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Mainstream Media Framing of Political Conflicts: A Comparative Study of the Ukrainian and Syrian Refugee Crises

Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for Master's Degree in Literature and Civilization

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Dedication

This work is dedicated to:

Our beloved families, those who are by God's hand, and those who are with us safe and sound, thank you so much for the love and support that have been the driving force behind our achievements. We dedicated this work to our amazing and extraordinary supervisor, who contributed through hard work, guidance, encouragement, and belief in our potential throughout this research. Lastly, we dedicated this work to the almighty God. Thank you for your strength, power, mind, protection, and skills, and for giving us a healthy life.

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Abstract

The present study examined media representations of two of the most recent humanitarian crises, Syrian and Ukrainian refugees, and whether portrayals of these groups differed across Western mainstream media. A mixed-methods approach was used to investigate how the media framed these two groups differently or equally. A total of 160 news articles were collected from four news outlets: BBC News, The Guardian, CNN, and Fox News. An analysis of the selected articles was quantitatively and qualitatively conducted based on a coding scheme comprising six frames: services, economics, ethnicity, law, security, and linguistics. The findings revealed that BBC News, CNN, and Fox News tend to cover Syrian refugees more negatively than Ukrainian refugees. However, they are generally positive about Ukrainian refugees. Moreover, The Guardian tends to be more balanced, with a slightly more positive tone toward the Ukrainians than towards the Syrians. Thus, bias has been evident in reporting on refugee groups as well as double standards when framing them. Given the severity of this issue and the ongoing conflict, further research is necessary in order to gain a deeper understanding of how the framing of this issue has evolved.

Keywords : Framing theory, Media coverage, Orientalism, Syrian refugees Ukrainian refugees

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CNN	Cable News Network
GTD	Global Terrorism Database
MENA	Middle East and North Africa
UK	United Kingdom
US	United States
Neg	Negative
Pos	Positive
Und	Undecided
CDA	Critical discourse analysis
ISIS	Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant

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General Introduction

1. Background of The Study

Over the years, the mass media have played a significant role in shaping modern culture. Jacobs (1992) contends that the media influence many aspects of human life, including political views, personal beliefs, and knowledge, sometimes in a misleading manner. With the development of mass media, the dissemination of information is becoming more diverse and interactive. During the past few decades, mass media have experienced significant changes (Valkenburg et al. 2016). Various aspects of human life have been impacted by these changes, including the way in which we consume and process information as well as the way in which we interact with others. Media effects can be observed in individual behaviours and attitudes as well as in societal impacts, including changes in public opinion and consumer behaviour (DellaVigna & Kaplan, 2007). As Georgiou and Zaborowski (2017) pointed out, the media is the most important source of information about politics and conflicts, which greatly influences citizens' perceptions and opinions about these issues. With the rise of media manipulation and framing in the 21st century, the media has gained considerable power over society. A good example of this is how Muslims were framed after the 9/11 attacks. Hence, media framing has become an integral component of the way news and stories are presented and understood in the modern world. Furthermore, it has a significant impact on conflict dynamics and outcomes.

It is widely recognized that mainstream media outlets are widely represented as sources of information regarding conflicts, wars, and refugee issues, including refugees from Arab, African, and Muslim countries. Recently, the influx of Syrian and Ukrainian refugees has received extensive media coverage, particularly in Western countries, as they search for safety and stability. To provide context for this study, it is important to note that the Syrian civil war began in 2011 as part of the Arab Spring pro-democracy movements (BBC News, 2023). A

number of factors contributed to the outbreak, including prolonged drought, growing economic instability, and tensions between citizens and Bashar al-Assad's government (BBC News, 2023). As a result of the protests, the Syrian military and rebel groups engaged in a civil war. Due to the conflict, terrorist groups such as ISIS and Al-Qaeda became involved; later, powerful countries such as Russia, the United States, and Iran became involved in the Syrian conflict, creating a more complex situation. There have been over 13 million Syrians displaced because of the civil war. Syrian refugees flooding into Europe have created political and social tensions in many countries and contributed to anti-immigrant sentiments (BBC News, 2023).

Meanwhile, Ukraine has suffered civil conflict after President Yanukovych rejected EU membership in 2014 (CNN, 2022). In response to this decision, Russia annexed Crimea and provided support to separatist organizations in Donbas, displacing approximately 1.5 million people because of the violence in the region (CNN, 2022). The Ukrainian people are now overwhelmingly supportive of Ukraine's alignment with NATO and the EU, despite concerns raised by Russia and Putin. The Russian invasion of Ukraine in 2022 resulted in the displacement of 5.1 million people and the emergence of a resistance movement supported by the West (CNN, 2022). As of today, the conflict between Russia and Ukraine continues despite international attempts to resolve it.

In the aftermath of these conflicts, the refugee crisis and the media discourse on it developed. In the context of refugee crises, mainstream media play an important role in shaping public opinion and discourse on political conflicts. How these issues are framed by the media has a significant impact on how audiences perceive them. It has been demonstrated in previous research that Western media portrays crises in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region in a negative light. Many theoretical approaches have been used to discuss these conclusions, but the vast majority employed framing theories and/or Orientalist perspectives. Similarly, the present study draws on framing theory as well as Orientalism to examine Western mainstream media discourse on the Syrian and Ukrainian refugee crises.

2. Statement of the Problem

Media outlets played an important role in highlighting the Ukrainian-Russian conflict, the Syrian civil war, and the refugee crisis in both countries. The media's coverage of Ukrainian refugees, however, represents a new and distinct perspective on a relatively new group of refugees in comparison to the portrayal of refugees from the Middle East and North Africa, such as Syrians. Public perception suggests that Western media report about refugee groups in a biased manner, resulting in different treatment, and subsequently leading to hostility and hate speech against these refugees in the real world. This study will address the problematic representation of the Syrian and Ukrainian refugee crises in Western mainstream media.

3. Research Questions

This study is guided by the following central question and sub-questions:

How do Western mainstream media portrayals of the Syrian refugee crisis compare to the Ukrainian refugee crisis?

Sub-questions:

(1) In what ways has the media depicted Syrian refugees?

(2) In what ways has the media depicted Ukrainian refugees?

