

Abstract

Media discourse plays a salient role in the portrayal of Ukrainian refugees who fled Ukraine during the Russian invasion in a

Prejudice as Top of Trauma of War:

A Critical Discourse Analysis of Racial Bias towards Refugees of Colour during the Ukrainian Crisis

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different way of the other refugees from non European countries. The aim of this paper is to critically examine the most common terms that are utilised by media news reports in representing Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian refugees. It investigates how media portrays Ukrainian refugees in comparison to the `other refugees, as well as the racial bias towards the Ukrainian refugees and against other refugees from other areas who live in Ukraine. It's more concerned with the representation of Ukrainian refugees in media reports, on Twitter, etc., from the perspective of critical discourse analysis, according to Wodak's (2001; 2009) discourse-historical approach and van Dijk's (2008) sociological representation of social actors. The selected data are analysed at two levels: linguistic and ideological. the result of this study are summed up in the conclusion.

Key Words:

Media reports, Critical discourse analysis, Refugees, Ukrainian, Racism

ملخص البحث

يلعب الخطاب الإعلامي دورًا بارزًا في تصوير اللاجئين الأوكرانيين الذين فروا من أوكرانيا أثناء الغزو الروسي بصورة مختلفة عن اللاجئين من بلدان أخرى. الهدف من هذا البحث هو تقمص ودراسة المصطلحات الأكثر شيوعًا التي تستخدمها التقارير الإخبارية لوسائل الإعلام في وصف اللاجئين الأوكرانيين وغير الأوكرانيين. تتناول الدراسة كيفية تصوير وسائل الإعلام للاجئين الأوكرانيين مقارنة باللاجئين الآخرين ، فضلاً عن التحيز العنصري تجاه اللاجئين الأوكرانيين ضد اللاجئين الآخرين من

مناطق أخرى الذين كانوا يعيشون في أوكرانيا. يتعلق الأمر أكثر بتمثيل اللاجئين الأوكرانيين في تقارير وسائل الإعلام ، على تويتر ، وما إلى ذلك ، من منظور تحليل الخطاب النقدي .

الكلمات المفتاحية: تقارير إعلامية ، تحليل الخطاب النقدي ، اللاجئين ، الأوكرانيون ، العنصرية

1. Introduction

One of the greatest refugee migrations that Europe has seen since the end of World War II has been brought on by Russia's invasion of Ukraine. The Temporary Protection Directive (TPD) is thought to have helped between 4 and 5 million displaced people from Ukraine, but the total number of displaced people as a result of the crisis as a whole has risen to 8 million (UNHCR, 2023).

Europe has experienced a similar wave of refugees when thousands of Syrians were compelled to abandon their country to escape the conflict and the widespread crisis scenario. Over 5 million refugees and asylum seekers have entered European countries by the end of 2016 (UNHCR, 2021). The bulk of these individuals were from Syria, although there were also Afghans, Iraqis, and Eritreans among them. However, since the start of the Syrian conflict, little over 1 million Syrians have been successfully given international protection in the EU (UNHCR, 2021).

In contrast to what transpired in 2015 with the Syrian refugee drama, positive media framing of the Ukrainian crisis has had an impact on mobilising citizen and political action in favour of welcoming Ukrainian refugees, despite differences in the total number of people arriving at EU borders from Ukraine and Syria (Reilly & Flynn, 2022).

Early on in the crisis, the abundance of uplifting stories by European media newsrooms contributed to the development of a narrative backdrop that supported the necessity of sheltering and defending fleeing Ukrainians. The EU was able to make different political decisions than it did seven years ago; thanks to this initial playing field and other geopolitical, historical, and cultural factors that were also taken into account when formulating policy, namely the activation of the most advantageous refugee reception and protection mechanism in the EU's

history. In crisis-related situations like the Ukrainian-Russian conflict and its ensuing refugee crises, media may significantly shape public opinion and influence policy-making cycles, according to various studies (Eberl et al., 2018).

