φιλοζωικής Εταιρείας για την εγκληματική συμπεριφορά αλλοδαπών Ασιατών, που έχει σχέση με τη βρώση σκύλων και γατιών.

Συγκεκριμένα, επώνυμες καταγγελίες για την απίστευτη εικόνα που βίωσαν Έλληνες πολίτες, βλέποντας κρεμασμένα ανάποδα σκοτωμένα σκυλιά προς πώληση στην οδό Αγησιλάου στο κέντρο ...

[See more](#)



Wall Photos

« VIDEO: Παράλιγο να τινάξει τα μασα του στον αέρα!

ΔΕΙΤΕ: Έστειλε χαιρετισμούς με τους γλουτούς της!!! »

ΣΟΚ ΣΤΗΝ ΑΡΤΑ: Βιασμός ανήλικης από τέσσερα αλλοδαπά κήνη, μέσα στο σπίτι της!

October 8, 2011 | Υπεύθυνος ierosagon



Η πολυπολιτισμικότητα επελαύνει, με την κοινωνία να παρακολουθεί σοκαρισμένη τα φοβερά εγκλήματα των αλλοδαπών.

Θύμα αυτή τη φορά της πολυπολιτισμικότητας, μια ανήλικη κοπέλα στην Αρτα.

Τέσσερις κακοποιοί, αλλοδαποί όπως ... επισημαίνει το ρεπορτάζ, εισήλθαν στο σπίτι της μικρής από ανασφάλιστη πόρτα, ξυλοκόπησαν άγρια τον πατέρα της και βίασαν μπροστά του την κόρη του κατ' εξακολούθηση.

Φεύγοντας, απέσπασαν αντικείμενα, ποτά και τρόφιμα και μερικές δεκάδες ευρώ. Αυτό έγινε λίγο πριν τα μεσάνυχτα της περασμένης Πέμπτης, ενώ και τα δύο θύματα νοσηλεύονται στο νοσοκομείο. Την ίδια ώρα, κανείς αρμόδιος δεν δείχνει να συγκινείται από τα συνεχή κρούσματα βιασμών κατά Ελληνίδων και μάλιστα μέσα στα σπίτια τους.

Και μια τελευταία πληροφορία: ο κ. Παπουτσής μείωσε την επάνδρωση στα σύνορα με την Αλβανία, λόγω της κατάρρευσης της βίβας, σε μια κίνηση που αναδεικνύει την πολιτική αφέλεια του ΠΑΣΟΚ. Φαίνεται, ότι ο κ. Παπουτσής δεν διαβάζει το αστυνομικό δελτίο που του βάζουν κάθε πρωί πάνω στο γραφείο του... Την ίδια ώρα, η (η εισαγόμενη εξ Αλβανίας κυρίως) εγκληματικότητα στην Ήπειρο, «θερίζει». Και οι δράστες, γυρίζουν αμέριμνοι αυθημερόν στην Αλβανία, αφού έχουν τελειώσει εδώ το πολυπολιτισμικό έργο τους. Το ΠΑΣΟΚ, έχει καταστήσει σε δευτερεύουσα υπόθεση την ασφάλεια του Έλληνα πολίτη.

elkosmos

Αν σας άρεσε το θέμα κάντε ένα "Like" και κοινοποιήστε το στους Φίλους σας...!

Like Eirini Lentzou and 10,866 others like this.

ροτείνουμε...

νίβαλοι στην Ταϊλάνδη γείρεύουν άνθρωπο καριστικές εικόνες στήρα άνω των 18)

In racist online postings, the answer to this question is clear: nature and culture are indistinguishable. Migrants are revealed as inhuman, savage and animal-like creatures. One of the most popular themes that circulate in these media is the revelation of the dog-eating habits of Asian migrants. The excerpt states that Asian foreigners slaughter and sell pets systematically. These claims are substantiated by the eponymous testimonies of Greek

citizens who have allegedly experienced the savage spectacle of slaughtered dogs being sold for food in the centre of Athens.

Another repetitive theme that appears in several online postings is that of the monstrous and violent sexual habits of migrants. Most of the posts in this category reveal the uncivilized violent sexual behavior of Asian and African migrants. The revelation of the inhuman treatment of women, children and men unmasks their animality, positioning them in the field of the 'uncivilized savage'. In most cases, the usage of sexual violence is described as a common practice revealing the inherent cultural incompatibility between Greek and migrant norms. The 'multiculturalist' mingling of Greek and foreign population is presented as dangerous and destructive.

Overall, the dissemination of these seemingly a-political everyday stories in new media (blogs and Facebook mostly) creates commonalities and affinities between users across the political spectrum. What unites these diverse users is not a common political identity or ideology, but rather a virtual agreement with short apocalyptic phrases that prove that migration is inextricably linked to the rise of criminality.

3.3. UK: Political Context, Ethnonationalist Discourse and Ideology among Russian-speaking migrants in the UK

3.3.1. Political Context

The Mignet project coincided with some political events and social unrest both in Britain and in Russia, all of which had an impact on online and offline debates within the Post-Soviet migrant circles. Alleged mass falsifications of two elections in Russia together with anti-corruption scandals became central to the debates in the diaspora. For more than a decade, Russian politics have been dominated by Mr. Putin, who was elected president in 2000, consolidated control over almost every aspect of life in Russia and marginalized any signs of opposition. He remained president until 2008, when he had to step down because the Russian constitution limits a president to two consecutive terms. In November 2011, Putin 'accepted' his party nomination to stand presidential elections in 2012. This decision was subjected to intense discussions online both in the mainland Russia and in the Internet of the diaspora. In early December during the parliamentary elections, Putin's United Russia Party barely reached a 50 percent majority, while three opposition parties made steep gains. The parliamentary elections were dismissed by the Internet audience as fraudulent and were followed by a series of street protests. Russian migrants in Britain took part in these protests, and the majority of British cities saw some form of protests organised by Russian Britons, ranging from mass manifestations (London) to a one-person event. Before and after Putin's elections there were also mass

manifestations suggesting him to step down, and intense mediated debates and exchange of compromising records³¹ after the elections.

The project also coincided with the growth of anti-migration moods in the UK and the change of immigration policies. It has been stated in the Policy Analyses deliverable (August 2010) that by that time Britain experienced the biggest migration wave from the A8 countries, complemented by the controlled inflow of immigrants. Economic crisis and steep recession in Britain provoked a wave of public campaigns claiming that migrants abuse the national social services and push out local population from the jobs (see Migration Watch UK). The economic benefits not evident for local population and the sheer number of migrants created a social strain, which was widely used by different parties during the election campaign in 2010 (Goodhart, 2010). In August 2011 Britain saw an unprecedented week of looting and vandalism, which heated up anti-migrant campaign. The situation coincided with the growing economic crisis, and immigration was declared unmanaged and unmanageable. The geography of conservative 'wins' in May 2010 elections matched the map of anti-migration attitudes. Post-Soviet migration has been termed 'Russian invasion' by some media and policy actors. However, current policy restrictions are not tailored specifically against Russian migration, which occupies the most secure niches as marriage migrants and highly skilled migrants. Nevertheless, in some cases Russian HSMP migrants were recently subjected to new policy proposals that might deprive them of the right to settle even when they are fully employed, while temporary migrants have been incriminated in decaying the job market situation.

The recent years saw high activity of organisations demanding to stop migration onto Britain using a wide range of arguments from rationalisation of proposed measures to comments bordering racism. None of anti-migrant organisations narrow their attention to solemnly Russian speaking migration. Due to a number of reasons, post-Soviet migrants in Britain are not much involved in the counter debates, but rather voice online and offline their solidarity with moderate reduction of immigration flows into Britain. Russian-speaking migrants often tend to share negative attitude to migration, but exempt themselves from the picture. For example, when a family of asylum seekers from Russia committed a collective suicide, Russian language media and blogs focus their discussions on how unusual it is in general to be a Russian asylum seeker (and even suspected some criminal connections), instead of joining the debates about pitfalls of asylum legislation in Britain. At the same time, when anti-migration discourse moves into the area of contemporary labour market situation, various Russian migrants' online media sources condemn these anti-migrant organisations and their programme.

Both on-line and off-line research for the WP10 allowed identifying the following axes of tension relevant to the Russian speaking diaspora in the UK:

- Russian-speaking migrants and British anti-migration organisations

-Russian-speaking diaspora and Putin's government policies

-Russian speaking migrants and migrants of 'other' origins

According to the WP design the purpose of the research was to trace conflicts with element of violence that are rooted in these tensions; connect these tensions with specific types of space and sphere of life; and to analyse how migrants voice their problems in mediated discourses.

3.3.2. Ethno-nationalist Discourse and Ideology: Russian speaking migrants and migrants of "other" origins

Consistent with previous research on ethnoreligious and cultural cyberconflicts -- such as between Israeli-Palestinian, Indian-Pakistani, American-Chinese groups, the Iraq war related and the anti-Islamic-pro-Islamic cyberconflicts, as well as the Estonian-Russian and S.Ossetia-Georgia ones, and others (Karatzogianni, 2006; 2009; 2012a) -- there is a strong Us-Them opposition adhering to hierarchical, closed and fixed identities with explicit racial, ethnic and nationalist discourses.

Russian migrants tend to self-separate from migrants of the other origin as their main 'Other'. Discourse analyses of web-forums and comments to YouTube films demonstrate that Russian speakers living in Britain categorise migrants from the third world as not simply the Other but the Negative External Other: such migrants are often depicted as morally and intellectually inferior. For example, when online personalities reflected on lootings in London in August 2011, there was little compassion to the victims (eastern shopkeepers) and 'non-European' migrants were blamed in the riots, while Russians *a priori* and explicitly distanced themselves from the events.

Further details of the conversation 'London lootings: live coverage' is analysed below, which became the most active thread in 2011 in the Rutalk. On the 8th of August 2011 a participant called Lucky77 posted a link to live reports of the riots.³²

Alex Nik (Registered in 2010): Последствия политики расовой толеранции. В другом государстве всех этих "fukkan niggazz" уже давно бы потопили в крови, и сидели бы нищие воды и нищие травы. А в ЮКей они просто забыли, кто в доме хозяин. Вот и English Defense League непростасоздана.

These are the consequences of the race tolerance. In another state all these "fukkan niggazz" (sic) would have been floating in their blood, and were keeping low profile. In the UK they simply forgot, who the master of the house is. And the English Defense League (sic) was created because of this.

Rose Darling (registered in 2004): In which exactly state?

Alex_nik Например, в США образца 1950-х годов. 😊
 Или хоть Россия. Вас это устраивает? А вам как всё это,
 что сейчас происходит под окнами? На работу вставать рано, а за окнами под музыку
 "I like to movit, movit..! BOOM-BOOM-BOOM..." бушуют ниггеры. Они-
 то ни где не работают
 - не хотят. Зато получают пособие для бездельников. Вы будете по-
 прежнему русовотерпимыми после того, как, например,
 ваш магазин товаров на пол-лимона фунтей подожгли и разграбили ниггеры?

'For example, in the States of 1950s. Or in Russia. Do you like what is happening under your windows? I wake up early to go to work, but under my windows some niggers are storming "I like to movit, movit..! BOOM-BOOM-BOOM..." They do not work anywhere. Do not want to. But receive benefits for jobless...'

Westender (registered in 2011) : LONDONABAD

Such accusation of ethnic nature lasted 2 more pages of the conversations but then **Drozd85** and **Sergio** changed the tone of the discussion describing difficulties black and Asian minorities have to overcome in the contemporary British society.

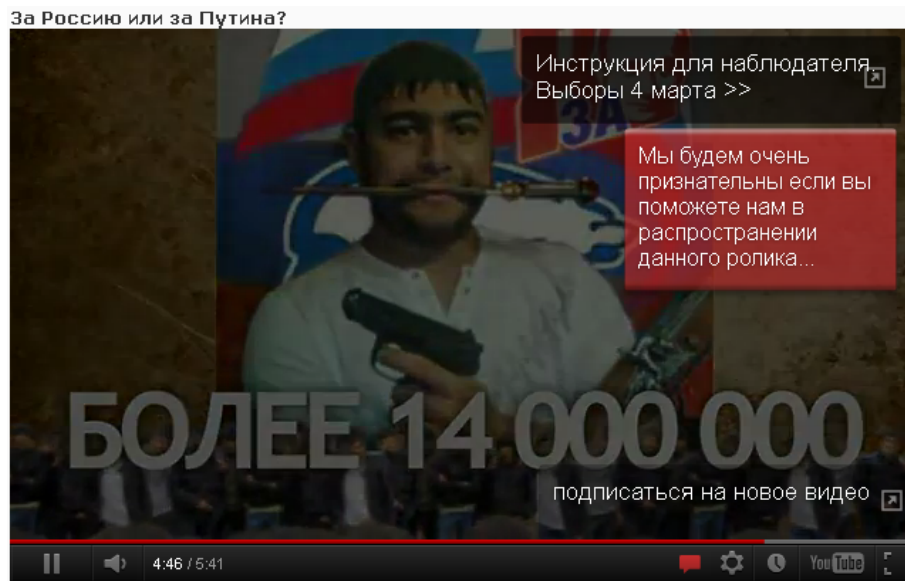
Then Helter7 (registered 2009) said: 'I know several black people, who work at a very good positions. They put on their suits and go to work, but those who go outside to rob the shops (and there are white people among them) use this cynical pretext as racism in the society as the excuse for what they are doing.'

Я знаком с несколькими темнокожими,
 которые работают на вполне приличных работах!
 Одевают по утрам костюм, галстук, и идут на работу, как нормальные люди.
 Те, кто выходит на улицы грабят магазины (в том числе и "белые" люди)
 используют этот гнусный предлог расизма и не имеют возможности найти работу, а ко-
 авданием своим отвратительным действиям.

This sample from a lengthy discussion demonstrates that migrants of other origin represent an object of discussion in the Russian language migrants' forum. There were similar comments in the Pinaev's blog.

'Other' migrants are incriminated in misuse of welfare, low level of education, anti-social behaviour.³³ Nevertheless, very often these accusations are used in the discussion to prove their own allegedly advanced position in the society, secure economic status, readiness to follow the rules of the host society. It was also noted below that the opposition between Russian migrants, in terms of subjectivity and lifestyle among others, and ethnic minorities in Britain diminishes with time spent in Britain under a variety of influences. It is arguable that the position accepted by the Migrant Voice aiming to

disassociate poverty and crime the image of a migrant can be very productive in helping Russian migrants to integrate in the multicultural British Society.