4. Aims of the Study

The purpose of the current study is to compare the framing of Syrian and Ukrainian refugees by Western mainstream media. As part of this comparison, this paper examine how both refugee groups were discussed concerning the following themes: services, economics, legality, security, ethnicity, and linguistics. Thus, the study examines how the media has framed these two groups differently or equally, despite both groups seeking safety and stability.

5. Significance of the Study

This study is useful to fellow researchers since it contributes to our understanding of the different angles each media outlet takes in reporting on the same event. Additionally, it adds evidence to anecdotal evidence of the differing responses of Western media to the Syrian and Ukrainian refugee crises. Specifically, this study contributes to the media and communication studies field by critically examining the representation of refugee crises in different types of media, namely news stories and articles.

6. Research Methodology

This study utilized a mixed-methods approach that combined qualitative and quantitative research methods. A mixed-methods approach allows researchers to benefit from both qualitative and quantitative methods, which is one of its advantages. The use of a mixed-methods approach provided a greater understanding than previous studies that employed only quantitative or qualitative methods. Data were collected from four mainstream news outlets: BBC News, The Guardian, CNN, and Fox News. These media outlets were chosen for their global reach and popularity. In total, 160 articles were analyzed, 80 for each group of refugees and 20 for each news outlet. Using six different frameworks: services, economics, legality, security, ethnicity, and linguistics, the data were categorized as negative, positive, or undecided. The resulting frames will be presented in statistical tables. In the qualitative analysis phase, a detailed examination and comparison of the meaning of words and quotations will be conducted, utilizing the insights gained from the quantitative analysis. This analysis will involve a critical evaluation of the ways in which the media portrays Syrian and Ukrainian refugees.

7. Structure of the Study

The study is divided into two chapters. A theoretical framework and a literature review are presented in the first chapter of this thesis. An analysis of media discourses on the

Syrian and Ukrainian refugee crises will be conducted from the perspective of theoretical framing that will include orientalism as well as framing theory, which are the most appropriate theoretical approaches for analysing media discourses. In the second section of the first chapter, a literature review examines and synthesizes previous studies related to this issue in order to identify gaps in our understanding. The results of the analysis are presented in the second chapter. A discussion of future research implications and recommendations concludes the study.

CHAPTER ONE

Theoretical Framework and Literature Review

Chapter One: Theoretical Framework and Literature Review

Introduction

Prior to addressing the research questions stated in the general introduction, it is important to establish the theoretical foundation of this dissertation. The theoretical framework section will discuss two theories: framing theory and Orientalism. First, we will explore the history of framing theory and state the theoretical position adopted in this dissertation. Orientalism will then be examined, its relevance to our study, and how it can be used to provide insight into the portrayal of the refugee crises. The literature review section will tackle the previous empirical studies related to this topic. In this section, The current paper will examine and synthesize the relevant literature on media framing effects on political conflicts. This will encompass studies examining the impact of media on various aspects, including the events of 9/11, the influence of media on racism and Islamophobia, the effects of media on wars, and previous studies related to Syrian and Ukrainian refugees. The chapter concludes with a synthesis of these studies, highlighting their limitations and identifying the gap in the literature.

1.1 Theoretical Framework

This section provides an overview of the theoretical framework that underpins the current study and the interpretation of its findings.

1.1.1   Framing Theory

Framing theory is an emerging concept that became prominent during the 1970s and 1990s as scholars looked to understand how the media affected public opinion and political choices. The concept of frame analysis was introduced in 1974 by the Canadian sociologist Erving Goffman. Researchers such as Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw developed it later in their research on political communication. The American author Robert Entman expanded on the concept of framing during the 1990s. Since the concept of framing was first introduced, it has been used in various domains, such as public health, media, advertising, and politics.

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Framing became an essential element of communication, especially in the political field. How a message is framed can significantly impact how it is perceived and received by the audience. According to Entman (1993), framing is "selecting and emphasizing some aspect of perceived reality for emphasis in a communicative text." (p. 52). For instance, framing can be used in political campaigns to point out specific issues or aspects to influence voters' viewpoints and gain more votes.

Gamson and Goffman (1975) detailed how individuals attempt to discover a situation's fundamental framework, a socially maintained classification system that defines proper verbal and nonverbal communication behaviour parameters. Goffman also addressed how humans relate to and interpret fundamental frameworks through keying, fabrication, and embedding, framing the circumstances for goal-oriented objectives in this seminal analysis. Tuchman (1980) remarked that frame analysis did not promote a theory of communicative interaction, much less one that explained how journalists, news sources, and news viewers impact one another in the multilevel process in which frames are formed and framing effects occur. Rather, news framing theory evolved as journalists learned to perceive framing as an integrative notion (D'Angelo & Kuypers, 2010). Framing can also refer to how individuals perceive and interpret information based on their existing mental frameworks or schemas. Framing effects occur when various but conceptually similar representations of the same information result in different conclusions or decisions (Tversky & Kahneman, 1981). The theory of framing, as proposed by Chong and Druckman (2007), aims to explore how the presentation of concerns can impact public perceptions. It suggests that individuals possess diverse information readily available or stored in their memory. People seek out data in their memories when asked for an opinion. Furthermore, the preferences reported are likely to be shaped by the information acquired if regarded as appropriate or relevant to the context. For Chong and Druckman (2007), a frame will have a greater impact on choices if it makes a belief available, accessible, and/or significantly relevant. Framing theory refers to the way in which

information is presented to an audience, known as the "frame," and how that can impact how people interpret and respond to that information. Frames are abstract concepts that help structure and organize a message's meaning. The news and media often use frames to shape how information is presented to audiences. According to framing research, news frames provide suggestions about how audiences should understand a problem or event. Framing may considerably impact public opinion regarding attitudes, actions, and beliefs. It is not unexpected that they are connected to other important processes in the processing and consumption of news.

According to Entman (1993), the fact that framing is still an elusive concept with unclear definitional bounds is a common complaint in communication research (D'Angelo, 2002; Sheufele, 2000). Entman et al. (2000) categorized framing research approaches into two categories: studies with framing as a dependent or independent variable. Frame building was typically the concern of the former group or how various frames compete for acceptance by society's elites and journalists, and how frames are established in societal discourse. The latter group is primarily interested in "frame setting," or the impact of framing on viewers (Scheufele, 2000). Frame building is the process of creating and negotiating frames in various domains, such as journalism, politics, and culture (Scheufele & Nisbet, 2009). In the context of journalism, frame building involves selecting and presenting information in news stories (Entman, 1993). In politics, frame-building is used by political actors to shape public opinion and advance their agendas (Snow & Benford, 2000). For Chong and Druckman (2007), political frames can influence how individuals perceive issues and events and can mobilize support for certain policies or positions.