According to Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1993). Media can play a significant role in promoting and influencing policy decisions. This bureaucratic affinity between media, policy-makers, and audience Fishman (1980) also gives journalism the power to advance the public agenda through consistent coverage of certain issues and the development of differentiated narratives for or against a particular situation (McCombs & Shaw, 1972).

The purpose of this research is to analyse how the media contributes to racial bias in the refugee crisis in Ukraine by sharing both positive and negative narratives. On the basis of double standards, particular examples of media coverage and framing of refugees from Ukraine will be given.

Finally, a set of suggestions aimed at the European Commission (EC) and media newsrooms will consider potential course of action to use the potential of the recently activated ,while minimizing prejudice in policy choices and double standards in media coverage.

2. Literature Review

The role of the media in influencing public opinion and policy choices in the context of humanitarian crises, the representation of refugees in the press, and the influence of media in framing narratives in contexts related to refugee crises have all been extensively studied in the literature on migration-media studies, and in particular in the wake of the Syrian refugee crisis. A frame may be thought of as a framework of interpretation that supports a specific problem description or causal interpretation of an issue of contextualization (Entman, 1993). In a similar vein, media framing is the process by which the media puts the events reported in a given viewpoint or frame, choosing particular elements of a medial reality assimilated, and serving as the gatekeeper on how the news is presented

(Scheufele,1999). Because it can give media viewers specific tools to comprehend and describe the issue, the tone and format of news coverage is therefore particularly crucial because it can promote public opinion and policy decisions (Eberl et al.,2018). In this setting, media coverage has a significant impact on how some crises are framed, emphasising certain elements while underplaying or omitting others, and helping to shape positive and negative narratives (Xu,2021). It has been demonstrated that the general mood of media coverage, particularly as it pertains to migration, affects how the public views the subject (Boomgaarden&Vliegenthart, 2009). As a result, the initial media framing and narrative proliferation may have a significant impact on how the general public views the crisis and what solutions they deem appropriate, while policymakers may be influenced by media coverage and public opinion when deciding how to address the crisis (Georgiou &Zaborowski, 2017). Traditional media has plenty of room to first alter individuals' perceptions of what the arrival of these migrants will likely entail for their respective nation when there is a climate of uncertainty (Heidenreich et al., 2019).

2.1 Racial Bias Toward Refugees of Colour

Generally speaking,when refugees flee a war they undoubtedly experience horror before,during, and after their migration journey.AsSigvardsdotter(2016) points out:

Refugees escaping war face horror prior, during, and following their migration journey due to violence, malnutrition, imprisonment, sexual violence, torture, loss of property and livelihood, separation or death of loved ones, and resettlement stress (pp.41-73).

On February, 2022, the Russian invasion of Ukraine led the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHRC) to declare a state of emergency at Level 3,the highest level (UNHC,2022).Through April , 2022, there were roughly 4.2 million migrants who had fled Ukraine.

Because of their skin tone and ethnic heritage, People of Colour (POC) have been especially affected by this surge of refugees, which could aggravate traumas resulting from the conflict they have already experienced. There have been issues with passing boundaries(Howard,2022,pp,1-33).

In addition to the conflict, refugees of colour who fled the war in Ukraine experienced inequality and racial abuse both before and after passing boundaries. In other words, as a victim or a witness, a refugee of colour were exposed to threat ,biases, pain, embarrassment, humiliation, and guilt related to different forms of racial discrimination. Racial trauma is actually the term used to describe these situations(Haeny,2022,pp.1-9).

Thanks to media that played a significant role in disclosing and highlighting such situations of racial bias against non-Ukrainian refugees. The following section sheds more lights on the role of media as platform of public communication.

2.2 Critical discourse analysis studies on media bias

A review of prior research on media discourse and refugees is presented in this section. For instance, Chen (2008) used van Dijk's (1998) Ideological Square of positive-self representation and negative-other representation to investigate fifty-five news articles on the Sino-Japanese Conflict in the New York Times (2001-2006). The Japanese government is seen as being more kind and logical, whereas the Chinese government is portrayed as forceful, domineering, and authoritarian by the New York Times. Chen came to the conclusion that there were 51 ideologically charged news pieces and 4 reasonably neutral news reports.