4. Racist Discourse and European Citizenship in the Three Cases Studies

4.1. Greek-Cypriot Racist Populist Discourses: Targeting 'illegal' migrants

Up to 2006, in the context of Cyprus there was a serious problem of defining the 'ethno-nationalist party' or 'Radical Right party' in the same way as in other European countries. The 'national issue' (i.e. 'Cyprus Problem') was the determining factor in defining whether a party is 'ethno-nationalist' or 'radical right': The determination of who belongs to the 'nation' is premised on how

'the nation' is defined, its 'ethnic' stock or make up, the form and rights of ethnic groups in the political organisation of the state. For the ethno-nationalists the 'state' is but the 'instrument' for the reproduction of the 'nation' and the 'security / protection of the territory', as well as the 'protection' from other 'threats' to its wellbeing (health, welfare, internal security, ethno-national order, customs, ethics, traditions and moral standards). Immigration may become an issue, if, due to historical, contingent or structural factors (economic or social) the notion of the immigrant is articulated in terms of a 'threat'. Such views are regularly aired on the political arena and across the media.

This issue has always been subordinated to the 'main problem', as the main 'enemy', what many Greek-Cypriots referred to as 'the main front' is as powerful as even and remains the way in which political actions conceptualize the Cyprus problem. This is increasingly connected to the security and migration issues. Matters become more complicated as the 'Cyprus problem' also contains an inseparable 'external dimension', as three countries (UK, Greece and Turkey) have a direct influence as 'guarantors' and stationed troops on the island and Greece and Turkey indirect influence on their respective communities. The Turkish occupation of 34% of the country's territory means that Greek-Cypriot political parties are mainly concerned with how to rid Cyprus from the Turkish occupation troops, who are in Cyprus allegedly to protect the Turkish-Cypriots and Turkish strategic interests. There is new rigour in various conspiracy theories, which allege that Turkey is unleashing migrants into the RoC as a strategy to destabilise and to undermine the Greekness of the territories under the control of the RoC. This is an 'even present' discursive frame, the Cyprus problem, which is the point of reference in defining the strategy for the 'ethnos', the 'nation'. The 'Other' is primarily the 'Turk', however the 'Other' is increasingly multiplying beyond the Turk, we have in Turkish-Cypriot Roma and migrant workers. For Greek-Cypriot nationalist ideology the Turkish-Cypriots are depicted as the mere 'appearance' or smoke-screen for a more powerful and sinister force. In the Greek Cypriot nationalist psych 'behind' the Turkish-Cypriots or via the Turkish-Cypriots lies the neo-Turkish policy perceived as the continuation of a 'neo-Ottoman will to dominate' as stipulated by what an all-powerful and authoritarian Kemalist Turkish state ultimately controlled by the army. Similarly, Roma, who are considered to be part of the Turkish-Cypriot community are seen with suspicion as 'spies', 'criminals' and 'vagabonds'. These are primarily media generated images that have become part of popular knowledge and common sense in creating what however once called 'common sense' racism. Therefore, the dominant frame is subsidiary to the overall longstanding Cypriot conflict. Immigration is an issue that has acquired greater importance over the years and has been subordinated to the needs of the nation. Whenever there is a stalemate in the Cyprus problem, other issues become dominant and the question of immigration and immigrants, generally painted in negative frames as

- a threat to the cohesiveness and homogeneity of the Greek-Cypriot ethno-national identity and culture.
- threat to jobs for Cypriots and welfare competitors.
- particularly as regards the Portiaki Greeks [whose ethnic origin is anyway routinely questioned] they are perceived as 'corrupt' and 'criminals' is rarely used, if ever.
- Pro-immigrants rely on all positive frames in reply to the negative frames. All these matters are taken-up in detail in section c. for the moment it is essential to appreciate that in Cyprus immigration is politicised primarily by 'racialising' migrant workers.

In a small society such as Cyprus, the role individual politicians in acting as 'carriers' of anti-immigrant populist opinions and 'articulators' of xenophobic-loaded ideologies is of particular importance as the media amplifies such views in an alarmist fashion. The Second ECRI Report (2001) referred to 'a growing tendency towards the perception of the immigrant and the foreigner as a potential threat to the Cypriot standard of living'. The subsequent ECRI Reports continue in the same light.

Prior to the Left-wing ministers, over previous two decades, various Government officials such the ministers for the Interior [Home Affairs], for Justice and Public Order and the ministers of Education have been vociferously in raising their 'concern' about immigrants in Cyprus and have been accused by NGOs and International bodies for being 'anti-immigrant' and 'racist'. From the early to mid 1990s many ministers started the process, with reference such as the following:

We are no chauvinists; we are simply a small country with a permanent almost presence of a tourist population double in size to the Cyprus population and have to be careful so that we do not create another minority in free Cyprus, totally alien to our religious and cultural traditions. The positive consequences for the Cypriot economy must be evaluated properly and not be overestimated by ignoring the interests of Cypriot workers, public health, security and generally the influence over our institutions.³⁴

Several government officials and politicians in the past used an ethno-nationalist view to approach the issue of migrants, among them several ministers. The striking element when analysing Greek-Cypriot politics is the continuity of the same discourse regarding core political and social issues, rather than adjustment to new developments that are taking place domestically and internationally. The Cyprus problem is the dominant issue around which all else is formulated and decided, it is a dominant aspect of Cypriots everyday life, therefore it somehow inevitably connected to the immigration issue and the treatment of migrants.

There are regular media discourses employing the usual racist fames that can be compared to the other EU countries such as ethno-nationalistic, conflict-criminality, welfare-chauvinist, job-stealing, 'threat to liberal norms', biological racism and national specific frames.³⁵ Particular individuals within various political parties, including centre-right mainstream parties, various newly-formed committees for the 'Salvation of Cyprus',³⁶ as well as neo-Nazi groups, who argue that asylum-seekers, migrants and Turkish-Cypriots are abusing the Cypriot welfare benefit system ripping the 'golden benefits'³⁷ of 'the Cypriot paradise' and making Cypriots 'second class citizens'.³⁸ They criticise the Minister of Interior for the migration policy being responsible,³⁹ sometimes even going as far as accusing him an agent who conspires to distort the population and de-Hellenize Cyprus.⁴⁰ Asylum-seekers, refugees and migrants are described as 'invaders' as 'a fifth column against the Greek element of free Cyprus', a 'Hellenism is threatened from asylum-seekers as it is threatened by colonists/settlers in the Turkish occupied territories.'⁴¹

In 2012 we have a fundamentally different situation: migrants are targeted as a security threat as there is now a neo-Nazi far right political party, ELAM, which is rapidly growing in number of votes and shaping a new politics of fear in the streets. Migrants are racialised subjects in the context of a recorded escalation of racial violence against migrants, as they are increasingly being targeted as a 'security threat in Cyprus'.

The inadequacy of measures to combat racial and other forms of hatred has enabled the surfacing of the 'hard core' of what was in 2000 about ten per cent amongst the Greek-Cypriot youth who expressed their racist predisposition (as per Charakis, 2005⁴²). Once the general climate allowed it and the organisational framework was offered by the newly-formed extreme Right, neo-Nazi groups were imported mainly from Greece and were organised more effectively. Empirical data over the last decade shows that the problem of racism, including racial hatred has not been dented, despite the policy, institutional and educational improvement.⁴³ The research findings are instructive as they provide us with the basis to sociologically explain and interpret the racism phenomenon.

4.2. Greece: Intercultural Conflict and European Citizenship

4.2.1. The Migrant Hunger Strike

The hunger strike started on the 25th of January 2011 by 300 migrant workers. The main demand of the hunger strikers was the regularization of all migrants who live in Greece. This demand brought to the forefront of public debate a big policy gap with regards to the exploitation of migrant labour that is forced to work illegally because of the absence of policies for their regularization that was implemented since 2005. In Athens, the hunger strike

The Law school constitutes a symbolic space both as a historic landmark where the student occupations that brought down the dictatorship in 1973 started and as a law producing institution. In that sense, the decision to occupy it can be understood as an 'act of citizenship' that produced active entitlements to political, social and economic right for non citizens.⁴⁴ The aim of this enforced move was to displace both symbolically and geographically the migrant hunger strike from the centre of social struggles and to deny the strikers the active entitlement to citizenship rights that they claimed.

Πανελλαδική Απεργία Πείνας Μεταναστών

Νομιμοποίηση χωρίς προϋποθέσεις όλων των μεταναστών/τριων – Τα δικαιώματα για όλους τους εργάτες

300 Απεργοί Πείνας ▾	Πρωτοβουλία Αλληλεγγύης	δράσεις αλληλεγγύης	Ιατρικά ανακονισθέντα	υπογραφές ▾	
Στηρίζουν την απεργία ▾	Δελτία τύπου	Βίντεο	Φωτογραφίες	αναδημοσιεύσεις	Call for Solidarity

Call for Solidarity

Call for Solidarity to the 300 Migrants Hunger Strikers in Greece

-On January 25, 300 migrant workers went on hunger strike in Athens and Thessaloniki.

Their main demand is to be legalized.

At this moment, when the financial crisis has violently erupted and ultra-right political forces have come to the fore, this may sound as a maximalist demand.

For this reason, we need to pay attention to their demands so as to create symbolic cracks in the system and achieve political victories.

-The political establishment and mainstream media in Greece have already started putting pressure to the migrants' struggle and to those in solidarity.

It is urgent to vow now the broadest support possible!

Below the call for signatures.

Those that wish to sign are welcome to send their name and profession in the following address:

yvografes.allilegyi.stin.apergia@gmail.com

Solidarity to the struggle of the 300 hunger strikers

How many times do they have to risk their lives in order to confirm their and our existence?

Διάρκεια Απεργία Πείνας:
44 Μέρες

όσοι/ες έχουν φέρι
σκηνές, σόμπες,
στρώματα ή οτιδήποτε
άλλο και θα θέλουν πίσω
να έρθουν άμεσα να τα
πάρουν. Την Τρίτη το
πρωί θα γίνει το τελικό
μάζωμα του χώρου οπότε
μέχρι τότε πρέπει να έχει
αδειάσει. Χρειάζεται
επίσης και κόσμος την
Τρίτη το πρωί για τα
γενικά μαζέματα και το
άδειασμα της Υπατίας.

γλώσσες

castellano | deutsch | english | français | italiano |
romana | shqip | türkçe | Българияски | русский |
عربي


επικοινωνία/contact us

για επικοινωνία, μεταφράσεις, αποστολή υλικού,
καθώς και για οικονομική ενίσχυση το email μας
είναι:/communication, translations and material to be
sent as well as financial support to the hunger
strike you can contact us here:
hungerstrike300@espipr.net

11/03 Πορεία
αλληλεγγύης στην Αθήνα

Καλέσματα πορείας

10/3 International coalition
for actions



Dozens of Greek Migrants Hospitalized During
37 Days of Hunger Strike

39

discourse as lacking agency and their demands and voices were marginalized in public debate.

In Stohos online newspaper, the solidarity initiatives were not only accused of taking decisions on behalf of the migrants (who were again represented as passive victims) but, that the agitators wished that the hunger strikers ended up dead in order to provoke revolts and social demands, similar to the ones that erupted in December 2008.

Today accusations from KEELPNO doctors that the self-proclaimed solidarists prohibited the doctors to enter Ipatia and examine the hunger strikers (which have been subcontracted by these muddy- intellectuals) have been officially published. This whole convoy aims at having one more dead person so we will have the same situation as in December 2008.⁴⁵

Moreover, the denial of migrant agency was reinforced by the fact that the debates over the hunger strike took place in largely unconnected online platforms that were characterized by the relative ethnic and political homogeneity of their users. As far as our research could go, we could not identify significant exchanges between racist and anti-racist users in common platforms. In addition - what is even more striking for the present analysis- is that there were very few online interventions by profiles of individual migrants and/or migrant organizations and groups in these debates. Although some of the users in left-wing platforms that did participate in the debates might have been migrants, the fact that they chose profiles that did not manifest their migrant identities is indicative of the online exclusion of migrant voices. In brief, the denial of migrant agency, which was manifest at different levels enabled the shift of the discussion from the concrete entitlements to legalization to abstract and largely irrelevant arguments about Greek agitators and far right-wing politics.

In that respect, new media tends to reproduce the racialized hierarchies that dominate mainstream media. Key informants from the solidarity initiative told us that the strategy to exclude migrant voices from public debates on the migrant hunger strike was first pursued by television and radio journalists, who persistently asked them to act as 'representatives of the migrants'. In response, the website of the hunger strike⁴⁶ was set up in such a manner as to be able to publish both the texts of solidarity and the texts that the hunger strikers themselves produced. Although the website provided the only point of reference to the actual claims of the hunger strikers, it was designed as a centralized information outlet and contained no interactive features. From this website a global campaign for support was launched with very good results as hundreds of people, unions, groups and organisations from all over the world stated their solidarity to the struggle of the hunger strikers. Nevertheless, what was evident was that very few migrant organizations in Greece supported the claims of the hunger strikers. Especially the most institutionalized organizations and networks denounced the hunger strike and

- Τέσσερις Μαρκινοί οι οποίοι σύμφωνα με την αστυνομία συμμετείχαν στην κατάληψη στην Νομική και είχαν φιλοξενηθεί στην Υπατία, συνελήφθησαν χθες στο αεροδρόμιο "Ελευθέριος Βενιζέλος" κατηγορούμενοι για "αποδοχή και διάθεση προϊόντων εγκλήματος".



Λεωφορείο μεταφέρει από τη βίλα Υπατία αλλοδαπούς, μετά την χορήγηση εγγράφων αναβολής απομάκρυνσης από τη Διεύθυνση Αλλοδαπών Αττικής.

Οι συλληφθέντες, ηλικίας 26,27,29 και 36 χρόνων, ετοιμάζονταν να ταξιδέψουν στην Τυνησία έχοντας στις αποσκευές τους τα εξής κλεμμένα αντικείμενα:

- τέσσερις (4) φορητοί ηλεκτρονικοί υπολογιστές
- εννέα (9) κινητά τηλέφωνα

cooperated with the authorities in order to legalize their repressive policies against the hunger strikers.