According to the framing theory, the media offers news items with a specific and predetermined context. These frameworks can improve comprehension or serve as conceptual frameworks to connect narratives to a larger social context. There are two main frameworks developed by Goffman (1975), the natural and the social, which help people make sense of their experiences and data. Social frameworks view events as socially driven owing to participants'

preferences, objectives, and manipulations. In contrast, natural frameworks view events as physical events without assigning societal causes. As the foundation for social frameworks, natural frameworks significantly impact how information is viewed, processed, and shared. Although Goffman makes the assumption that people are capable of using these frameworks whether or not they are aware of them, he argues that they are capable of doing so.

Chong and Druckman (2007) contend that audience frames play a critical role in the information processing of issue frames as well as in the formation and expression of opinion. A major element of this paradigm is that news framing requires persuasion, a widely controversial idea because several theorists still regard news as a public platform for information distribution (Chong & Druckman, 2007). Yet, three more theoretical assumptions reinforce that persuasion occurs during news framing. First, an issue frame might be either strong or weak. According to agenda-setting theory, a strong frame offers a convincing argument expressing a clear, directed perspective toward an event or issue. Second, photographs and videos are frequently used in journalism to enhance the emotional impact of a topic (Chong & Druckman, 2007). Work-based on visual information processing theory seeks to keep concurrently concentrating on "visual" problem frames that a reader or listener encounters in the words of a story. Third, the persuasiveness of an argument is determined by an individual's assessment of its usefulness. The assessment is based on several factors, including an individual's knowledge of the event or issue, whether the issue frame corresponds with their previous accessible beliefs, how competitively news organizations introduce issue frames along with one another, and whether visuals are included that are consistent with the issue frame. (Chong & Druckman, 2007)

According to Chong and Druckman (2007), weak frames are a combination of strong and weak frames. Weak frames are seen as unconvincing and may lack logic and coherence compared to strong frames. For example, there are arguments for and against increasing taxes. Some people believe it's necessary to fund public services, while others argue it may burden

taxpayers. It's a complex issue that requires careful consideration. In this weak frame, the argument presents a balanced view by acknowledging both sides of the debate. However, it lacks a clear stance and fails to provide strong reasoning or evidence to support either perspective, resulting in a less persuasive frame.

According to Tuchman (1980), communication frames organise everyday reality by giving meaning to events, but Gamson and Modigliani (1989) claim that frames promote certain definitions and interpretations of political concerns. During the last decade, the identification of frames in media has been a major study subject, with researchers utilising frames to follow problem definitions, analyse media coverage, and evaluate changes among media types. Although there are no consistent measurement standards, compelling studies typically employ similar steps.

Davie's (2020) observation regarding the use of framing theory in political news outlets highlights the powerful influence that media framing can have on public opinion. According to Davie (2020), by presenting information in a certain way, news outlets can shape the audience's understanding of events and issues to align with their desired message or agenda. This is particularly evident in the case of outlets such as Fox News. For example, Fox News has been criticized for using particular frames that often criticize certain groups, such as immigrants and liberals.

The media plays a crucial role in shaping public opinion on refugees through framing, as Entman (1993) discussed. Therefore, media outlets have the ability to portray refugees either positively or negatively. For example, they might emphasize refugees' difficulties and obstacles, encouraging sympathy and support for their cause. Alternatively, they may portray refugees as threats to national security or economic stability, causing fear and hostility toward them.

1.1.2 Orientalism

In his 1978 book "Orientalism," Palestinian philosopher Edward Said established the idea of Orientalism. According to Said (2014), Orientalism refers to the way in which the West views the East, particularly the Middle East and North Africa, as being exotic and primitive. According to Said (2014), Western countries used this image to assert their political and cultural domination over the East rather than serve a neutral purpose. The way in which Western academics, artists, and authors have depicted the East as a homogenous and static entity rather than as a dynamic and diverse region with its own distinct cultures, histories, and views is highlighted by Said's critique of Orientalism. Said (2014) condemned colonial Western powers for using these images of the East to support their own imperial policies and practices.

Orientalism is the representation of the East through the lens of Western civilization This frequently paints the East as having no meaningful identity and imprisoned in a rigid and violent history (Said, 1993). For Said (2014), the East's identity is defined by its link to mainstream culture, and the West uses the East to show its superiority. Said stated that the idea included differences between the "East" (the Orient) and the "West" (the Occident) for the "West" to control and legitimise perspectives on the "East." Discourse differences such as "we" and "them," majority and minority, and native and alien cultures have come to dominate today.

The September 11, 2001 events marked a shift in the focus of neo-Orientalism towards a more specific region: the Arab world and Islam. This new form of otherness also resulted in self-Orientalism and intra-national othering. The aftermath of the attacks brought Islam to the forefront of global attention, leading to both positive and negative outcomes. Islam has become a product and actor of globalization, with an increasingly prominent presence in Europe and America. The once-distant and mystical image of Islam during the colonial period has been replaced by a more visible and tangible Islamic culture at the centre of Western societies (Göle, 2002). Neo-Orientalism and classical Saribek (2021) stated that Orientalism differs in its approach to describing the East. Classical Orientalism primarily defines the East

through its geographic location, of Europe. On the other hand, neo-orientalism identifies the East within specific cultural and identity contexts, such as Islam and the Middle East.

Isakhan (2010) argues that the news media are responsible for creating an Arab and Middle Eastern Islamic conception of the 'other' that can be traced back to the early days of the media industry as a whole. Isakhan (2010) stated that the history of racialist coverage in the Australian news media serves as a precedent for the Orientalist stereotypes widespread in much of the Western media's coverage of Islam and the Middle East today, just as their Australian counterparts inherited a tradition of reporting on the non-Western world that failed to question prevailing ideologies. Contemporary Western journalists have also failed to offer nuanced and insightful discussions of global and domestic events related to the region. Instead, they rely on familiar assumptions, images, and motifs that depict the Orient and its people as "other." According to Isakhan (2010), this shorthand results in a binary opposition between the superior West and the backward East that is condensed into sound bites and emotive imagery in news reports, radio broadcasts, and televised news. Orientalism has shaped how refugees are depicted in the media, often focusing on negative aspects such as their burden on Western societies or potential threats to security.