Kandil (2009) analysed the discourse of terrorism in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, which is recognised as one of the bloodiest and longest-running conflicts in modern history, using van Dijk's theory of ideology and news reports from Al-Jazeera Arabic, CNN, and the BBC. The study tries to demonstrate how ideology and power influence language in certain political and social frames. By studying data from three different cultures (American, Arab, and British) in two different languages (Arabic and

English), this study adds a substantial multilingual and multicultural component to the study of CDA. Ideologically, Kandil concluded that terrorism is commonly depicted in the news as a response to violent actions carried out by Palestinian organisations but hardly ever as a response to violent acts carried out by Israel, namely in BBC and CNN.

Furthermore, using van Dijk's (1991, 1995, 2000) socio-cognitive method, Wodak's (2001) discourse-historical approach, and van Leeuwen's (1996) sociological categories of actor representation, KhosraviNik (2009) examined the discourse media. He examined how British newspapers covered the Balkan war (1999) and the British election (2005) in terms of refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants, and migrants (RASIM for short). The study comes to the conclusion that immigrants, refugees, and asylum seekers are adversely portrayed in the British news through a variety of topoi, including numbers, threat (challenge to cultural identity and communal values), and danger. Furthermore, in his study on the new racism that has emerged in the everyday dialogue and media, Iková (2012) looked at the British press. The positive actions of the majority are emphasised, while the negative actions of the majority are pushed to the background. On the other hand, the positive actions of the minority are pushed to the background while their negative actions take centre stage. By providing a clear view of how the new racism is represented on various levels, such as the level of meaning, linguistic representation, and argumentation strategies depending on Wodak's (2001) discourse historical approach and van Leeuwen's (1996; 2008) sociological categories of actor representation, the study seeks to examine how immigrants, refugees, and asylum seekers are portrayed in the British press. The Guardian, which represents the liberal left wing press, and the Telegraph, which represents the right wing, conservative press, were also investigated. In this analysis, it is clear that the Telegraph's portrayal of Racism is more prejudiced and unfavourable than the Guardian's.

In his analysis of subtitles and headlines from the Arabic Syrian station SANA and the English station Aljazeera's coverage of the Syrian protest, Ghazal (2015) not only uses Kandil's (2009) method but also adopts it. The analysis also underlines the significance of ideology in relation to the

Syrian protest. There are eight headlines and eight subtitles in this study's data. The goal of this study is to examine how language is used to exert power in political debates. Ghazal used Fairclough's (1997; 2003) strategy, which underlines the significance of ideology in shaping dialogue. As a result, Ghazal reached the following conclusion, as Kandil (2009) noted, each channel's ideology portrays the news from its own point of view, although there are differences between them in terms of theorists, news media, and case studies as well.

Using van Dijk's (1998) theory of Ideological Square, YaYlaci (2015) analysed the representation of Syrian refugees in Hurriyet, YeniSaFak, and Cumhuriyet newspapers between 1 January and 31 December 2014. He studies themes, styles, and photographs used in the selected newspapers. The findings of this study show that the political standards of the newspapers and their attitudes toward the Turkish government strongly affect the ways they shape the news about Syrian. As far as, the representation of the Ezidi theme is concerned, YeniSafak ignores the humanitarian aspect of the Ezidi issue whereas Cumhuriyet and Hurriyet represent the news with photographs depicting the tragedies as well as the sufferings of Ezidi refugees. Furthermore, these newspapers criticise the government for not equally help all the Syrian refugees..

Sajjad (2015) investigated how the Arabic and Muslim worlds were portrayed in Barack Obama's political speeches. The examination of Obama's policies towards the Middle East and the Muslim adoption of Fairclough's (1989; 1992; 1995) ideas are used to achieve this. The purpose of this study is to highlight Obama's ideological standards with regard to the Middle East and Muslims. Barack Obama, however, underlines the ties between the USA and the Islamic world and claims that collaboration is the only plan for bringing about world peace. He disapproves of using force against any nation, with the exception of those that intend to use nuclear weapons. Barack Obama often cautions many Muslim nations including Iran and Syria, against using chemical weapons and having murky programmes. Additionally, he quotes verses from the Glorious Quran in an effort to win over Muslims worldwide. As a result, he

provides several examples of how much he loves and respects all ideologies.