The response of far right-wing groups, on the other hand, was much more dispersed and rested mainly on the dissemination of apocalyptic posts in Facebook and other relevant blogs. They focused on the lack of state control over Greek borders, anomy and the inability of the police to act against illegality and left-wing violence. This response was often associated with the victimization of Greeks who suffer from severe economic problems because of the crisis, whereas migrants are being privileged by the 'philanthropic', 'anti-racist' state that protects them.

On a Facebook page that is still very active today several posts, including photographs from the Law School were posted. The comments of the users were in most cases written in capital letters to express hatred, anger or simply disappointment and dissatisfaction with the existing security institutions in Greece, that have proven to be incapable of enforcing the law. In these posts, Greece was revealed as a borderless state, where illegal migrants and their left-wing agitators could act without restrictions. In contrast to other European countries that were able to 'secure their borders with the right laws', Greek sovereignty was presented as being threatened. Migrants and left-wingers appeared to enjoy a strange immunity against the law that Greek nationals did not. Migrants acting in illegal ways were no longer judged or punished by a powerless state. In contrast to migrants and left-wing agitators, the 'patriots' and 'nationalists' who defend national and state borders were portrayed as the true victims of a 'multiculturalist consensus'.

When the hunger strike was moved to Vila Ipatia, the relevant exchanges focused mostly on the social and financial costs of hosting them in a private building. The usage of the building by migrants was contrasted to the lack of welfare structures for nationals in need. A Facebook post noted:

WE HAVE REACHED A POINT WHERE IN AN INSTITUTION FUNDED AND USED BY GREEK CITIZENS, WE ARE BEGGING 300 ILLEGAL MIGRANTS TO LEAVE, TO GIVE THEM A NEW BUILDING (AT A MOMENT WHEN THERE ARE SO MANY HOMELESS GREEKS) THEY ARE REFUSING TO ACCEPT IT BECAUSE IT DOES NOT FULFILL THE NECESSARY SECURITY REQUIREMENTS, (OBVIOUSLY IN THEIR OWN COUNTRIES THEY HAD BETTER DWELLINGS) (28 January)

The revelation of the true criminality of migrants unfolded in several posts following the end of the hunger strike. For example, a post published in several popular blogs stated that one of the 'Afghani' hunger strikers was a trafficker and a 'robber of women'. The post referred to an article written by a Greek TV journalist infamous for his apocalyptic tone and racist views. In the article, he wrote that the mainstream Greek press silenced the arrest of the Afghani immigrant.

Although the migrant-hunger strike took place in a close distance from Victoria Square, it does not seem to have had a deep impact on conflict in the region. According to our interviews with members of the solidarity group and participant observation at the site of the hunger strike, there was a strong support by Greek citizens, who donated different items needed (for example mattresses, duvets, water, tea and money). Overall, most of the local residents that we interviewed were not informed or interested on the demands of the migrants and very few considered it as a political issue. In general, the hunger strike was not treated as an important transformation of the racist conflict in the area, but as a minor disturbance in the everyday life. Only some residents and shop owners that we interviewed emphasized that they consider anti-racist interventions as negative. 'Our problems are local and these kids who come here in support of the migrants...well. They are not residents of the region. They do not live here. They do not know what it is like to fear. They come from the Northern affluent suburbs. Well we do not want them here'. These responses point out to the offline popularity of the media and online discourse that focused on the idea that the responsibility for the hunger strike lay with the left-wing 'agitators', rather than with the protestors themselves. The denial of migrant agency and the silencing of migrant voices in online debates were thus reproduced in local responses.

4.2.2. Murder and Program

On the 10th of May 2011, the online portal Stochos published the following report:

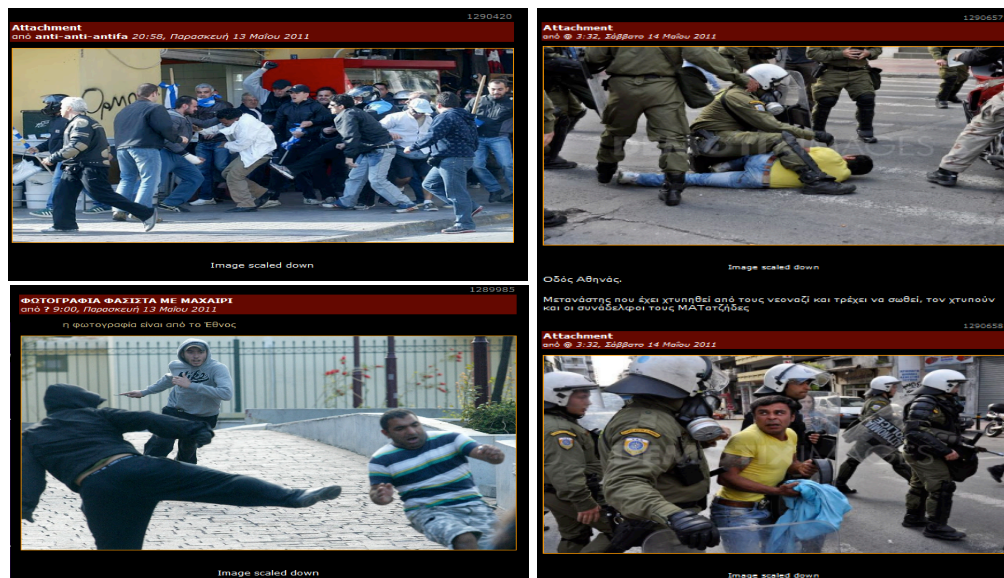
Today another one of our fellow patriots, who has been brutally murdered in a parking in the Ioulianou and 3rd September streets, has been added to the list of the victims of multiculturalism. The unlucky man was holding in his hands a camera to record the first moments of the birth of his child and was attacked by three BARBARIANS who slaughtered him in order to grab the camera...There are no words to describe the BARBARITY that Greeks face by the activities of these gangs.⁴⁷

The murder of M. Kantaris was the event that fired the racist pogrom that was held for more than 10 days –according to some key informants for a month- in the center of Athens. The far right-wing blogs and websites focused on the demonstrations and actions that took place during the next days in the spot of the murder and, at the same time to the lack of liability and responsibility on the part of the state and the government on cracking down criminality in the area. The event, thus, marked a shift towards a militant discourse of self-defense and taking the law into one's hands. Soon the murder was used to legitimize the need to take revenge for the insecurity suffered daily by Greek nationals. M. Kantaris was commemorated not only as the most prominent victim of migrant criminality and violence, but also as a victim that proved the need to act in concert with other Greeks to defend oneself.

In this context, a process of racialization of migrant targets begun to take place online. The images of militant Muslims, Afghanis and Pakistanis begun to multiply, and pictures of migrants with visible racial differences (i.e. skin colour or dressing) were regularly posted with signs that depicted them as 'enemies'. The visualization of the targets of racist violence went parallel to the arbitrary attacks on foreigners who were just passing by. In fact testimonies from migrants who have been attacked show that race/culture plays the most important role in the construction of the enemy. The targets are identified solely by their skin colour and external appearance. The following narration explains how racial visibility is linked to racist violence.

One afternoon I was in Agios Panteleimonas square, we were there with some friends, some people came to the square, one of them very strong and tall he came to me, he said where are you from? I replied I come from China, another one said he is lying he is Afghani and they start hitting me. My arm was broken, my head was in pain I started running as fast as I could. Now I don't go out at all, in these neighborhoods, I never go...And the police does not do anything, they sit around and watch. The police say we cannot help you, you are migrant. The police station is close by but they don't do anything. When the sun goes down, 10 motorbikes, 20 people they are going around in the streets when they see migrants they attack them.

(interview with S., 02/05/2012)



As far as our research could show, there were no racist attacks on white migrants. Instead there are several testimonies that show that Albanian and Romanian migrants participate and in many cases are organized under the banner of Chrysi Avgi.

In Athens Indymedia and in anti-racist web pages, the focus was on the racist pogrom by far-right groups that followed and not to the murder as such. Most of the posts refer to certain attacks to migrants in different areas of the center and to the tolerance or even cooperation of the police with the far-right groups.

Our interviews with both Greek and migrant residents of the region show that a sense of fear, insecurity and intimidation is common across ethnic, racial and class boundaries. Both Greek and migrant residents told us that they closed their shops and remained indoors after seven in the evening out of fear of being attacked by criminals. Several Greek respondents described the murder as a tragic moment in this ongoing process rather as an exceptional event. The sense of widespread insecurity is reinforced by the feeling that the area is lacking police protection, and that it has been abandoned by the state and the municipality. Reacting by both violent and non-violent means in order to protect one-self becomes for many of the locals an urgent need.

In this context, neo-racist groups are often perceived by the Greeks residents as mostly 'filling up the gap' left by the lack of state protection and the absence of police control over Greek borders and migrant criminal networks. In some cases, even those who criticized the violent tactics and racist ideology of far right groups, claimed that their intervention was inevitable. On

the contrary, however, many residents and shop owners saw neo-racist violence as equally damaging for the region. As one of them explained, "No one entered my shop, while residents and Chrysi Avgi were blocking the streets". In a similar manner, a doctor and local resident explained how the neighborhood was terrorized by these tactics:

I know it is difficult living in this area but nothing has happened to me personally. I have a house in the suburbs, I could go and live there, but here is my office, this is the neighborhood I grew up, I don't want to leave. Those who gathered here after the murder were members of Chrysi Avgi. They terrified the whole neighborhood. They were not residents of the area. They didn't care for the person who died, they only wanted to play their political game.

For migrant residents too, criminality constitutes a problem.

I have also seen the fascists many times in the centre but when I see them I run, so they won't catch me. Sometimes, when they stop and ask me where I come from I don't answer, I just go. It was 5 o'clock in the morning, in front of Agios Panteleimonas church the fascists caught 2 Afghans and there were 10 people hitting them. They were shouting for help but none came, ten days ago. And five days ago, two migrants were walking in the street and the fascist were drinking beer in a café and some things were said and they started fighting and the Afghans left, they went to their home, and suddenly some fascists were gathered outside their house and they attacked, they went inside their house and hit them.

(interview with R., 05/05/2012)

Contrary to the dominant online discourse, in which racist violence was presented as the only viable solution to migrant criminality, the responses of the Greek local residents were divided with regards to the impact of Chrysi Avgi. Instead of solving problems, many argued, racist violence has made their every-day lives more difficult and contributed significantly to the stagnation of the local market. Migrant residents have not been influenced by the public on- and offline debates and in many cases were not even informed about them. But they experienced in equally negative terms with Greek the rise in racist violence, which impacts on them in a profound way, restricting their movements and often forcing them to move away from this area.

4.2.3. European Citizenship

We are migrant men and women, refugees from all over Greece. We came here to escape poverty, unemployment, wars and dictatorships. Whether by regular or irregular entry, we came to Greece and are

working to support ourselves and our families. We live without dignity, in the dark shadow of illegality. Employers and State agencies benefit from the harsh exploitation of our labour. We live by the sweat of our brow and with the dream that one day we will have the same rights as our Greek fellow workers.⁴⁸

The migrant hunger strike was an enactment of rights that challenged the racialization of European citizenship and opened up possibilities for transnational citizenship. The first step of the hunger strikers to publicly self-identify as 'illegals' instead of hiding in the shadows of the cities was itself a declaration generative of a political identity. As Peter Nyers⁴⁹ writes, to self-identify as a non-status person is, in a deeply paradoxical way, to engage in an act of citizenship. In a period when Greece is troubled by a deep socioeconomic crisis and migrants without papers are presented in dominant discourse as one of the big burdens for society while far-right xenophobic views and actions are growing, the migrants' struggle was a deeply political action, in the sense that Jacques Rancière presents: 'politics means precisely this, that you speak at a time and in a place you are not expected to speak'.⁵⁰ Their bodies, through the hunger strike, became the field of the political struggle for a life with dignity. It was their exclusion from institutional and legal rights that dictated such means of struggle as a hunger strike. As they wrote in a text they published: 'we have no other way to make our voices be heard'.

The racist pogrom that followed the murder of M. Kandarīs was a draw back from the ideas of transnational solidarity and enactment of citizenship rights as they were crystallized by the struggle of 300 migrant hunger strikers. The racist pogrom was, among others, an attempt to redefine European citizenship in terms of race and ethnicity, to naturalize the conflict in urban space in racial terms. The dominant public discourse in Greece, especially during this period of economic crisis, is much more keen in uncritically accepting and spreading the arguments on racial or cultural conflict rather than challenging the premises of such a discourse and examining the socioeconomic causes of the crisis. European citizenship is defined anew in terms of biological (skin) difference but also of incompatible cultural traits that make conflict and violence natural. The idea of co-existence collapses into an artificial 'multiculturalist' chimera.

4.3. UK: Intercultural Conflict and European Citizenship

The idea of being European plays a very important role in the identity negotiations of Russian migrants both online and offline. Two concepts of Europeanism were identified: Europe as an embodiment of civilisation and culture, and Europe as a contemporary political and economical construct. The first is tightly connected to the process of 'Othering' described above. Migrants describe themselves as Europeans, because they are 'civilised' – in a

sense of being educated in the traditions of European Christian Enlightenment. Their self-perception as Europeans legitimises their migration and settlement in Britain. The reading of civilisation in the migrants discourse encapsulates also some urbanism of migrants.

There is also a racialised understanding of being European (as being white), which contradicts the realities of contemporary Europe. This disjunction between migrants' expectations of Britain (and Europe) and realities of the multifaceted contemporary society complicates their integration in the new country. The understanding of Europe as the EU is more expressed in the online contributions and offline interview responses of those who spent in Britain longer period, travelled in Europe extensively as well as those with higher level education.