Upon reviewing the literature, it became apparent that Western media portrays refugees in two basic ways. Firstly, refugees are frequently portrayed as weak victims, creating the impression that the East is inferior and in need of Western assistance. Second, the media perpetuates that the West is superior, and its concerns are more significant. This is done by focusing on how the crisis affects Western countries rather than the refugees themselves. Orientalism influences how the refugee crisis is depicted in Western media, which in turn impacts how the media cover the crisis. Hence, researchers can better understand how the media impacts public perceptions and attitudes toward migrants by examining the impact of Orientalism on media framing.

A framing approach and orientalist lens are used in this study to address the research questions and interpret the results. This was due to the fact that the theoretical frameworks that were discussed in this project were the most appropriate.

1.2 Literature Review

This section reviews the empirical evidence on the media's coverage of political conflicts. Throughout the literature, seven main themes have been explored. The topics covered were: 9/11 coverage, Islamophobia and racism, war coverage, media impact on immigration Attitudes, and refugee crises.

1.2.1 9/11 Coverage

A great deal of previous research into media studies on 9/11 has focused on tying the attackers to Islam and their Muslim backgrounds. This led to a widespread association of the 9/11 attacks with Islam and Muslims, linking Islam with terrorism. From our review of the relevant literature related to the theme of 9/11, the vast majority of empirical studies employed qualitative methods to explore the issue.

For instance, Zn et al. (2020) indicated a similar trend to pre-9/11 times coverage, in which most terrorist attacks are ignored, and a few are exaggerated. Incidents involving victims, Jihadi attackers, government targets, or firearms are far more likely to be reported and given greater attention. Moreover, the media tend to represent Jihadi attacks as universal, regardless of the nationality of the attacker. While this study provides valuable insights, there are several limitations that must be considered, such as the fact that the Global Terrorism Database uses various sources besides the New York Times to minimize the potential problem of endogeneity. However, the generalizability of the findings may be limited as the New York Times is mostly

used to determine media salience, and it is unclear how these findings reflect coverage from other media outlets. Nonetheless, pre-9/11 analyses indicate that the primary factors influencing terrorism coverage in the Times also influenced coverage from other sources. Therefore, future research still needs to address limitations regarding the GTD's (The Global Terrorism Database) use of sources and the generalizability of its findings.

Through qualitative content analysis, Van Dooremalen and Uitermark (2021) concluded that media coverage of 9/11 regarding foreign issues was consistent and similar in three countries, namely France, the United States, and the Netherlands. However, there were noticeable and long-standing cross-national variations concerning domestic issues. In France, 9/11 has had a minimal association with such issues. In the United States, it has been mainly linked to national security, while in the Netherlands, it has primarily led to the questioning of Muslim immigrants.

It is worth noting that this study has some limitations that may impact the generalizability of the findings. For example, it can only show what happened after the event, not whether it differed from what had previously occurred. This can be addressed by comparing how topics were framed before and after events. In addition, this approach does not consider indirect impacts and implicit references. For example, an event like 9/11 may have indirect impacts on public discourse through changes in government policy, media coverage, or cultural attitudes that are not directly related to the event itself.

Powell (2011) examined the coverage of Islam in the US media after September 11 events, it was found that the media reported these events in a manner that created fear of Islam and portrayed the United States as a Christian nation. This was achieved by naming the suspect, describing them in a certain manner, explaining why they committed the act, and indicating how likely they will repeat it. Powell (2011) also stated that the victims behaved in a certain way. This pattern of reporting is different for terrorists who are Muslims with international ties

compared to terrorists who are U.S. citizens with no international ties. The way the media covers terrorism has become so predictable that it creates a certain idea in people's minds about terrorism: that it is a war of Islam against the United States.

Despite the fact that the reviewed studies provide insightful conclusions, their scope remains limited. This was partly due to the use of qualitative research methods that did not provide numerical data, making it more difficult to compare findings across studies or perform statistical analyses. Thus, the findings of these studies were limited to one perspective, namely that of Western media. The perspective presented here may not be sufficient to capture the diverse experiences and perspectives of individuals and groups affected by the 9/11 attacks.

1.2.2 Islamophobia and Racism

The theme of Muslims and the framing of Muslims in the media was one of the main topics that the media discussed after the 9/11 attacks. A considerable amount of literature has been published on the themes of Islamophobia and racism. Most of these studies found that after the 9/11 attacks, scholars studied how Muslims were portrayed in the media. The media framed Muslims as violent and linked them to terrorism, which led to fear, racism, and discrimination against Muslims. This framing has been criticized for perpetuating Islamophobia, a phenomenon that is defined as the irrational fear and hostility towards Muslims and Islam. Studies have shown that media coverage of Muslims and Islam is often negative, highlighting conflicts, violence, and extremism while ignoring the diversity and complexity of Muslim communities worldwide.

Using a qualitative research method Ahmad et al. (2021) have demonstrated that the media successfully generated public fear about Islam and Muslims via news coverage of the terrorist phenomenon. Islamophobia has become normalised due to the media's tendency to

emphasize terrorist activities in their reporting. This has been noted in the coverage of numerous terrorist groups in Afghanistan, including al-Qaeda, ISIS, and the Taliban. The media frequently developed and reported on terrorism-related news, which has led to the spread of Islamophobia.. It is crucial to highlight, however, that the study did not provide sufficient details on the sample utilized. The researchers relied on a number of previous studies, which resulted in limited and inaccurate findings.

Cervi et al. (2021) used a mixed qualitative and quantitative approach to analyze the content of Spanish and Italian newspapers. Their findings revealed that Muslims in both countries were frequently pictured as either linked with terrorism or mentioned within the broader context of immigration. They were depicted as outsiders in both circumstances.

While the study's findings provided valuable insights into the portrayal of Muslims in the media in Spain and Italy, the study may have missed certain subtleties in the portrayal of Muslims in the newspapers, especially since the study used two newspapers with more conservative and left-leaning editorial policies from two countries, which allowed for the uncovering of patterns that differed in a national context and political orientation. In addition to that, using a single newspaper for every study does not capture a large segment of the population, so the results of this study are regarded as limited.