Reitmanova, Gustafon, and Ahmed (2015) used a critical discourse analysis to look at 273 stories from 10 major Canadian newspapers and their framing of specific social and health concerns affecting immigrants from China and south Asia. The researchers contend that violent assaults on immigrants and their businesses in Canada are a part of the negative image of non-white immigrants. Chinese women are seen as prostitutes in Canada, too. Media frequently portrays immigrants as drug users and gamblers. In order to illustrate health difficulties, the researchers emphasise the problems of power and social inequality. In turn, this enhances the already-existing social barrier between native-born and non-native born groups by instilling fear and hostility in the native-born population of the host nations. According to the study's findings, immigrants pose health risks to persons who are out and about, riding the bus, metro, or streetcar, or who go shopping.

Gartrell (2016) also looked at how Muslims and Syrian refugees were portrayed in the British media. Gartrell focused on how Syrian refugees are depicted, including whether they are seen as Muslims fleeing conflict or as migrants. She selected 45 pieces from The Guardian, The Daily Telegraph, and The Daily Mail that were published in September 2015 since these publications are among the top four most read British newspapers, according to the National Readership 2015. Gartrell used van Dijk's (1992; 2002) methodology to illustrate the themes and ideological discourses in order to get the conclusion that Syrian refugees are largely seen as migrants. In addition, migrants are typically portrayed negatively, either as helpless victims or a threat to British civilization Darweesh (2016) explores the case of Syrian refugees through the use of critical discourse analysis, assessing three political speeches by Barack Obama, John Kerry, and Hillary Clinton using van Dijk's (1995; 2000; 2001; 2006) socio-cognitive method. He looks at the usage of lexicalization, polarisation, presupposition, vagueness, generalisation, negativity, and national self-glorification, among other things. Additionally, he draws the conclusion that the utterances of American politicians are not impartial. They actually

make an effort to convey negative ideology towards the political situation in Syria and employ a variety of techniques, including negative lexicalization, polarisation, sympathy, implication, and argumentative movements, in order to demonstrate positive self-representation and negative other-representation. The analysis of media discourse in connection to society, culture, ideology, power, and language has been reinforced by the findings of earlier research.

Additionally, prior research has been influential on a variety of linked topics, including ideology, history, and linguistic techniques. In contrast to the mentioned research, the current study takes into account four important factors: approach, methodology standpoint, scope, and context. In contrast to other studies, the corpus used in this one differs, as do the qualitative techniques used and the kinds of linguistic structures that were examined. This study aimed to close the gap in the body of knowledge by conducting a linguistic analysis that links ideological ties with language, form, and structure.

3. Data Collection

This research provides an analysis of data that includes news reports, tweets, and other media sources concerning the Russian invasion of Ukraine. Transcription of the selected media is taken from different media platforms. Furthermore, the researcher selected the data that appeared indicative of a racial bias between Ukrainian refugees and refugees from the Middle East, Africa, and other parts of the world. These data have been collected from the internet (youtube, twitter, sites, and other internet sources).

4. Methodology

As a method of analysis, CDA describes, interprets, analyses, and criticizes everyday life by investigating “the discursive practices of a community its normal ways of using language”(Luke,2002:100).

CDA is one of the most widely used methods to analyze talks on media since it has the ability of “linking properties of talk with higher-level features of society and culture, relations of power, ideologies, and cultural

values" (Fairclough,1995:23). Simply, CDA makes "links between the 'micro' details of talk-in-interaction and the 'macro' levels of sociological variables – class, gender, and so forth" (Huchby,2006: 31). In other words, the analytical tactics of CDA always "move back and forth from analysis of text to analysis of social formation and institution"(Wodak,1996:17). As a method of analysis, CDA is more interested in "power abuse, that is, in breaches of laws, rules and principles of democracy, equality and justice by those who wield power" CDA focuses more on the "intricate relationships between text, talk, social cognition, power, society and culture" (van Dijk,1993: 250-4). Thus, CDA is used here to analyze talk on media to explore the most racial bias towards one group of refugees over the others.