5.3 Covers this theme in greater detail in the cyberconflict section discussion.

5. Cyberconflicts in Cyprus, Greece and the UK

5.1. Cyprus - Cyberconflict

5.1.1. Anti-racist mobilisations

The vast majority of immigrants are treated as cheap labour with limited rights and little possibility to escape from the social bottom in which they found themselves. First they were identified as 'guest workers', tied to their employer with the work and residence permit depending on their labour contract. Those without papers, the *undocumented* or *sans papiers* are assigned to the 'illegality' of the hidden economy. Many immigrants both with and without papers have their employer as their landlord as well increasing their bond with and dependence on him. Losing one job often results in losing both one's accommodation and the right to stay in the country. Hunting down the 'illegal immigrants' to deport them is systematic and indiscriminate using the infamous and much criticised in international reports 'broom operations'.⁵¹ hundreds policemen encircle immigrant corners and enter immigrants houses dragging dozens of immigrants to police stations to check whether their papers are in order. Such humiliating acts are popular with the anti-immigrant sections of the population; they also attract raving and sensationalist media coverage.

It was against these 'broom operations' that the first anti-racist mobilisations started in the early 2000s. The organisation around which many activists gathered in order to express publicly their dissent with government policy and state practice, was KISA, an NGO established in 1998, offering support to immigrants and advocating for human rights.⁵² In 2004, KISA moved its offices into old Nicosia and started also taking it into the street, offering public sphere access to activists playing a coordinating role in anti-racist

mobilisations. KISA was mainly involved in providing legal advice, consulting and advocacy for asylum seeking immigrants on an individual basis. It also drafted reports on migrant ill-treatment by state authorities, police arbitrariness and brutality, and regularly issued public statements and announcements. The annual multicultural Rainbow festivals (Rainbow) was embraced by many migrant communities; also KISA's increasing activity in various street protests against the manifestations of racism made the organisation a target for those who pushed the 'law order agenda', i.e. the Police, and other state officials conservatives and right-wing politicians groups that placed it de facto in the centre of the broader movement. The 2006 extended mobilisation involving asylum demands for example was probably the most significant one.⁵³

Despite some efforts to forge some links with trade unions, particularly with the trade union PEO, and the networks on anti-racist and human right organisations in the EU and locally, KISA did not manage to obtain much support or solidarity from the wider public. This is hardly surprising with such overwhelming media hostility and the increase in xenophobia and racism over the years. Moreover, the organisation's small size, its' own limited campaigning strategizing and some tactical mistakes made the organisation, together with the personal attacks on one of the founders and leaders of the organisation, who has been repeatedly dragged to court, in what KISA claims to be malicious prosecution, has made anyone connected to KISA appears to be demonized and abused.

5.1.2. Faneromeni square: the focal point of an 'alternative scene'?

The primarily Cypriot youth of the alternative scene who gather in increasing numbers in the last years in the Faneromeni area were never – and more so today are not – alone. Immigrants from Georgia of Greek Pontiac origin, primarily youth but also sometimes adults and families as well, also gather there, socialising, playing, talking and hanging out. At one corner on the side of the Church's yard where the Pontiacs gather, there is an sign with spray on the wall 'This is Pontos' stating the community's claim on the square as well. They do not usually mingle, but neither are hostile towards each other. There have been some tensions occasionally with the Pontiacs complaining that unlike them the 'alternative' Cypriots do not respect the Church and alternatives complaining that Pontiacs are too close to the Church which is hostile to them. My informants from the Faneromeni crowd mentioned explicitly the close relationship between the Pontians and the Faneromeni Church as an underlying factor creating and maintaining the distance. They also tried to explain that distance.

'The Church has them from a very young age, the catechise them and they keep them close'.⁵⁴

[...]

'The Church also gives them jobs, they take care of the garden and they get money'.⁵⁵

One key dimension of the Faneromeni crowd is that characterises them or even constitutes them is ultimately graffiti.⁵⁶ In the leaflet escorting the street parties mentioned above there is an explicit reference on this:

We claim the walls to express ourselves. To say all these which are not said and draw all these which are not drawn. Because poetry exists in the streets.⁵⁷

Beside the drawings, there are coded and rather subversive concepts questioning the establishment and the dominant values:⁵⁸ against the school and the state, against the Church and the nationalists, against capitalism and consumerism, support for immigrants, workers' solidarity and revolution etc.⁵⁹ More interestingly there is a lot of subversion of pre-existing signs, both commercial as well as nationalist. Subverting is of course a tradition by now in many metropolitan centres and takes a variety of forms. What is more extensive and intense however is the war of slogans against the nationalists who are also active in the city and occasionally in the old town as well. In the old city and especially around the Faneromeni area it is quite difficult for nationalist slogans to survive on the walls as they are immediately erased or subverted by the anarchists.⁶⁰

The centrality of Faneromeni as the centre of the alternatives and the centre of the dark forces of anarchism that 'love the Turks and the foreigners' and are therefore traitors as they dispute the Greekness of this land has been identified by the big nationalist, racist and neo-fascist groups some of whom have spoken out in open about their desire the 'clear up' the holy space around the historic Church which is itself a monument of the national struggles. Both the orthodox nationalists, ELAM⁶¹ and the heretic ones, the so-called Aftonomoi ethnikistes (autonomous nationalists)⁶² have repeatedly attempted to 'cleanse' the area: during the day and during the night, they tried to intimidate and scare away the alternative youth gathering.⁶³

They have not yet been able to launch big and systematic violent attacks or pogroms against immigrants of the sort that are happening now in Greece but there have been racist incidents of violence, most of them unreported.⁶⁴ Still most of these incidents happened outside the old town. The facts that immigrants constitute a majority in the population within the walls, that there is an often crowded commercial centre in there, that there are also underworld business networks with their own priorities of space (and violence) control and that the racists have not managed to create a strong enough base within the old town from which to claim and compete for a broader area, are probably reasons for the absence of large scale racist violence.

Nevertheless, the graffiti war and the cyber-wars continue unabated. Highly provocative language, including offensive and abusive characterisations and direct threats are made against Turkish Cypriots, immigrants, peace and anti-racist movements in general and the Left and the radicals in particular belongs essentially to KEA⁶⁵ the group that has assumed in the last years a more front-line guard role, either in order to balance out its comparatively small size within the far right front or after a tacit agreement with other forces within that front.

The key moment in this ongoing contest, which ultimately shifted the balance in favour of the racists, was the Larnaka events in November 2010: with a helping hand by the media, the Police and various state mechanisms, in broad alliance with large conservative, right-wing and xenophobic sections of civil society, the racists had by then managed to take the upper hand: anti-racists were blamed and four were prosecuted for rioting, when it was the neo-Nazis who attacked and stabbed a Turkish-Cypriot musician.

In late October KEA announced a public discussion on 'illegal immigration' and then a protest against 'illegal migrants' against 'settlers' in Larnaka directed primarily against a group of Palestinian refugees and other asylum seekers that resided there. The main slogans adopted 'No to the Islamisation of the homeland. Immediate deportation of illegal immigrants. Immediate stop of provocative benefits and privileges of the so called political refugees.'⁶⁶ These events were also supported by 'PAK' and the 'Movement for the salvation of Cyprus'. KISA took up the challenge, confident after the successful antifascist mobilisation 11 months before and decided to move the annual multicultural Rainbow festival in Nicosia to and Larnaka: 'The organisation of the Rainbow festival on the same day as the above event will send our anti-racist messages against the presence and action of far right and racist groups in Larnaka'.⁶⁷

The conditions were not the same. The economic crisis had become deeper, xenophobia was on the rise, political polarisation between left and right had grown, the anti-fascist movement had been inactive, not sufficiently organised or united, the call was for a festival and not an anti-fascist march, the fascists had some conservative groups and M.P.s supporting them and the whole thing was to take place in Larnaka, a town with no tradition or organised progressive, radical or civil society initiatives. All these factors, not all of them sufficiently considered and evaluated then, made the position of the anti-racist movement quite precarious and ultimately resulted in its defeat.⁶⁸

KEA was confident enough to take the offensive from before. Its statement referred that its events 'against immigrants which suck the blood of the homeland whether they are characterised illegal or not' were announced from before:

However the social abscess and fifth column, bribed by foreign centres and called KISA together with foreigners announced a counter-event at the same space and time. Recently Muslim foreigners have beaten up savagely our compatriots. The Muslims have imposed on the authority the silencing of the bell of Saint Lazaros church in Larnaka....We have no other choice. They want war? They will have it!⁶⁹

KISA called for a massive participation in Rainbow and secured the presence of the Cyprus EU Commission representative and the Head of the anti-racism and anti-discrimination authority and in the statement it issued on 3rd November, two days before it claimed that

..Spreading racism and intolerance cannot be protected under the cloak of the freedom of expression. The messages and the goal of the announced march constitute in our opinion a violation of articles in the penal code and the constitution itself. We call upon the authorities to assume their responsibilities and ensure that the nationalists and racists on Friday will not threaten and will not offend with their slogans and presence in any way the participants in the festival.⁷⁰

KEA continued with its calls to resist the dark plans of the enemies of Hellenism, theorising also its politics 'against KISA and the rest of the (sic) ethnomidenistes [nation-nihilists]⁷¹ that 'the Greek race as autochthonous and of the same blood possesses the fatherland from the ancient times and claims it as a right of biological descendance and Providence's will.'⁷² From the anti-racist side, there were 'No Passaran' calls.

On the 5th of October KEA marched with the presence of some right wing politicians and the police not only did not prevent them from approaching the space whether the multicultural Festival was taking place directing them for example from another route to their destination, but actually tried to open up the way by pushing the anti-fascist protesters which stood in the street in front of the Festival space when the racist chants became audible. The core of the KEA march then rushed to the central stage of the Festival and violently attempted to dismantle it facing the resistance from immigrant and Cypriot anti-racists. Some participants in the Festival started to leave, a section of the KEA march continued while another one stayed behind joined by dozens of ELAM paramilitaries threatening the antiracists that stayed there. There were immigrants and Cypriot antiracists injured in the skirmishes while the Turkish Cypriot musician was knifed away from the Festival space as he was leaving. The police was mainly watching, arrested only a few anti-racists with some of them were telling the Festival participants to pack up and leave immediately because ELAM was coming. After the event the police made a report blaming KISA and receiving congratulations from KEA while later it also pressed charges on KISA's director, which recently were rejected by the court.

Beyond the support it got from conservative politicians and the huge media coverage for its openly racist positions, it was largely tolerated by the wider political spectrum as many liberals and progressives either remained silent or kept equal distances from 'the two extremes' back then. Politis newspaper for example, a liberal newspaper which in the past has been particularly sensitive to the problem of racism often adopting a clear anti-racist stance, in November 2010 was talking about the two extremes which are dogmatic violent and more or less similar, the rights of the racists to express their 'opinion' publicly, the anti-racist which provoke them and so on. This was more or less the stance of the political parties as well with only AKEL being the exception in directing its criticism against the racists. But even within AKEL there were different opinions with respect to the extent that the party should have supported anti-racist mobilisations in general and that one in particular. What is more important the stabbing of the Turkish Cypriot musician was not considered important by the Greek Cypriot media although it made headlines in the north and was used by nationalists for their purposes. In the south, a new anti-immigrant hysteria was launched against the 'so-called political refugees' waged both by ELAM and by other far right groups appearing as 'enraged citizens of Larnaka' given of course big media coverage and support. A couple of anti-immigrant marches took place in Larnaka after the 5th November incident culminating in an ELAM parade in late December. These were bigger than before but not too big - revealing thus that the racist hysteria was considerably smaller than its media image.

In late April 2011 KEA attempted to take it further to bring its 'victory' to the capital, organising another set of public events, a discussion and a march, in Nicosia just before the parliamentary elections in mid May and ending in the anti-racist 'stronghold' of Faneromeni. The march was entitled as 'against the checkpoints, the occupation, the settling in the Homeland of Turks and other Muslims'.⁷³ The central slogans were 'No to the Islamification of the Homeland, No to the privileged treatment of the so called Turkish Cypriots and No to the illegal immigrant friendly policy of the government' the demand was the closing of the checkpoints and the call included a reference to the need for a mass presence because 'the Turks, the English and AKEL are measuring our will to fight'.⁷⁴

As expected the anti-racist activists – leftists, alternatives and anarchists could not ignore the challenge. Although there were heated and multiple discussions where various proposals were made, eventually it was decided to organise a multicultural festival to muster many more people than usual crowd in Faneromeni square on that particular evening where the KEA march was coming to 'claim the historical Church' so that 'the sacred space remains in Greek hands'.⁷⁵ KEA was looking forward to this contest and felt confident explaining to its member that 'infidels insult left them no choice but to WIN'.⁷⁶ KEA prided itself for putting the 'migration problem' on the public agenda after the Larnaka events and this time attempted to make the link with the Cyprus problem more explicit in an announcement that talked about traitors, enemies of Hellenism, about the Turks which send drugs and Muslims

immigrants through the checkpoints and so on.⁷⁷ Meanwhile the expected conflict of racists and anti-racists became an issue on television a couple days before the 13th May, the contest day with both sides claiming that they had informed the relevant authorities and had secured permissions – the anti checkpoints march from the police and the multicultural festival from the Nicosia municipality.

As the climate was becoming more and more heated and the pressures on both sides to back down, the anti-racist camp made the first move with an open letter addressed to the mayor and the municipal councillors. That letter signed by the organisational committee of the Faneromeni Festival and published on the 11th of May 2011 explained the rationale of the event and placed it in the context of other similar and analogous events organised there and in the old town more generally. KEA in its own statement one day later explained its reasons for the march and its destination as well as the reasons why it had to cancel it. KEA blamed 'the AKEL deep state' which 'set into motion the parastate of the marginal anarchists and professional anti-racists' and accused the Mayor of Nicosia as the 'representative' of that deep state for 'anti-democratic and anti-constitutional machinations' resulting in the police demanding from KEA that their march should be directed to another checkpoint outside the old town.⁷⁸ KEA's announcement explained that this proposal was unacceptable and it decided to postpone its march but its struggle was continuing against the 'dictatorship of the new world order represented by the AKELite regime and the parastate of the marginalised and the hordes of illegal immigrants which constitute its long arm.'⁷⁹

5.2. Greece - Cyberconflict

The rise of racist discourse in Greece was facilitated by the spread of the internet as a medium of communication, interaction and exchange of information. Far right-wing groups and ideas, which were previously marginalized and delegitimized in public discourse, found through the systematic usage of new media a means to overcome the previously established consensus and started disseminating and propagating racist beliefs and ideology. However, as Nakamura argues, the ways in which racialization takes place online should not be taken as simply reproducing offline practices of racialization. Instead, racialization online takes place in a collaborative way, which is unique to 'machine enabled interactivity'. This results into images of race and racist practices that emerge from the dominant discourse of race and culture, but they are also distinct.⁸⁰ The networks, in which racist ideas disseminate, however, are dispersed and mostly based on decentralised user generated content.