1.2.3 Wars Coverage

Much of the literature on the media's effects on wars pays particular attention to the idea that certain ideologies control the media's framing of wars and conflicts to serve certain agendas and political interests. This shows the way in which the media's framing of war can have a significant impact on public opinion and understanding of the conflict. Studies on the media framing of wars have employed qualitative and quantitative research methods to generate findings.

Using a qualitative research method based on text analysis, Strovsky and Schleifer (2020) found that the Kremlin needed a positive view of Moscow's engagement in the Syrian war since Russia's military operation triggered an international response. This has resulted in increased tensions and open discussions between Russia and several Western countries. The Kremlin used a comprehensive propaganda effort through Russian media to influence public sentiment in Russia in order to legitimize its acts. This phenomenon is important for understanding Russia's participation in the Syrian crisis and contemporary developments in international media.

The findings suggest that the Kremlin's media campaign was aimed at justifying Russia's involvement in the Syrian conflict by manipulating public opinion in Russia through propaganda. However, the use of media for propaganda purposes is not new, and various countries have employed it throughout history. This shows the media's power and its huge influence in wars and conflicts.

1.2.4 Media Impact on Immigration Attitudes

The existing literature on media impact on immigration attitudes is extensive and focuses particularly on how media framed and portrayed immigrants in a negative light, which led to effects on attitudes and behaviours towards them in the host countries. After reviewing the relevant literature, the majority of previous studies on the media's impact on immigration attitudes are based on a quantitative approach. The emphasis on quantitative research methods has enabled researchers to gather extensive amounts of numerical data in order to reach their findings.

In light of the Charlie Hebdo events, Solheim (2021) revealed that people from outside France were more hostile to immigration in general, especially Muslim immigrants, in the aftermath of the terrorist attacks. The media coverage of the attacks had an influence on people's

attitudes towards immigration, both by framing the attacks as relevant to immigration and by priming people with French Republican values. The attacks had a clear effect on attitudes toward immigration, reducing support for it in general. This effect was observed in both groups inside and outside of France. While the findings provide important insights into the effects of terrorist attacks on attitudes towards immigration, it may be difficult to generalize these findings to other contexts or countries. Different countries' cultural and political contexts may have various effects on people's opinions toward immigration following terrorist attacks.

In the studies related to American news media outlets and their impact on immigrants Parrott et al. (2019) found that the way news information is visually presented, such as in tweets, can affect people's emotional responses. This impact remains even after controlling for political ideology. Specifically, the framing of immigrants and refugees in political or human-interest terms significantly influenced emotional reactions, which then predicted perceptions of threat and attitudes toward public policy directed at immigrants and refugees. Negative emotional responses to politically framed messages predicted increased perceptions of threat and a desire for more restrictive policy, while positive emotional responses to human interest frames predicted decreased perceptions of threat and more positive attitudes toward policy aimed at aiding immigrants and refugees in resettling in the United States. However, the content analysis focused strictly on images, achieving the purpose of the study but limiting the amount of nuance that could be drawn from these social media posts, which may affect the reliability of the findings.

1.2.5 Refugees as Victims

A large and growing body of literature has investigated studies related to the Syrian refugees' coverage in the media. One of the main dominant themes in this area is framing Syria refugees as victims in the media. Most researchers investigating refugees as victims have utilised a qualitative approach to address their research questions.

Sunata and Yildiz (2018) utilized a qualitative method for Turkey's three largest major news agencies in light of the Turkish media's coverage of Syrian refugees. The study examined the news-making routines of major Turkish news outlets to determine how Syrian refugees are portrayed in Turkish media. According to the findings, Syrian migrants are portrayed in Turkish media as victims trying to survive. It was found that the Anadolu Agency mostly covered refugee policy news and humanitarian help. The Cihan News Agency provided the most refugee-related news and primarily reported on any important problem. Dogan News Agency, a mainstream news organization, mostly portrays Syrian refugees as victims and criminals. However, the findings of the research may be limited by a small sample size because it only examined a few news organizations, which may reduce the generalizability of the findings. Furthermore, the examination of news-making patterns may be subjective and impacted by the researcher's biases and perceptions, which may affect the validity of the findings of the research.

. 1.2.6 Welcome or Not Welcome Refugees

The literature on the media framing of Syrian refugees is largely based on empirical studies investigating how the media portrays refugees and whether the host countries welcome them. Most of these studies found that Syrian refugees are negatively represented in news media outlets, making them unwelcome refugees in the host countries. The relevant literature on this theme's findings is based on qualitative and quantitative approaches.

Hoyer (2016) looked at how El Mundo, El Pais, and ABC, three of the most influential newspapers in Spain, framed Syrian migrants. This study looked at how word choices used to characterize particular groups of individuals affected readers' sentiments of identification or the concept of "other." It examined the way Syrian refugees were portrayed in Spanish news media. Spanish media emphasized the distance between refugees and the host population by referring to Syrian refugees as "refugees, asylum seekers, and migrants". These many

classifications of refugees can either humanize or marginalize them, which affects how the press presents the issue to the public. It is critical to recognize that word choices have a big impact on public opinion and can influence how refugees are welcomed and treated in Spain—from deciding whether to admit them to the nation to their experiences once they arrive.

This study has given us a fair look at how Syrian refugees are portrayed in Spanish-language media, but it has limits because the researcher is a non-native Spanish speaker and an outsider from the United States. Even when the researcher has some familiarity with Spanish media and society through prior exposure, minute details could be missed. It is essential to recognize any biases that may arise from this viewpoint. A more in-depth investigation may have been possible with the assistance of an insider researcher.

Hovden et al. (2018) analyzed quantitatively how the Scandinavian news press covered the Syrian refugee crisis in 2015. A comparative analysis of Scandinavian newspapers revealed a noticeable difference in the frequency of reporting on the negative effects of refugee migration between those in Northern Europe and Scandinavia. Danish newspapers tended to mention negative consequences more frequently, while Swedish newspapers highlighted positive outcomes. In particular, Denmark emphasized the negative economic effects of immigration, while Sweden focused on positive moral outcomes. Norway, on the other hand, tended to occupy a more neutral position in Scandinavian discourse. Furthermore, the Danish press devoted less coverage to measures aimed at assisting refugees. Instead, it focused on measures to safeguard Europe and Denmark from the perceived dangers of immigration. Although the study presented good results for the Syrian refugees' case in the Scandinavian region, the study only analysed a specific time period, which was the year 2015, and therefore the findings may not be applicable to other time periods or ongoing developments in the region.