Van Dijk and Wodak, provide powerful tools for the analysis of racist discourses from European perspectives. Their theories certainly have been a great contribution to research on racism in media as well as in other institutions in Europe.

Accordingly, the researcher will use CDA approaches. Van Dijk's (2003) "The Discourse-Knowledge interface" is a multidisciplinary framework which privileges a socio-cognitive approach to racism. Wodak's (2002) "Aspects of Critical Discourse Analysis" is an approach grounded on a concept of social critique involving three main interconnected aspects.

5. Data Analysis

In less than two months, the world has been turned upside down due to Russia's invasion of Ukraine. In a mere fifty-seven days, more than 5.1 million refugees, or around 11% of the population, have fled Ukraine, seeking safety for their families and loved ones. At the current rate of displacement, UNHCR, the UN Refugee Agency, has predicted that, the situation looks set to become Europe's largest refugee crisis this century.

5.1 Racial Bias on Borders

The global response to refugees, especially from neighboring countries, has been described by U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees Filippo Grandi as a movement of "tremendous solidarity and hospitality". For example, the European Commission promised that they would welcome refugees with 'open arms', and the United Kingdom relaxed its visa requirements for refugees, estimating the arrival of 200,000. The European Union offered temporary protection for at least three years to these refugees, and the United States attempted to fast-track the application process while pledging to accept 100,000. However, not every person fleeing Ukraine was given this warm welcome. Jessica Orakpo, a Nigerian medical student in Ukraine, told BBC News that she was told at the border by the guards that they were only tending to Ukrainians and that:

Extract 1: Black should walk

Jessica Orakpo: If you are black, you should walk

Non-white people, especially those coming from Africa who had been lawfully living in Ukraine, faced blatant discrimination. Non-white students, migrant workers, and others that did not fit the profile of a "typical Ukrainian"(fair-skinned with light-colored eyes) found themselves stranded at the border, prevented from fleeing while their light-skinned compatriots are allowed to seek refuge.

As thousands of people fled the violence in Ukraine, warring accounts of racial discrimination were reported throughout the evacuation efforts. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees has confirmed that there are cases of discrimination in admitting refugees. one Congo native saying he was discriminated against while trying to board a train out of Ukraine:

Extract 2: Blacks should fight for Ukraine

They even told us like we are going to give you guns and you're going to fight for Ukraine. I said hi. We're going to fight for Ukraine,

but we are not Ukrainian; we are black. So how can we fight for Ukraine if we fight for the request? We are going to die first because we are black. One day we will say, Oh, look at those black people. I think they are from NATO. So we have to kill them first. Okay, okay, how could they think that way? Come on, Ukraine.

It is an ugly truth that is once again bubbling to the surface in the midst of a war and in the midst of a humanitarian crisis that is now unfolding here in Poland, in Ukraine, and in neighboring countries. The gentleman there is 34 years old, has lived in Ukraine for the past nine years, and is originally from Congo. He said that he left the Republic of Congo for a better life to escape the political situation and strife there. However, he is once again having to leave another country and he is facing discrimination just a little bit more than what he said he and others endured as they tried to leave Ukraine. He is in Nepro or lived in Nepal, which is just south of Kiev, and at one point on the train that he was trying to get on with so many other refugees, he said that the guards there said that only women and children would be allowed to board the trains that were headed west and then they saw that there were white men who were allowed to get on but that the people of color were barred from getting onto that train. It was a moment of disbelief for him and certainly one of frustration, he said that he would have captured on video how the guards were aggressive towards the people of color, but in the midst of the chaos, it was not his first thought to record what was happening As of now. There have been a number of reports of discrimination that have unfolded in the midst of this mass migration from Ukraine, it's certainly very upsetting to him. He said something very striking for anyone who has been to that part of the world, obviously, the population is mostly white in Ukraine and in this part of the world. He said that to be black in Ukraine, you expect to be treated a certain way, and so on a certain level. He wasn't surprised by what happened, but certainly he was saddened and frustrated today about what they all experienced. Let's take another part of the exchange with the same Congoinc native person:

Extract 3: Blacks are nothing

It was clear. It was clear because we are black that's why they were acting that way. come on, we are black people in a white country. We already know the way that we're going to act with us, so for [...] me it's nothing.