The racist discourse is an anti-establishment discourse that attacks both the established institutions (state, political parties, economic elites) as corrupt and left-wing radicalism as hypocritical and dangerous. Racist violence appears as an inevitable and truly radical response to the 'multiculturalist

consensus'. Because of its everyday apolitical banal character, this type of discourse often finds popularity amongst the Greek residents of areas that experience economic and social degradation. Migrant criminality provides a simple and straightforward explanation -well set on ethno nationalistic background- for the multifaceted socioeconomic problems that they face. In their arguments against migrants, we can schematically locate three interrelated issues: dirtiness, security and aesthetics. As Z. Bauman⁸¹ underlines, all the locals of all ages and places, in their attempts to isolate, exile or destroy strangers, aligned their efforts with common sanitary practices and fought strangers convinced they are defending health against disease and filth. The words danger, threat, dirtiness, contagious disease - closely connected to each other- were systematically used by the Greek residents in order to describe migrant presence in their neighborhoods.

The objects of racist hatred are continuously displaced along this axis to account for the persistence of socioeconomic stagnation despite police efforts to deal with illegal migrants. In that respect, there is a continuum in on- and offline spaces. During the course of our research we noticed a clear displacement of the objects of migrant hatred, which took place both online and offline, from the dirtiness and contagious diseases that migrants gathering in the squares to migrant street-vending as a threat to the development of the local markets.⁸² Whereas at the beginning of the research, the main issue for both the residents and the users of anti-migrant blogs was the 'crowds of Afghan migrants that gathered every afternoon in Victoria Square', gradually this object shifted to migrant street vendors that sell their 'dangerous' goods in front of Economics and Business School, which is situated in a close distance. This shift happened after the police decided to engage into a 'sweep' operation that led to the evacuation of the square from the groups of migrants that previously populated it. As a local shop-owner noted:

The worse about them (the Afghanis) is that they were very dirty. They peed everywhere, in the gardens, near the flowers. Their children stole chewing gum from the kiosques. And as a result the two biggest coffee shops closed down. Now with the sweep operation only few of them come here, but it is too late because people are no longer coming here to drink their coffee. Our problem now is with the blacks, the street vendors because they take our customers. And they don't pay taxes or shop rents.

This displacement is also manifest in the popularity of online postings on the criminality of African and Asian street vendors. Moreover during the same period, according to migrant informants, the Athens municipality made it more difficult to renew the licenses for migrant shops owners in the region. Although there have been many anti-racist actions by student groups and the local Scaramanga occupation that published and distributed a 'letter to society' written by migrant street vendors, racist attitudes in the region have not changed significantly.⁸³

During the past decades, the interventions and actions of anti-racist groups have focused mostly on offline practices: demonstrations, mobilizations, press releases, open discussions, posters, festivals and mouth-to-mouth dissemination of information in the neighborhoods. On the contrary, the delegitimization of extreme right-wing ideas and practices during the previous decades made far-right groups turn into online strategies as a means of propagating their ideas. In the context of the anti-racist movements, the internet was used mostly as a network tool but only within the anti-racist and Left-wing movements. Indymedia, which is one of the main sites for public debate and dissemination of information, is widely used but mainly from people already involved in social movements. Anti-racist communication and information was mostly concentrated on specific websites that contained no interactive features. The skeptical attitude towards Facebook as a commercialized and centrally controlled social medium prevented the larger dissemination of anti-racist information, ideas and beliefs. Moreover, in the context of the economic crisis, anti-racist movements and concepts lose their social legitimation and become -- for a large part of the public dominant discourse -- either 'dangerous' and 'anti-national' or just 'unrealistic'.

5.3. UK Cyberconflict

5.3.1. Russian elections and their reflection in the Diaspora revisited

The so called Slavic spring, which refers to the civic unrest after the Russian Duma and President's elections in late 2011 to early 2012, can be seen as an example of close connections between online and offline spheres when online events sprout offline campaigns and have serious consequences on mundane politics and the sociopolitical domains. The research traced how the virtual opposition which emerged as a response to offline political events, grew stronger and more organised through online participation and later lead to unprecedented (at least in the last almost 20 years) splash of political activism both online and offline, in Russia and in migrants' communities globally (including Britain).

When in November 2011 Putin 'agreed' to stand in for the next presidential elections, the public response on-line was less than enthusiastic. In the virtual public space those who were simply dissatisfied with on-going corruption in Russia such as Alexei Navalny⁸⁴ whose blog has a subtitle 'It is a final struggle between the Good and the Neutral' joined those who perceived Putin's move as an usurpation of freedom. For example, an elitist internet-project Snob (serving the international Russian speaking elites) published the following remarks: 'They (bandits, state leaders) have gigantic resources, special services, army, aviation and fleet on their side, we have only one and half web-platforms + the Facebook on ours'.⁸⁵ Online protests led to street protests and other forms of civil activism. The birth of the offline (real-life)

opposition has happened in the virtual space – and most remarkably both in the Russian ‘mainland’ public sphere and in the public sphere of the Russian diaspora. The table below contains Rutalk discussions with the most comments in 2011, and one can see, that 4 out of the 10 most popular threads were directly related to the elections in Russia and the political situation there. There was a number of links to (sometimes ironic or occasionally disturbing) YouTube films, photos, texts from the mainland virtual space. These materials were subjected to intense discussions in the virtual space of the diaspora.

Table1. Relevance of election themes for the migrants’ internet community. The most popular threads (2011- early 2012)

London riots: love coverage	Responses 426	Views 11,618
Russia votes for Putin	407	4,118
18 Feb, Latvian referendum about the	404	3,743
Official status of the Russian language		
From Moscow with worries	366	3,726
New question from a newcomer	341	4390
Everybody is fed up with Putin	306	4,758
How to survive during the crisis	265	12,495
How to sell a flat in Russia and transfer	262	2,524
money to Britain		
Communism and capitalism	254	3621
Presidential elections	248	3546

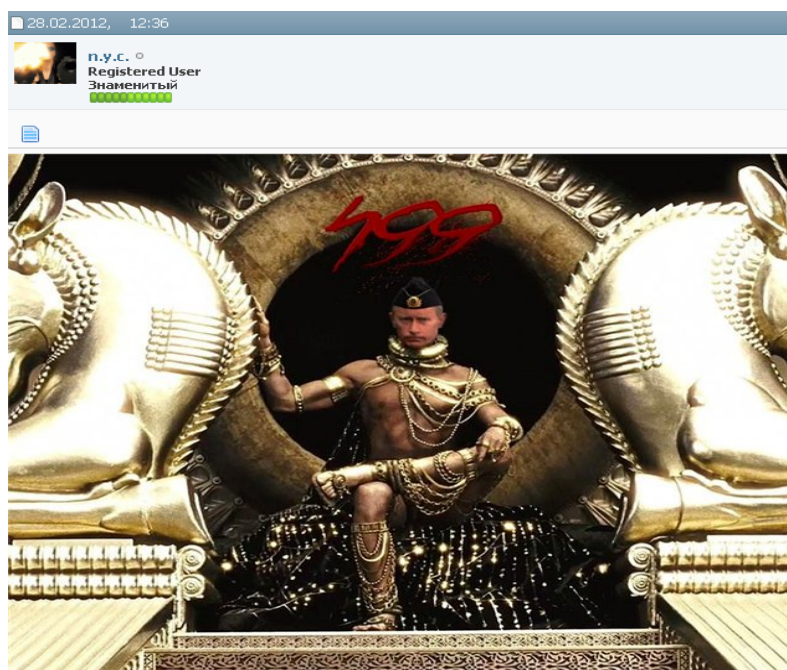
‘Russian-speaking diaspora and Putin’s government policies’ was one of the axes of tension identified by the MIGNET study even before the election in Russia. But during and after the election campaign Russian migrants in Britain demonstrated even higher civic activism online; they also organised off-line campaigns at their places of residence. The migrants took part in demonstrations and on-line campaigns, shared their disagreement in their work place and neighbourhood. Street protests were organised in many cities of the UK, and the participants (who were mainly young, under forty Russians, with a significant share of women-participants), often invited their non-Russian (British) colleagues to join the manifestations.

The effect of the demonstrations was not limited to the offline event per se, but multiplied by sharing the pictures of the events through the networks or through the blogs affiliated with mass media outlets. Among the respondents of the offline interviews and survey (31 in total) as well as from brief conversations at the meetings attended by the researcher, there were only two people who stated that they did not take any participation in on-and off-line protests). Russian election protests in London were noted among the most searched items in 2011. Also, when Putin did not get the majority of votes in Britain, Pinaev proudly quoted the results in his blog.

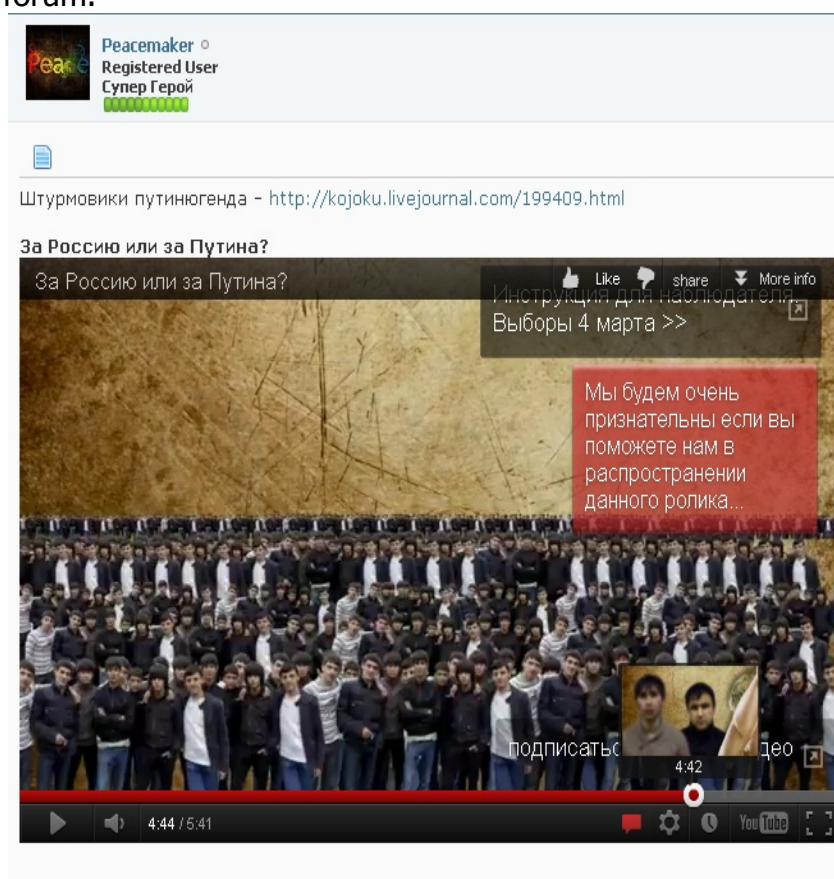
It was noted above that it is very difficult to draw a borderline between online and offline participation. The means of protest included but were not limited to picture taking, video recording and posting them further via e-mail or the Facebook; online membership in groups created purposefully to cover the events; offline activism at the election places was combined with online blogging, where the detailed description of the day was provided; sharing and 'liking' on Facebook to attract attention to recent or planned events.

Given the fact that a significant number of the protesters enjoyed a double citizenship and claimed to ignore elections in Russia in the previous years, the overwhelming reaction to the election fraud leading to active participation in street protests, contained a paradox. In search for an explanation a special strand of examination of the online data was conducted. The researched online sources demonstrated that the events in Russia were not simply newsworthy for the participants or relevant to their personal lives, but were perceived at a deeper level of migrants' identity negotiations.

For migrants, the violation of civil rights and playing anti-democratic games strengthened the similarities between Russia and 'Eastern' totalitarian regimes. For Russians living in the UK, the events signify that Russia was excluded from the European space, which was strongly associated for them with civil rights, freedom and democracy (yet imperfect at times). In the mental map of many Russian migrants the image of Russia as enlightened, cultured and civilised represented a keystone of their new identity in Britain, providing them with symbolic European citizenship. The elections added contradictions to the status of a 'free European' post-Soviet migrants aspired for. Therefore, the Rutalk was full of remarks about 'barbaric past', 'what do you want, it (Russia) has always been an Eastern autocracy'.⁸⁶ Putin was represented as an Eastern ruler in many photos posted to the Rutalk:



Migrants symbolically distanced themselves from the totalitarian past in their native countries and wanted to prove their belonging to the democratic world. Discourse analysis of the virtual data showed that ethno-national and nationalist argumentation was used by the protesters. For example in the thread 'Everybody is fed up with Putin'⁸⁷ somebody with the nickname Peacemaker posted a 5 min video 'For Russia or for Putin',⁸⁸ where Putin was incriminated in ruining the country and stealing national resources. In the same video there were other accusations used. Ethnic Russians were pictured as drug addicts, while people with darker complexion ('people from Caucasus') as having power over the others. 'He never liked the Russian nation' and 'he allows those who do not even speak Russian to come'. This implicit message 'Russia for ethnic Russians' was left uncommented in the forum.



5.3.2. Justification of belonging and space of conflicts

The arguments of belonging encompass real geography (cities, urban spaces, and neighbourhood); symbolic geography (historic association with the territory of Britain); as well as financial space (labour market, acquisitions of British companies by Russians). Surprisingly, ideological spaces (religion, identity etc) are not included in the discourses by the anti-migrant forces, but

are used by Russian speaking migrants to argue their position of 'rightful belonging' to the new country of residence.