Tavassoli et al. (2019), in the context of the British media's framing of the Syrian refugees, found that the Guardian generally took a sympathetic stance toward Syrian migrants,

and this position has not changed. On the contrary, The Telegraph, the right-leaning newspaper, exhibits a more unwelcoming stance, which becomes even more pronounced after six months. The Guardian predominantly maintained a welcoming stance towards Syrian refugees, with 94% welcoming and 6% unwelcoming utterances. This welcoming stance remained consistent throughout the early and late periods, despite community attitudes hardening towards refugees. That said, the dataset was too small to draw generalised conclusions regarding media treatment and community attitudes. On the other hand, The Telegraph had a more unwelcoming stance, with 71% unwelcoming and 29% welcoming utterances towards refugees and their settlement policies. Limitations of this study include the lack of specific examples of unwelcoming utterances in The Guardian article and welcoming utterances in The Telegraph article, making it difficult to fully understand the nuances of the coverage. Additionally, the small sample size of only two articles from each newspaper may not be representative of the broader coverage of the refugee crisis by these newspapers. Broadly speaking, the complexity of the debate around European nations' response to the Syrian refugee crisis resulted in articles containing both welcoming and unwelcoming utterances.

1.2.7 The European Refugees

A great deal of previous research into European refugees has focused on the media's portrayal of the Ukrainian refugees. Most of the findings indicate a positive light and the fact that the Ukrainian refugees belong to the European Communities, unlike the other refugees from MENA (the Middle East and North Africa). Our review of the literature found that researchers have employed critical discourse analysis (CDA) method as their main methodology to explore the phenomenon under investigation.

Kapetanovic (2022) argued that the Danish media representation of Ukrainian refugees in the analysed material of her study portrayed them as "Ukrainians" or "Ukrainian refugees" to signal a sense of humanitarian responsibility and deservingness. Moreover, the

material emphasised the similarities between Danes and Ukrainians, further reinforcing their belonging to the in-group. However, this practice of emphasising sameness perpetuates social injustices towards other refugees. The content also promotes the "Dane" as a good citizen, emphasising how Denmark adjusts its approach to migrants and its emphasis on its humanitarian duty and international commitments to the Ukrainians.

Sören (2022) conducted a comparative study of the Ukrainian and Syrian refugees in German newspapers, and the findings suggest that the refugees from Ukraine and Syria in Germany are framed differently. However, the Sören (2022) study focused only on the framing of the refugees in Germany, which is considered a limitation here, so the findings of this study are limited and do not reflect a big picture of the coverage of these refugees. However, that is not surprising given the novelty of the topic and still ongoing to this day.

Similarly, in his analysis of the coverage of Ukrainian refugees by Swedish media outlets, Fekre (2023) investigated how the Swedish media has covered Ukrainian refugees fleeing the Russian invasion. Through the lens of critical discourse analysis, Fekre (2023) revealed that the media portrayed Ukrainian refugees in terms of their geographical and cultural background in Sweden, presenting them as an asset and emphasizing ideological similarities between the two countries. The asylum seekers are portrayed as having the right to enter and stay in Sweden. In Sweden, the refugees were depicted as deserving to come to and remain in the country. Additionally, the media often critiqued the Swedish government and authorities, highlighting the helplessness and vulnerability of the refugees.

The findings of the relevant literature related to this theme have provided interesting results concerning the Ukrainian refugees' coverage in the media. However, it has some limitations that may impact the credibility of the findings. One of the major limitations is that there may not be much systematic research in this area, which is not surprising due to the novelty of the phenomenon.

After an extensive review of the relevant literature, it is crucial to identify the existing gap that this paper intends to address. The focus of this research is to explore the media framing of Syrian and Ukrainian refugees, who are considered different groups of refugees from different cultural and social backgrounds. Especially since the flood of Ukrainian refugees adds a new perspective to the refugee crisis. The next chapter will aim to fill this gap by answering the main question of this paper.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter argued in favour of a theoretical framework based upon framing theory and orientalism, which are interconnected and support the key concepts being studied. During the literature review section, relevant literature related to the topic of this paper was critically examined and discussed. Gaps in this body of literature were identified and limitations within the existing studies were highlighted. This was particularly related to the lack of rigorous studies that explored the phenomenon under investigation. Overall, chapter one provided a solid foundation for this topic, which will assist this paper in reaching its objectives.

CHAPTER TWO

Empirical Evidence: Methods and Findings.

Chapter Two: Empirical Evidence: Methods and Findings

Introduction

In the first chapter, the theoretical framework and literature review were discussed. The empirical part of this study will build on the theoretical foundation; utilising the theories and findings of previous studies as well as identifying gaps, This chapter will benefit from it. This chapter focuses on the empirical part of the study, including data sources, data collection, data analysis, and findings, followed by a discussion. The chapter begins by arguing for the value of combining qualitative and quantitative methods to analyse the data. Next, it presents the media outlets we selected, BBC News, the Guardian, CNN, and Fox News, as well as the reasons for their selection, which were based on their popularity and ideological orientation. Afterwards, it presents the procedures for data collection, methods for selecting data and data analysis. The chapter then outlines the findings and ends with a discussion, addressing the primary research question.

2.1 Data Sources

For the data sources, the researchers have selected four mainstream media due to their ideologies and popularity locally and globally.

BBC News: the BBC is a British public service broadcaster that is available globally in more than 200 nations. (BBC News, 2023) that is required by its Royal Charter to be impartial and independent. The BBC aims to present news and current events in a balanced and impartial way, without bias towards any particular political, social, or economic ideology.

The Guardian: The Guardian is an independent British newspaper considered the most-viewed newspaper in the UK in 2023 (The Most Popular Newspapers in the UK | Entertainment | YouGov Ratings, 2023). The Guardian is one of the most popular newspapers in Europe and is regarded as the most left-leaning newspaper in Britain (Smith, 2017).

Fox News: Fox News is an American media company that operates a conservative news and political commentary television channel and website that is owned by the Fox Corporation. Fox News is considered the most-watched news channel in the United States in 2023, and in recent years, it has been ranked number one in the USA after CNN and MSNBC (Statista, 2023).