That's amazing, It's nothings amazing. I wonder how many others are facing a similar situation. He said that if it was a person of color, man or woman, that there seemed to be a different experience for them and that at one point some of them were even pushed, shoved, and beaten. In particular, he said that if you appeared to be from Africa, you were subjected to clear discrimination. We have heard reports of incidents where people who appear to be from Africa have been harassed by members of right-wing organizations.

5.2 Ukrainian in western media

We have seen the situation in Ukraine and how the western Media is responding and covering this invasion, and how they are covering Russia's invasion with blatant racism. They only see race, the colour of your skin, and the colour of your hair.

Let us check this exchange that happened on the BBC. the so-called guardian of unbiased reporting (deputy chief prosecutor):

Extract 4: European people with blue eyes and blonde hair be killed

Deputy chief prosecutor: to me I'm sorry it's really emotional for me because I see European people with blue eyes and blonde hair being healed children be killed every day with Putin's missiles and his helicopters and his rockets and so.

The Interviewer: *of course I understand and respect the emotion*

People with blue eyes and blonde hair are emotional, not because the people are homeless or because their country is being invaded, but because their hair is blonde. On social media, a lot of people are defending the BBC, saying it's a guest, not their anchor. Let me take you

back to September last year, when other guests were speaking on the same channel with a south Asian expert. Christine Fair called out Pakistan's links with the Taliban. Do you remember what the BBC presenter did? She shut her down. She said it was violating the channel's unbiased coverage, so exposing terror links is a violation. Blatant racism and white supremacy are indeed the gold standard.

Another example is taken from NBC News from the US. This reporter said:

Extract 5: They are not refugees from Syria, they are Similar to Us

The Interviewer: Poland in just the last 24 hours, but look at what happened in the last Refugee crisis in Europe back in 2015 Poland was one of the EU countries that you know was hesitant to take in refugees talk about what has changed in a different position now?

Reporter: just to put a bluntly, these are not refugees from Syria, these are refugees from [...] neighboring Ukraine, I mean that quite frankly is part of it is our [...] Christians, they're white, they're [...] they're very similar to people, I mean people who live in Europe.

How so because the Syrian refugees are Muslims, whose skin is darker and whose hair is not blonde, so Europe does not want them? And remember, this is not being said at some white supremacy cult; this is happening on live television.

Another example is taken from CBS News with another American broadcaster. Their reporter is appalled by the war, not because there is death and destruction, but because it is happening in Europe.CBS Anchor:

Extract 6: It is a relatively civilized European country

The Interviewer: in Kiev and other parts of Ukraine that people were not really believing that Vladimir Putin would go this far that when the troop movement started to happen 24 hours ago.

Charlie:*[...] tens of thousands of people have tried to [...] flee the city there will be many more people are hiding out in bomb shelters but this isn't you know like Iraq or Afghanistan that has seen conflict raging for decades you know this is a relatively civilized [...] relatively European I have to choose those words carefully too [...] city where you wouldn't expect that or hope that it's going to happen.*

Charlie D'Agata says. So Iraq and Afghanistan are uncivilized countries; their people are uncultured; their regimes are irresponsible; they deserve war; they deserve hundreds of bombs and years of occupation. What about Ukraine? According to CBS, Ukraine does not deserve war or hardships because it is civilized.

6. Conclusion

It is evident that the media, particularly in the case of Ukrainian refugees, has played a significant impact in how social actors are portrayed. Thus, the identification of ideology-laden structures and the development of EFL cultural awareness are both impacted by the examination of media discourse. The learner's knowledge of Western societies and attitudes around racism and discrimination will grow as a result of this. This is demonstrated by statistics from media, which presents its news in a biased manner by portraying refugees from other nations negatively.

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