5.3.3. Dialogue and reconciliation

It could be argued that there are some spheres where reconciliation of conflicts can be found. First, there is a growing tendency in contemporary Britain to overcome ethnic and social divides among migrants. New grass-root initiatives such as a Migrant network promote new understanding of migration and wider approach to the subjectivity of a migrant. 'Migrant voice' is a new paper, which discusses both experiences of an asylum seeker and a pop-star Madonna as migrants' voices. They highlight similarity in human movement and adaptation despite financial, legal and racial differences among migrants. At the same time the participation of Russian migrants in the network is very low. The explanation can be suggested that the stereotypes and prejudices brought from home towards non-white migrants, as well elitist discourses in the diaspora, prevent the researched population from channelling their political activism through such networks. The stigma of being migrant, which evokes associations with poverty, deprivation and exclusion, also prevents Russian (elitist) migrants of accepting an idea of multicultural Britain. It seems that the position of the Migrant Voice, aiming at destroying this image, is a timely and efficient initiative.

Second, the research shows that self-separation on the bases of race and 'Europeanism' tend to diminish with time spent in the UK and probably under the influence of online discussions with participation of migrants who came to Britain a while ago. For example, in the online survey only participants with emigration experience of up to two years stated that 'eastern minorities' should be blamed in London lootings in August 2011. Russian speaking migrants vs. migrants of 'other' origin conflict tend to come to the stage of reconciliation with time and with experiences of living in Britain. Similar observations were done by the bloggers themselves and the respondents of the interviews.

6. Concluding Remarks for the Three Case Studies and Overall Comparisons

The Cypriot study examined how the city is the terrain of cultural/identity conflict – at the core of which is the issue of migration and the presence of migrants. Claims to the right to the city are therefore subject to this geo-cultural conflict. In this sense the contestation is about whether the inner city will be an 'open to the world', 'internationalist Cypriotist/cosmopolitan/multicultural space' or whether it considers that the presence of multicultural and migrant other amounts to 'contamination' and/or 'ethnic alienation/ annihilation'. This goes to the heart of the debate of Europe and

European citizenship: will it be an open, democratic multicultural Europe or will it be a European apartheid.

According to Lefebvre, the 'right to the city' is *a call for a radical restructuring of social, political, and economic relations, both in the city and beyond* (Purcell, 2002). Defining urban space as the decisive terrain of political identity, the right to the city makes a clear distinction between the inhabitants of the city and the others; between 'us' and 'them'. Referring to the Lefebvrian scheme of both 'us' and 'them', we examine *who* has the right to the city in a landscape of conflict such as the divided Nicosia. If the right to the city is like *a cry and a demand* (Lefebvre, 1996) then who has the right to re-claim the *political landscape* (Kliot & Mansfield, 1997) of division? This is at the heart of the battle of urbanism: a city of the cosmos or a closed, militarised and securitised zone of ethnic cleansing?

For the Greek case, inclusion/exclusion and the participation of migrants in public sphere is constantly contested and negotiated. There is, at the same time, a generalized exclusion of migrant men and especially women, in mainstream public discourse both online and offline. Apart from very few exceptions, there are no migrants participating in public discussions on social, political or economic issues. When they do so, it is only to speak about "migrant" issues and, most of the times, to describe their experience rather than their opinion or analysis of a broader condition. Furthermore migrants in mainstream public discourse are presented only as representatives of migrant communities and they rarely have any other role or position (journalist, academic, representative of union or NGO or other group). Overall we can state that migrants do not have any institutional recognition as public figures, but they also are largely excluded from informal networks, such as the online ones in which debates over racist conflict take place.

As we argued above, the objectification and denial of the agency of migrants in online racist and anti-racist debates is a dominant trend. Migrants are usually referred to as criminals/perpetrators of violence or as victims of racist violence. But their own perspectives, ideas and experience are not directly expressed in the context of these debates. In far right-wing blogs and Facebook pages, individual migrants do not participate in online interactions, while migrant organizations and associations never post statements in these mediums. A major obstacle that prevents migrant individuals and organizations to 'talk back', is the common practice used by far right-wing groups of terrorizing migrant subjects who participate in online public debates. For example, a key informant from the African Women's Association told us that when her interview was published in an online documentary she received threatening messages from members of Chysi Avgi and, as a result, she was forced to take the video down.

In anti-racist debates, migrant organizations often publish official statements, but the participation of migrants as individual users is not visible. Online migrant identities are mostly suppressed and hidden in grass-roots forums

such as Indymedia, which adopt a pro-migrant stance. Despite the fluidity of online identities (i.e. anyone could in principle adopt the identity that they like) the predominant tendency on the Internet is to adopt specific racialized and gendered online identities that somehow reproduce existing racial hierarchies.⁸⁹ As the example of the migrant hunger strike demonstrates, anti-racist initiatives make efforts to bring to the forefront the positions of migrants groups, but the publications of their official statements are being mediated by solidarity groups, rather than disseminated by different users. One of the main problems in this respect is that, according to our research, many migrants use social networks such as Facebook for private purposes, while anti-racist groups are skeptical about the widespread use of these mediums and only use them selectively to disseminate information. The lack of interactive features in anti-racist blogs limits the possibilities of migrant online interaction and strengthens the invisibility of migrant identities in such debates.

In the United Kingdom research showed how a complex system of Othering in the Russian-speaking post-Soviet Diaspora in Britain is interwoven in social tensions leading to conflicts. Migrants from Russia living in the UK see the breach of democracy in their native countries as a threat to their claims of belonging to European democracy and demonstrate civic activism both online and offline (Online and offline activism of migrants is closely knit).

At the same time their understanding of European democracy is often limited by their racialised vision of contemporary Europe as white and homogeneous. Nevertheless, there is tendency to readjust their vision of Europe. Time spent in Britain and participation in newly emerging social initiatives accepting inclusion, tolerance and a more trans-ethnic approach to migration can potentially mean Russian speaking migrants can become agents of change.

6.1. Overall brief comparative application of cyberconflict theory

It is worth here to briefly explore in a first-glance comparative application how the three studies correspond to previous theory, history and events of cyberconflict and to connect this history to the evolution of this phenomenon and its embeddings in the 'material' world. Other empirical examples of ethnoreligious and cultural cyberconflicts -- such as between Israeli-Palestinian, Indian-Pakistani, American-Chinese groups, the Iraq war related and the anti-Islamic-pro-Islamic cyberconflicts, as well as the Estonian-Russian and S.Ossetia-Georgia ones, and others (Karatzogianni, 2006; 2009; 2012a) have enabled a theoretical view of key elements to explore how these conflicts are played out in the digital terrain. In ethnoreligious cyberconflicts such as the ones described in these case studies, the main elements of focus for cyberconflict analysis are conflict analysis, social movement theory and

media components (ibid. 2006) and are matched here for the three cases studies:

Conflict Analysis components:

- a. Ethnic/religious affiliation, chauvinism, national identity
- b. Discourses of inclusion and exclusion
- c. Information warfare, the use of the internet as a weapon (hacking), propaganda and mobilisational resource
- d. Conflict resolution, which depends on the legal and organisational framework, the number of parties and issues, the distribution of power, and the content of values and beliefs

In all case studies presented here, there is a reliance on a. ethnic and religious affiliation, chauvinism, and national identity (e.g. the 'foreigners' in the Greek case; 'the non-European immigrants' in Russian discourse, or ethnic divisions among post-Soviet migrants; the chauvinism displayed by ultra-right wing racist groups in the Cypriot case). Secondly, (b) discourses of inclusion and exclusion are present in all case studies (e.g. Us the Greek nationals – Them the Criminal Foreigner enemies in the Greek Case; Us the Good Russians – Them the Niggers who Riot for the UK Study; Us the Pure Cypriots – Them who want to take over our squares and country). There is strong evidence in all case studies that offline hierarchies, identities and discourses are also reproduced online, and thus creating a continuum of hybridity. In all cases the internet was used as a (c) *mobilization tool* (in organizing the activism against Putin for instance in the UK case). This is consistent with the theory developed for socio-political cyberconflict based on Resource Mobilization Theory. Here the elements vary in that we look at the effect of ICTs on mobilization, organization and the opportunity structure as shown below. The effect in all case studies is tangible. Also to organise and raise awareness against racism in the Cypriot case and refute each side's argumentation in terms of *propaganda*. In Greece, through social media and blogs, *hacktivism* played a role in framing the racist-antiracist discourse. What was only present in the UK case study, but not in the other two was an effort at dialogue (here d. conflict resolution).

Media Components:

- a. Analysing discourses (representations of the world, constructions of social identities and social relations)
- b. Control of information, level of censorship, alternative sources
- c. Wolfseld, 1997: Political contest model among antagonists: the ability to initiate and control events, dominate political discourse, mobilise supporters
- d. Media effects on policy (strategic, tactical, representational)

In terms of media components analysed in great detail in all case studies, we see how influenced the social identities and social relations of migrants and in racist/anti-racist discourses are by the closed and fixed identities of

nationality, religion and ethnicity (a) –although worth noting certain anti-racist groups have a less fixed identity based on global justice discourses. The mainstream media and the level of their influence is different in the three case studies (b). In Cyprus and Greece for instance we see more mainstream media influence than in the UK, and in the UK case what is also relevant is the censorship and closure of the Russian mainstream media, where alternative media flourished early and significantly continue to impact on the communication of Russian speaking migrants. Wolfsfeld's (1997) political contest model (c) is especially relevant to the Cypriot study, as there was a true online and offline contestation of the physical space in the racist/antiracist discourse. The fact that mainstream media tended to support more the racist discourse and alternative, newer media supported the anti-racist one, meant that on the one hand anti-racist groups were able to mobilise faster, they were not able to dominate political discourse and get the support of the government in their efforts in a substantial way (This is consistent with other research on small states and ICTs, Karatzogianni, 2009). In terms of media effects on policy (d) we see far more effect in the UK study than in the Greek case. In the Cypriot case, although it is too early to tell it seems that the events organised and communicated by the anti-racist groups seem to have a certain effect, in that they are being contested in the mainstream media, far more than they are currently in Greece, where Xrysi Avgi managed to get into the Greek parliament in the June 2012 elections.

Resource Mobilization Theory components and Impact of ICTs on:

- a. Mobilising structures (network style of movements using the internet, participation, recruitment, tactics, goals)
- b. Framing Processes (issues, strategy, identity, the effect of the internet on these processes)
- c. Political opportunity structure (the internet as a component of this structure)
- d. Hacktivism

In terms of mobilising structures (a), we see in all case studies the use of the digital realm to organise the groups in conflict (d.). Individuals are recruited online to participate in events and their tactics and goals are influenced by digitality. The protest against Putin in the UK, being a major case in point, but we also see an influence of social media in activism/protest in the other two case studies. The effect on framing processes point to a considerable influence of digitality on the strategies of the groups involved, as the elliptical internet discourse, interactivity and speed with which individuals and groups connect means there is a low-cost participation of an amalgam of organizations, which might not always have a common ideological platform, just a common single issue (This proved a major problem for WikiLeaks, see Karatzogianni 2012b). The network style of some of these groups means that there is also a greater difficulty in leadership emergence and sustainability of their struggles and conflicts.

Nevertheless, so far the most significant impact of ICTs has been on the political opportunity structure (it was first theorised with the example of 1989 and the revolutions caused by the collapse of the USSR). The speed with which an opening in the structure can be grasped (c), with a key example the recent Occupy Movement, the Arab Spring during 2011, and WikiLeaks before that, means that we will be encountering more collaboration between digital migrant networks and socio-political organizations which seek radical change or reform of the capitalist system.

In turn, this might project into the future as a more open and less reliant identity, subjectivity and agency on closed and fixed notions of being/becoming for migrant populations, consistent with technologically created transformations in agency (See Karatzogianni and Schandorf, forthcoming). This was also evident in Hull's contribution to the Religious practices WP7 package. Resistances seem to be moving towards more networked, rhizomatic and open forms of identification, despite the short-term reliance on nationality, ethnicity, and religion to defend local and regional cultures against globalization (see Karatzogianni and Robinson 2010).

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8. Report Summary and Policy Recommendations

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8.1 Project Overview

- The MIG@NET Project started in 2010 and is coordinated by Panteion University (UPSPS). It integrates the work of seven partner universities (Panteion, Hamburg, Bologna, Hull, Utrecht, the Fondation Maison des Sciences de l' Homme – France, the Peace Institute - Slovenia, and a non-governmental organization (Symfiliosi, Cyprus) across Europe.
- Unit WP 10 "Intercultural Conflict and Dialogue" provides a comparative analysis of cyberconflicts and debates on racism, cultural identity as well as offline interviews researching the perception of European citizenship against the background of migration discourses in Cyprus, Greece, and the UK.
- It thereby focuses digital networks and the role of digital networks in reinforcing actual practices of intercultural conflict.
- Political and social groups in the chosen countries are engaged in racist and anti-racist ideological discourses and partly form digital networks.
- The project conducted three case studies on intercultural conflict migrants and their host societies:
 - **Cyprus:** In this case, urban spaces (Nicosia) were analysed as contested spaces in which migrants, anti-racist, and racist groups encounter. The interplay of online and offline activities reproduces both digital and non-digital materialities.
 - **Greece:** Here one can observe a similar situation as mentioned above. Discourses in migrant online networks are thereby shaped by racist violence.
 - **UK:** This case study focuses tensions between migrants and their host society, the potential for political mobilization as well as the chances for dialogue within migrant networks.
- There are several cross-sections that the individual case studies share: These are intersectional conflicts, racist and anti-racist discourses, questions of ethnocentrism, multiculturalism, the role of ideologies, negotiations of identity and difference, and the impact of digital media.

8.2 Methodology and Data

- The different case studies applied forms of discourse analysis, participant observations, and cyberstudies techniques –with a particular interest in cyberconflict as a framework of analysis (Karatzogianni, 2006, *The Politics of Cyberconflict*, London and New York: Routledge).
- In the case of **Cyprus**, the city of Nicosia was mapped and determined as a contested field in a divided country that displays "three different states of exception": The 'soft-border' between the EU-South and the Turkish North in inner Nicosia; UN-control of the buffer zone; The migration state of exception. Racist reactions to migration describe the latter as a threat to

Cypriots. This leads to a new polarization in public discourse and the radicalization of anti-racist group that claim their right to the city, in order to defend their pluralistic way of life. One can identify two distinct groups in this context: Firstly, Urban multicultural youth and other anti-racist groups. Secondly Migrants, the majority of residents in inner Nicosia. Since 2006 clashes between anti-racist and racist groups increased significantly – both are engaged in heated debates on identity politics. Inner Nicosia becomes both a digital and geographical site of conflict. The researchers focused on the resolution of intercultural conflicts both off- and online and chose four interconnected spaces in Nicosia: 1) Mapping the conflict terrain online; 2) Mapping of inner Nicosia; 3) Contested buffer zone; 4) two municipal gardens.