 CNN: Cable News Network, or CNN, is an American multinational news channel that is available for free on five continents and is known as CNN International. Although Fox News beats CNN in the States, it is considered one of the most popular news channels across the globe.

2.2 Data Collection Procedure

A total of 160 articles were collected from the four mainstream media outlets introduced earlier. Each outlet was represented by 20 news articles. We used the Google search engine and the in-built search engine for each outlet to reach these articles by using the following keywords: "Syrian refugees," "Ukrainian refugees," "Syrian migrants," "The Guardian AND Syrian refugees," "The Guardian AND Ukrainian refugees," "Fox News AND Syrian refugees," and "Fox News AND Ukrainian refugees". The original number of articles was 440, which was filtered down to 160 due to the division of the frames and the time and their place on the results section (first pages of results). This meant that these articles were the most read and viewed content on each outlet. For instance, for the Syrian refugees, we excluded articles from 2011 to 2013. We also excluded articles that focused more on the conflicts than the refugees themselves. For analysing media coverage of Syrian refugees, we chose to focus on articles published between 2015 and 2018, as this period marked the largest wave of Syrian refugees entering Europe and North America, especially in the United Kingdom and the United States. However, we also recognize the importance of considering media coverage both before and after this time frame to gain a deeper understanding of the issue. Therefore, we have also included articles from before 2015 and after 2018 in our analysis. This allowed for examining the ways in which media coverage of Syrian refugees may have evolved over time. In contrast to the

reporting on Syrian refugees, the selection of the articles was easier for the Ukrainian refugees due to the novelty of the crisis and the range date of the articles, which was from February 2022; a date that marked the Russian invasion of Ukraine and the beginning of the refugee waves, until April 2023; a date that marked the start of our empirical work.

2.3 Data Analysis

In the current research, a framing analysis driven by Pan and Kosicki (1993) was conducted through the application of a mixed approach of qualitative and quantitative approaches. Through the combination of both qualitative and quantitative methods, researchers and readers can capture a range of perspectives and experiences. (Underhill Corporate Solutions, 2020). A coding scheme was created to analyze the data from the four mainstream media that we selected. Coding is one approach for constructing analytic files as well as recording and confirming data across every individual in the research group. It is the act of providing codes, statements, or ideas that indicate which themes or issues elements of the data belong to and structuring the data in a way that is usable for further investigation (Bailey, 2007). A coding scheme is a variety of codes determined by the words and phrases that researchers use to categorize a piece of data by topic (Qualitative Data Analysis, n.d.–b). This means assigning words or short phrases to the frames identified in the research. Creating a coding scheme is an essential part of the qualitative data analysis process. It allows researchers to organize and categorize large amounts of data into manageable units.

In this research, each frame contained three codes, namely, positive, negative, and undecided subcodes. The subcodes served as subframes during the qualitative text analysis. The goal was to have a structured approach to analyzing the data to gain a deeper understanding of the research problem. The quantitative aspect involved coding the content of each article, and then presenting the statistics in the form of tables, while the qualitative aspect involved analysing thematically the connotations of the language used in these articles (See linguistics

frame section, p. 39). Specifically, the analysis involved coding the content of articles as negative, positive, or undecided based on six frames: services, economics, legality, security, ethnicity, and linguistics. The resulting frames are presented in statistical tables, and then the qualitative analysis shows a detailed examination and comparison of the meaning of words and quotations, utilizing the insights gained from the quantitative analysis. The frames of this paper were adapted from previous research related to the media coverage of refugees in general. Lawlor and Tolley (2017) used economics, ethnicity, rights, security, services, and validity. Additionally, Sören (2022) used nine frames, which are capacity, economics, legality, security, ethnicity, demographics, linguistics, integration, and humanitarian. From our review and synthesizing of the frames from these studies, we decided to adopt six frames, which will be discussed individually.

1. Services: This frame is concerned with the practical and immediate needs of refugees and Issues related to the provision of necessities and services to refugees, such as food, shelter, healthcare, and education. We add the frame of capacity used by Sören (2022) in the service frames; the capacity frame deals with the general capacity of the refugees in the host countries as well as their chances of getting shelter. For example, when the media states that the government will give houses or shelter to refugees, this is considered a positive code as it highlights the government's efforts to address the needs of the refugees. This framing can help to generate support for policies that provide aid to refugees, but when they state that the government is struggling to provide the refugees with basic services such as shelter or education, this is considered a negative code. While the undecided code will deal with neutral reporting about the refugees within this frame

2. Economic: This frame acknowledges the economic conditions of refugees, including their financial resources and status, job opportunities, and the impact of their presence on the host country's labor market. The economic frame recognizes the need to provide financial assistance. and job opportunities for refugees. At the same time, the presence of refugees can also have an

impact on the host country's economy, particularly in terms of the labor market. It also recognizes the potential economic benefits that refugees can bring to the host country. The positive frame will deal with the refugees' positive impact in the host countries as well as their chances of getting jobs. For instance, when a refugee finds a job, we consider this a positive as well as financial aid and assistance from citizens or from the government. When the media emphasize the financial costs of hosting refugees or suggest that refugees will have a negative impact on the economy, it is categorized as a negative frame, and if they present neutral Economic facts or issues that are not directly related to the positive or negative impact of refugees, it is classified as "undecided."

3. Ethnicity: The ethnicity frame is concerned with the cultural background and differences of

refugees, including their language, religion, and customs. This frame recognizes that refugees come from diverse backgrounds and may have different cultural practices. Ethnicity can play a significant role in how refugees are perceived and treated by the welcoming countries. It also deals with acceptance of cultural differences and access to religious activities, as well as practising beliefs and traditional activities of the refugees. The ethnicity frame is crucial to our paper. because it addresses one potential element, which is comparing two groups of refugees from different cultural and religious backgrounds. The positive frame will deal with the cultural and religious integration of the refugees in the welcoming countries, while the negative frame will tackle refugees' difficulties in the same context. The undecided frame will simply point out neutral reporting about the refugees' ethnicity and integration.