- In the case of **Greece**, economic turmoil shapes the general societal background for conflicts between anti-racist groups, extreme right-wing organisations, and migrants. The researchers sampled both anti-racist and racist websites/online content. They also conducted interviews and observations. Their main interest lied on the interconnection between on- and offline practices.
- The case study on the **UK** focused on Russian-speaking post-Soviet migrants and their discourses on immigration, European citizenship, and forms of political participation/mobilization. The case study aimed for both dimensions of virtuality and reality. It comprised of an analysis of websites/blogs provided by the target group as well as offline research (interviews).

8.3 Political Context of the Three Case Studies

- **Cyprus:** The historical conflict of Greeks and Turks but also negotiations of a new identity shape the political context for intercultural conflicts and migration discourses.
- **Greece:** In times of grave economic and political instability, nationalist and racist groups perceive multiculturalism and migration as severe threats to the country.
- **UK:** Discourses among and within Russian-speaking Diasporas are influenced by political developments and events in the country of origin (mainly Russia), like the re-election of Vladimir Putin in 2012.

8.4 Racist Discourse and European Citizenship in the Three Case Studies

- In **Cyprus**, Greek-Cypriots initiate populist discourses that target on illegal immigrants. It is thereby difficult to draw a line between 'ethno-nationalists' and the 'radical right'. The debate on migrants becomes a national issue and is referred to as the 'Cyprus Problem'. The 'other' is no longer only the Turk on Cyprus but various groups subsumed under the label 'migrants'. These would pose not only an economic but a severe security threat to Cypriot society. Media-generated and distributed stereotypes contribute to this one-sided account of foreigner in Cyprus.

- In **Greece**, intercultural conflicts and questions on the nature of European citizenship intermingle in controversial debates on migration issues as well as racism or racist violence. Migrants themselves thereby lack agency and are marginalised as passive objects in public debate. Similar to the Cypriot case, the Greek far right also depicts migration as a threat to the country. Migrants become enemies that become targets of racist violence. This applies mainly for non-European migrants (from central Asia, Africa, South East Asia), whereas white ones partly join racist Greek groups. Racist conflicts erupt especially in Athens and cover both offline and online spaces. The capital is a transnational space that is shaped by Greeks, migrants, and their digital networks. Nationalists thereby blame migrants for the decline of the city in public discourse. Especially so-called 'transmit-migration' and forms of 'ghettoization' spark conflicts. Some right-wing groups speak of an invasion of Greece. The Greek case also highlights questions on the notion of European citizenship and its relations to identity and race.
- In the case of the **UK**, the researchers ignored the internal diversity of the Russian-speaking migrant community and focused on cross-cultural conflicts or dialogues with a) the host society and b) other migrant groups. The researchers distinguish between different categories of migrants of Russian origin: Highly-qualified specialists, marriage migrants, and Russian-speaking EU-citizens (from the Baltic area). Russian speaking females form a hidden majority. Tensions and conflicts in Russia are of considerable relevance to Russian-speaking migrants. Besides intercultural conflicts, there are also tendencies towards reconciliation and dialogue with other migrant groups. This case study illustrates how offline violent discourses transfer to the realm of the digital and vice versa. One can therefore speak of hybrid reality environments. The idea of being European plays a very important role in identity negotiations of Russian-speaking migrants in on- and offline discourses. Two notions of Europe are dominant: Firstly, Europe as a civilization and cultural space (strongly connected to the 'othering' of non-European migrants); secondly, Europe as a contemporary political and economical construct. Many Russian-speaking migrants perceive themselves as Europeans due to their Christianity-Enlightenment-based education. This self-perception as Europeans is also used as a legitimisation for migrating into the UK. This often implies a racialised understanding of a white Europe that actually contradicts the empirical situation on the continent.

8.5 Cyberconflicts in Cyprus, Greece, and the UK

- In **Cyprus** both anti-racist and racist groups implement online media as tools and sites for their conflicts. However, anti-racist mobilisation remains generally rather limited as a general xenophobic sentiment in society diminishes the level of support. Activities of the involved groups includes besides cyber war also graffiti war.
- Online media facilitated the rise of racist discourse in **Greece**, as right-wing positions were mainly excluded from public discourses and media platforms in past decades. The Internet offers today various effective alternatives for distributing ideological statements, mobilise political activities etc. These right-wing networks are often dispersed, de-centralised, and consist to large extents if user-generated content. Racist discourse can be seen as an anti-establishment discourse. The various right-wing arguments against migrants

can be divided into three general categories: 1) 'Dirtiness'; 2) Security; 3) Aesthetics. Many racist discourses describe migrants as being dirty, as a severe threat to Greek nationals, and as incompatible with Hellenic culture. Decades of de-legitimization in public discourse made right-wing groups experts in the development and implementation of online strategies. Anti-racist actions included in the past mainly offline activities (demonstrations, press releases, open discussions, posters, festivals, face-to-face dissemination of information etc.). Today they use the Internet predominately as a tool for networking – but this is often limited to politically similar groups (i.e. networking within the anti-racist/leftist sphere of political discourse – *Indymedia* would be prime example).

- In the **UK**, the so-called “Slavic spring” triggered intense online- and offline activities within the Russian-speaking Diaspora. A virtual opposition emerged as a response to offline political events. Online protests lead subsequently to street protests. It is thus difficult to separate online and offline activism. This development was not limited to Russia but spanned around the globe through the various Russian migrant communities. The researchers conclude that events in the country of origin have a tangible impact on migrant identity negotiations. Migrants did distance themselves from their undemocratic “motherland”. But also ethno-nationalistic sentiments emerged. Russian-speaking migrants refer to a range of arguments of belonging: Geography (e.g. cities), symbolic geography (e.g. historic association with the territory of Britain), and financial space (labour markets, acquisitions of companies by Russians). Surprisingly, anti-immigrant groups did not relate to ideological spaces (e.g. religion, identity) – but Russian migrants do to legitimise their belonging to their new host country. In the context of Russian-speaking migrants, some spheres of reconciliation of conflicts are identifiable. There is also a growing tendency to overcome ethnic and social divisions among migrants in Britain. However, participation of Russians in migrant grassroots networks remains low and some import their racist/ethno-nationalist positions.

8.6 Conclusions from the Overall Comparison

- **Cyprus:** The city is the main site of contestation and cultural/identity-conflicts. It is the space for the formation of political identities. Both sides fight over the definition of the urban space as either internationalist, multicultural and cosmopolitan or as one of contamination, ethnic alienation and annihilation. Or, to put it differently, is the city a n open cosmos or a closed, militarised, and secured zone of ethnic cleansing? It is intrinsically linked to the notion of European citizenship: Is it open, democratic, and multicultural? Or does it symbolise a “European apartheid”?
- **Greece:** Inclusion and exclusion and the participation of migrants in the public sphere are constantly contested and negotiated. However, the researchers point out that migrants are generally excluded; only a few are involved in public discourse. Hence, migrants do not have any agency in the public sphere. Their discursive contributions are limited to migration issues exclusively. This is often reduced to mere accounts of their experiences, as they are not asked for their personal analyses or opinions towards social, political, cultural, or economic issues. There is actually no institutionalised recognition of migrants in Greek public discourse and they are mainly

excluded from networks. Migrants are mostly criminalised, degraded, or victimised. They have little chances to “talk back” even online, as right-wing groups threaten or and terrorise migrant participants in online discourses. Even in anti-racist discourses, migrants are almost invisible since they have no active individual speaker roles. They are suppressed in hidden in grassroots online forums, too. Migrants use online media mainly for personal purposes. Anti-racist groups use Internet platforms only selectively and for the distribution of information. There is little to no communicative interaction between migrants and anti-racist movements. This severely limits the possibilities for migrants to step out of their invisibility. (Interestingly, despite their potential to have fluid online identities, users tend to reproduce racialised and gendered identities on the Web).

- **UK:** A complex system of “othering” in Russian-speaking post-Soviet communities is interwoven in social tensions that lead to conflict. Moreover, the breach of democracy in their country of origin (i.e. Russia) is perceived as a threat to their claims of belonging to “European culture”. There understanding of Europe is simultaneously limited by racialised visions of contemporary Europe as white and homogenous. However, there are tendencies to readjust this perspective of Europe. Being in the UK, participation in newly emerging social initiatives, accepting inclusion etc. could turn Russian-speaking migrants into active agents of change.

8.7 Overall Brief Comparative Application of Cyberconflict Theory

- Cyberconflict analysis covers three areas: A) conflict analysis, B) social movement theory, C) media components.
- The Internet is a mobilization tool (online recruitment), serves the distribution of ideologies, and can also be used for hacktivism.
- Social identities and social relations of migrants and in racist/anti-racist discourses are influenced by fixed identities of nationality, religion, and ethnicity.
- The influence of mass media varies in the three different countries: In Cyprus and Greece is it relatively strong and certain mass media outlets (actively) contribute to the negative othering of migrants. In the UK, mass media are not so important for the discourses within the analysed sample of Russian-speaking migrants. It is worth mentioning though, that they benefit from different regulations regarding the freedom of speech and the press in Britain.

8.8. Policy Recommendations

- In the cases of **Cyprus** and **Greece**, it is strongly recommendable to support migrants in organising themselves politically and to communicate their perspectives individually. This might form a first and important step to provide them with their own agency in public discourse. Having their own representatives could help them to become more visible in the public sphere. Eventually, they might no longer be limited to be “passive objects” in

discourse but active participants, representing their social, cultural, and political interests.

- An indispensable precondition for the success of such a re-organisation of the representation of migrant groups would be the actual implementation of the freedom of speech. In other words: the respective governmental institutions would have to guarantee the safety of migrant speakers in public discourse. A strict condemnation of racist violence, both physically and discursive, should be demanded from the state in each case. This could prove to be a very difficult task as the general xenophobic sentiment in Cyprus and Greece may paralyse decisive action of the state in this respect. Nevertheless, repeated demands for an improvement of the situation should be addressed at the respective governments.
- Anti-racist groups in both countries would also have to review their current communication politics, as they seem to exclude any noteworthy speakers from the migrant community. Instead of enforcing a political representation on them, the respective NGOs should provide platforms for migrants to represent themselves. The continuing patronization of migrants contributes to the victimization and also degradation of this particular group.
- In the **UK**, appropriate support for the right grassroots networks and migrant organisation might stimulate intercultural dialogue and cooperation. The example of the Russian-speaking minority implies that such tendencies exist and start to manifest themselves in concrete social, cultural, and political actions.
- The case studies have also shown that certain racialised perceptions of Europe, European identity, and thus European citizenship are circulating across the continent. It seems that an open, continent-wide debate on the nature of European citizenship should respond to this development and that the EU should make a clearer stance on the "racialization" of the very same legal, social, and cultural construct. As racialization is also strongly linked to gender within the intersectionality framework, it is critical that mechanisms such as the Open Method of Coordination (OMC) are employed to include immigrants from diverse racial and gender categories in dialogue, consultations as well as policy implementations, especially focusing on least advantaged women migrants from underdeveloped countries outside Europe.

Endnotes

¹ See Constantinou 2008; Trimikliniotis 2009; 2010)

² See the special issue of *The Cyprus Review* devoted to Migration, Racism and Multiculturalism in Cyprus, Volume 20: 2 Fall 2008.

³ For instance the former general Klokari has issued a book on defence matters and has lend his name to the one of the 'salvation fronts'. Also former general and minister of Greek PASOK, Yannis Koutsoyannis book *Nomimos amina* (Νόμιμος Αμυνα, Ι. ΣΙΑΕΦΗ, Athens 2007) is quoted by the man in charge of the migration policy of the Right-wing EVROKO party in Cyprus. See what another far right general has to say about that book http://www.metanastis.com/PDF/NOMIMOS_AMYNA.pdf

⁴ Quoted by Yuval-Davis et. al. (2006) "Introduction", Yuval-Davis, and Kannabiran, Kalpana and Vieten, Ulrike, (eds.), *The situated politics of belonging*, Sage Publications, p.6.

⁵ Three particular incidents of racist violence at schools stand out for their aftermath and repercussion in society: the attack against Turkish Cypriot students at the English school mentioned above; the attack against a black Cypriot student in December 2008; and the attack against Iraqi and Palestinian asylum seeking students at the Vergina High School in Larnaca in February 2011.

⁶ For an analysis of the debates over the centre of Athens and the digitalization of migrant networks see, Pavlos Hatzopoulos and Nelli Kambouri, 2012, "Athens has no centre" in *Nomadic Universality*, <http://nomadicuniversality.wordpress.com/2012/04/03/athens-has-no-centre-the-digitalisation-of-migration>

⁷ For an analysis of the role memory and discontinuity in urban space and the figure of the migrant as characteristic of this condition of suspension between past and present, see Stavros Stavridis, "The suspended spaces of otherness" (Athens: Alexandraia), p115.

⁸ Maria Kalantzopoulou, Penny Koutroulikou, Katerina Polychroniadi, 2011, 'The dominant discourse on the centre of Athens' in *Encounterathens* <http://encounterathens.wordpress.com/2011/05/15/o-%CE%BA%CF%85%CF%81%CE%AF%CE%B1%CF%81%CF%87%CE%BF%CF%82-%CE%BB%CF%8C%CE%B3%CE%BF%CF%82-%CE%B3%CE%B9%CE%B1-%CF%84%CE%BF-%CE%BA%CE%AD%CE%BD%CF%84%CF%81%CE%BF-%CF%84%CE%B7%CF%82-%CE%B1%CE%B8%CE%AE%CE%BD/#more-205>

⁹ For an analytical approach to the issues in Agios Panteleimonas neighborhood, see Maria Kalantzopoulou, 2012, "St Panteleimona! What does the dawn hold for us?" *Avgi* 29/4/2012 <http://www.avgi.gr/ArticleActions/show.action?articleID=684804>

¹⁰ Only a small fraction is utilized for this workpackage report.

¹¹ *Φιλελεύθερος* 23.4.2010.

¹² <http://www.rutalk.co.uk>

¹³ <http://moscowlondon.livejournal.com>

¹⁴ For details of the case http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mikhail_Khodorkovsky

¹⁵ http://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=player_embedded&v=awIHgljwb7o and <http://www.migrantvoice.org>

¹⁶ Cordero J "Where the streets are paved with celeb" in *Migrant Voice*, n1. 2012

¹⁷

http://www.migrantvoice.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=5&Itemid=8

¹⁸ http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y8hIAYxST0s&feature=player_embedded

¹⁹ Neofytos Papalazarou

²⁰ Prodormos Prodromou

²¹ Doros Polycarpou

²² Kalantzopoulou; Koutrolikou; Poluxroniadi at

<http://ilesxi.wordpress.com/2011/05/15/o->

[%CE%BA%CF%85%CF%81%CE%AF%CE%B1%CF%81%CF%87%CE%BF%CF%82-%CE%BB%CF%8C%CE%B3%CE%BF%CF%82-%CE%B3%CE%B9%CE%B1-%CF%84%CE%BF-%CE%BA%CE%AD%CE%BD%CF%84%CF%81%CE%BF-%CF%84%CE%B7%CF%82-%CE%B1%CE%B8%CE%AE%CE%BD/](http://ilesxi.wordpress.com/2011/05/15/o-%CE%BA%CF%85%CF%81%CE%AF%CE%B1%CF%81%CF%87%CE%BF%CF%82-%CE%BB%CF%8C%CE%B3%CE%BF%CF%82-%CE%B3%CE%B9%CE%B1-%CF%84%CE%BF-%CE%BA%CE%AD%CE%BD%CF%84%CF%81%CE%BF-%CF%84%CE%B7%CF%82-%CE%B1%CE%B8%CE%AE%CE%BD/) a

²⁴ <http://elamcy.com/>

²⁵ LAOS elected representatives firstly in 2004 in the European Parliament, then in 2007 in the Greek Parliament and in 2011 it was nominated as one of the three parties to participate in the Government of National Rescue.

²⁶ On the December 2008 revolts, see Antonis Vradis and Dimitris Dalakoglou, eds., 2011, *Revolt and Crisis in Greece: between a present yet to pass and future still to come* (AK Press and Occupied London)

²⁷ See V. Vamvakas, 1996, "Albanian migrants in the daily press: Representations of an Illegal Existence" *Dokimes* No. 5, pp. 7-40 (in greek) and Ch. Constantinidou, 2001, *Social representations of crime. The criminality of Albanian migrants in the Greek press* (Athens: Sakoulas) (in greek).

²⁸ On the racist attitudes of the Greek police towards migrant communities and racist crime at this period see, G.A. Antonopoulos, 2006, "Greece: Policing racist violence in the "fenceless vineyard" *Race Class* October, Vol. 48, No. 2, pp. 92-100

²⁹ Theoni Stathopoulou, 2011, "Migrants and migration in the Greek press: 2003-2006" in Christina Varouxi, Nikos Sarris, Amalia Fragiskou, scientific coordinator, Tzoana Tzigannou, 2009, *Facets of migration and migrant policies in modernday Greece* (Athens: EKKE) (in greek)

³⁰ As Etienne Balibar argues, contemporary racism is based on a resurgence of a biologism which is no longer solely based on racial difference but mainly on cultural difference. This displacement of racism from blood to culture justifies claims of the incompatibility between different cultures and religions in the same way that racial difference based on blood justified in the past the incompatibility of races. See Etienne Balibar and Immanuel M. Wallerstein, 1991, *Race, nation, class: ambiguous identities* (London: Verso)

³¹ such as

http://www.time.com/time/video/player/0,32068,1519292216001_2109588,00.html

³² <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/crime/8687177/London-riots-live.html>.

The quoted discussion at <http://www.rutalk.co.uk/showthread.php?129226-London-riots-live-coverage&p=2909283&highlight=London+lootings#post2909283>

Also see <http://www.rutalk.co.uk/showthread.php?129226-London-riots-live-coverage&p=2909349&highlight=London+lootings#post2909349>

³³ For example

³⁴ Mrs Angelidou, a former school teacher herself, then Minister of Education, wrote as an introduction to a booklet publishing the findings of a conference entitled

Cyprus and Foreigners/Aliens (KYKEM, 1995). The same Minister of Education would stress the need to "conserve the centuries-old national and cultural identity" which she presents as the "self-defence against the various invaders". Whilst recognising that "the European orientation" of Cyprus inevitably means coexistence with "foreign populations", she concludes that what is a priority is "to preserve our identity which was preserved by our ancestors with so many sacrifices and struggles".

³⁵ See Trimikliniotis (2005).

³⁶ In these Committees such as the "Movement of the Salvation of Cyprus" (Κίνηση για τη Σωτηρία της Κύπρου) and (Την Κίνηση για το Ευρωπαϊκό Μέλλον της Κύπρου) there are various public figure such as a former ECHR judge, a former military and other retired politicians.

³⁷ Term used by Christos Rotsas (2010) "**Ο Μεγάλος Αυθέντης**", *Η Σημερινή*, 23.07.2010 <http://www.sigmalive.com/simerini/analiseis/other/295061>

³⁸ These terms were used by the official of EVROKO and former Senior Labour Officer in charge of Migration, Andreas Morfitis (2010) «**Οι αλλοδαποί και οι ντόπιοι**» *Η Σημερινή*, 23.07.2010; Christos Rotsas (2010) "**Ο Μεγάλος Αυθέντης**", *Η Σημερινή*, 23.07.2010 <http://www.sigmalive.com/simerini/analiseis/other/295061>

³⁹ His reply to the Minister of Interior is hosted on the EVROKO official website <http://www.evropaikokomma.org/main/1,0,837,166->

⁴⁰ Such discourses are normally articulated by Le Pen in France and Carantzaferis in Greece as well as the neo-Nazi group *Chrysi Avyi* (Χρυσή Αυγή), based in Greece but also operating in Cyprus; its 'sister organisation' in Cyprus is ELAM. These are repeated by a DESY official and former MP Christos Rotsas in the article with the illuminating title "encouraging our population distortion" («Ενθαρρύνοντας την πληθυσμιακή μας αλλοίωση» («Αλήθεια» 12.11.2009).

⁴¹ These term was used by the official of DESY Christos Rotsas (2010) "**Ο Μεγάλος Αυθέντης**", *Η Σημερινή*, 23.07.2010 <http://www.sigmalive.com/simerini/analiseis/other/295061>

⁴² Charakis, Sitas, (2004, pp. 145-155) and Charakis et al (2005)

⁴³ See for instance the latest ECRI county Report on Cyprus 2006. Also see N. Trimikliniotis 1999; 2004; Trimikliniotis and Pantelides (2003); Trimikliniotis and Demetriou (2007); Trimikliniotis and Demetriou, (2009).

⁴⁴ Engin F. Isin, "Theorizing acts of citizenship" in Engin F. Isin and Greg M. Nielsen, 2008, *Acts of Citizenship* (London: Zed Books)

⁴⁵ http://www.stoxos.gr/2011/03/blog-post_9078.html

⁴⁶ <http://hungerstrike300.espivblogs.net/>

⁴⁷ http://www.stoxos.gr/2011/05/blog-post_8362.html

⁴⁸ <http://hungerstrike300.espivblogs.net/2011/01/23/statement-of-the-assembly-of-migrant-hunger-strikers/>

⁴⁹ Nyers, Peter. 2008. No one is illegal between city and nation. In, Engin F. Isin & Greg Marc Nielsen (eds.), *Acts of Citizenship*. London and New York: Zed Books, pp.160-81.

⁵⁰ Rancière, Jacques. 2006. Our police order: What can be said, seen, and done. *Eurozine*, <http://www.eurozine.com/articles/2006-08-11-lieranciere-en.html>

⁵¹ «Επιχείρηση Σκούπα»

⁵² <http://kisa.org.cy/EN/index.html>

⁵³ <http://nekatomata.blogspot.com/2006/11/concise-historical-account-of-asylum.html>

⁵⁴ Interview with Greek-Cypriot 25-year old activist.

⁵⁵ Interview with Greek-Cypriot 20-year old activist.

⁵⁶ This is of course another topic on its own and we will not enter in this in detail. The reader interested in this can look here.

<http://falies.com/%CE%B5%CE%B3%CF%8E-%CE%B5%CE%AF%CE%BC%CE%B1%CE%B9-%CF%84%CE%BF%CE%AF%CF%87%CE%BF%CF%82-%CE%B5%CF%83%CF%8D-%CF%84%CE%B9-%CE%B5%CE%AF%CF%83%CE%B1%CE%B9/>,
<http://anthropofagos.blogspot.com/2008/05/street-art-across-green-line.html>,
<http://anthropofagos.blogspot.com/2010/04/listen-to-wall.html>,
<http://anthropofagos.blogspot.com/2010/06/projection-on.html>,
<http://anthropofagos.blogspot.com/2009/10/blog-post.html>,
http://arxediamedia.blogspot.com/2007/09/blog-post_19.html,
<http://anthropofagos.blogspot.com/2008/02/walls-within-walls-of-nicosia.html>

⁵⁷ In Greek: "Διεκδικούμε τους τοίχους για να εκφραστούμε. Για να πούμε όλα αυτά που δεν λέγονται και να ζωγραφίσουμε όλα αυτά που δεν ζωγραφίζονται. Επειδή η ποίηση βρίσκεται στους δρόμους."

⁵⁸ See the photographs section taken in autumn 2011.

⁵⁹ There is also a local dimension as well among the "Faneromeni crowd" expressed in discussions and in slogans such as "this is Manolis' square" or "I thank the square for making me an anarchist".

⁶⁰ For example slogans such as "ΕΞΩ ΟΙ ΞΕΝΟΙ" are converted to "ΕΞΩ ΟΙ ΞΕΝΟΦΟΒΟΙ" (foreigners out / xenophobes out) or ΕΘΝΙΚΗ ΕΠΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΗ / ΤΑΞΙΚΗ ΕΠΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΗ (national revolution / class revolution). Irony and humiliation are also employed as strategies: "ΕΛΛΑΣ" becomes "ΤΡΕΛΛΑΣ" (Greece / crazy) "ΧΡΥΣΗ ΑΥΓΗ" becomes "ΧΡΥΣΑ ΑΥΓΑ" (the name of the Greek fascist group also active in Cyprus / golden eggs) "ΕΛΑΜ" is converted to "ΓΕΛΑΜΕ" (the name of the Greek Cypriot fascist group / we laugh).

⁶¹ www.ethnikolaikometvpo.blogspot.com

⁶² www.autonomoi-cy.gr

⁶³

<http://falies.com/2010/10/19/%CE%BA%CE%B1%CE%BD%CE%AD%CE%B D%CE%B1%CF%82-%CF%86%CE%B1%CF%83%CE%AF%CF%83%CF%84%CE%B1%CF%82-%CF%83%CF%84%CE%B9%CF%82-%CE%B3%CE%B5%CE%B9%CF%84%CE%BF%CE%BD%CE%B9%CE%AD%CF%82-%CE%BC%CE%B1%CF%82/>

⁶⁴ Matters escalated in August 2010 but Government resolute reaction, public attention and the Equality Body report halted the violence. No one was arrested.

⁶⁵ www.antistasi.org

⁶⁶ <http://antistasi.org/?p=11349>

⁶⁷

<http://falies.com/2010/10/27/%CE%B1%CE%BD%CE%B1%CE%BA%CE%B F%CE%AF%CE%BD%CF%89%CF%83%CE%B7-%CF%84%CE%B7%CF%82-%CE%BA%CE%B9%CF%83%CE%B1-%CE%B3%CE%B9%CE%B1-%CF%84%CE%BF-%CE%BA%CE%AF%CE%BD%CE%B7%CE%BC%CE%B1-%CE%B5%CE%BB%CE%BB%CE%B7/>

⁶⁸ With hindsight it is stating the obvious to claim that it was a grave error of judgement and a tactical blunder to move the event in a city without properly organising local support, without securing political and state alliances so as to ensure that the anti-immigrant march would be diverted away from the festival.

⁶⁹ <http://antistasi.org/?p=11383>

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- ⁷⁰ [My translation from the Greek statement. Here is the whole statement in english.](#)
http://kisa.org.cy/metacanvas/attach_handler23a2.pdf?attach_id=372&content_type=application/pdf&filename=Rainbow%202010_KISA_PressRelease_EN_031110.pdf
- ⁷¹ <http://antistasi.org/?p=11420>
- ⁷² <http://antistasi.org/?p=11429>
- ⁷³ <http://antistasi.org/?p=17014>
- ⁷⁴ <http://antistasi.org/?p=17014>
- ⁷⁵ <http://antistasi.org/?p=17235>
- ⁷⁶ <http://antistasi.org/?p=17235>
- ⁷⁷ <http://antistasi.org/?p=17242>
- ⁷⁸ <http://antistasi.org/?p=17306>
- ⁷⁹ <http://antistasi.org/?p=17306>
- ⁸⁰ Lisa Nakamura, 2008, *Cybertypes: race, ethnicity, and identity on the Internet* (New York: Routledge)
p. 5.
- ⁸¹ Bauman, Zygmunt. 1997. *Postmodernity and its discontents*. New York: New York University Press.
- ⁸² The relation between illegal street-vending and commercial development in the centre of Athens is according to a recent research project ambivalent: while migrants are often blamed for the decline of the market, it is the state and local institutions that are considered as the mainly responsible for this decline by local businessmen. See articles in Section II of Christina Varouxí, Nikos Sarris, Amalia Fragiskou, scientific coordinator, Tzoana Tzigannou, 2009, *Facets of migration and migrant policies in modern day Greece* (Athens: EKKE) (in greek)
- ⁸³ "Letter from the migrant street-vendors to society"
http://pat61.squat.gr/files/2012/04/gramma_metanaston-mikropoliton.pdf
- ⁸⁴ <http://navalny.livejournal.com>
- ⁸⁵ <http://www.snob.ru/profile/16270/blog/47529?commentId=474972>
- ⁸⁶ <http://www.rutalk.co.uk/showthread.php?132100>
- ⁸⁷ <http://www.rutalk.co.uk/showthread.php?131407>
- ⁸⁸ <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VlhHCV6MU9c>
- All sources last accessed 02.05.2012
- ⁸⁹ See Nakamura, opt.cit