4. Legality: The legality frame aims to provide accurate and relevant information regarding the legal measures or status of refugees seeking asylum or engaging in flight, as well as any other legally relevant aspects that may be involved in the story. For instance, when reporting on asylum seekers, journalists may provide information on the criteria for obtaining asylum, the legal process involved in seeking asylum and any relevant laws or policies that impact

the decision-making process. They may also include details about the individual's background, such as their country of origin, political affiliation, or other legal factors that may impact their rights. The positive frame simply deals with the refugees in the country without any legal issues. Changing existing laws or policies and speeding up visas is also seen as a positive frame, as it reflects that a particular country wants to let these refugees in and facilitate their entry, this demonstrates a country's willingness to help the refugees.

The negative frame, on the other hand, will reveal that there is a kind of bureaucracy that refugees often face when trying to enter a country legally as well as in dealing with refugee visas. The negative frame also focuses on the issue of illegal migration and the use of fake passports by refugees to enter a country. This is considered a serious concern for national security and can create a negative perception of refugees among the general public. The undecided frame may be employed when presenting neutral information or discussing changes to legislation.

5. Security: The security framework is an essential aspect of understanding the challenges that refugees face regarding their physical and social safety. This frame recognizes the importance of protecting refugees from violence, abuse, and exploitation. It also deals with the security impact of the refugees on the citizens, whether it's negative or positive. The positive frame will tackle stories about the safety of refugees in general. The negative frame will tackle security issues related to the refugees, such as crimes, terrorism, or threats in general. Reporting that contains neither a negative nor a positive will be coded as an undecided frame.

6. Linguistics: in his study, Sören (2022) generated a new frame, which is a linguistic frame. Linguistic framing is the use of specific words or phrases to create a certain connotation or narrative. An example of negative linguistic framing, such as the use of the term "wave of refugees" is often used in media and political discourse to create a

sense of fear and panic around the issue of immigration. By using the word "wave,"

suggests an overwhelming force that cannot be controlled or managed, which can lead to

negative attitudes towards refugees and their plight. On the other hand, positive linguistic

framing is used to create a more favourable narrative. In the case of the example

"Refugees need more help from us," highlights the need for compassion and empathy

towards refugees and encourages people to offer their support.

2.4 Findings

In this section, we present the results of the quantitative analysis we conducted on the

selected articles. It presents statistics on the way in which Syrian and Ukrainian refugees are

framed in the mainstream media, including ways in which they are framed positively, negatively,

and undecided.

2.4.1 Framing of the Syrian Refugees

Table 2.1 shows the different framings of Syrian refugees in mainstream media.

Table 2.1 *Frames of the Syrian Refugees*

_____

	BBC News	The Guardian	CNN	Fox News
Ethnicity positive	5	12	10	2
Ethnicity negative	8	1	5	2
Ethnicity undecided	0	0	0	0
Economic positive	6	8	4	1
Economic negative	6	11	10	4
Economic undecided	0	2	2	1
Legality positive	2	1	5	2

Legality negative	9	18	24	15
Legality undecided	1	2	4	11
Services positive	7	23	19	15
Services negative	12	16	11	5
Services undecided	0	3	11	2
Security positive	3	2	4	0
Security negative	7	10	18	12
Security undecided	0	2	1	1

_____

1. BBC News

The BBC's coverage of Syrian refugees appears to have a negative tone, with more negative frames than positive ones. Specifically, there are more negative frames in services, ethnicity, security, and legality than positive ones. However, BBC News' coverage of the economy is almost equally balanced between positive and negative framing. The negative services frames marked the highest frame in the BBC's coverage with twelve [12] frames. This shows that the Syrian refugees have faced issues and challenges accessing basic services or obstacles in capacity for them, for instance, "No More Capacity for Syrian Refugees in Turkey" (Quentin Somerville [BBC News], 2016). This article shows that Turkey has no more capacity for the Syrian refugees, which means that the refugees will probably have to go to another neighboring country or struggle to find basic services if they are allowed. The same capacity issue also appears in articles such as "Jersey church 'not holding' Syrian refugees" (BBC News, 2015a) and "Sandwell Council will not provide housing for Syrian refugees" (BBC News, 2015b). This reflects the fact that Syrian refugees are not welcome in these countries. The negative legality frame with nine [9] frames comes after the negative services frame in the coverage of the BBC. For instance, the following articles "US House votes to restrict Iraqi and Syrian refugees entry" (BBC News, 2015d) and "US governors move to block Syrian refugees" (

BBC News, 2015), indicate that restricting and blocking Syrian refugees' entry to the US demonstrate that these refugees are not welcome, which depicts a negative tone towards them. It also indicates that Syrian refugees struggled with their entry into the host countries or faced some legal issues, such as visa delays.

2. The Guardian

The Guardian's coverage of Syrian refugees appears to have an overall balanced tone, with slightly more negative frames than positive frames; however, the findings show more positive frames than negative ones across different frames. Specifically, there are more positive frames with services, economics, ethnicity, and security than negative ones. However, the coverage has a significantly negative tone when it comes to the legality frame, with a much higher number of negative frames than positive ones. The positive services frame [23] outweighs the negative frames [16], indicating that The Guardian's coverage of Syrian refugees' access to basic services such as shelters and houses is more positive than negative. This is manifested in the article "Syrian refugee family to be given home inside London synagogue" by Sherwood (2020). Which indicates a welcoming tone towards the Syrian refugees In addition to that, countries such as Canada and Latin America show more gratitude towards refugees than the United States and the United Kingdom; however, the UK was slightly more willing to help the refugees than the United States. The following article by Brodzinsky (2018), "Latin American Countries Welcome Syrian Refugees," shows that many Latin American countries, such as Brazil and Venezuela, were grateful to provide services to the refugees, such as shelters. However, the number of negative frames is still significant. For instance, the article by McClenaghan (2018), "Syrian asylum seekers in the UK forced into poverty," suggests the challenges that Syrian refugees face in accessing basic services.

The number of negative frames with the legality frame [18] comes after the services frame in the Guardian coverage, indicating the legal barriers and challenges faced by Syrian refugees. The

article titled "Honduras detains five Syrians with stolen Greek passports" by Lakhani (2018) demonstrates that the Syrian refugees are using illegal ways to enter the host countries.

3. Fox News

Fox News' coverage of Syrian refugees appears to be generally negative, with negative frames outnumbering positive frames. The services frame is the most positive, while the legality and security frames are the most negative. The coverage of ethnicity is balanced, while the coverage on the economic frame is slightly more negative than positive. The legality negative frame [15] is significantly higher than the positive frame [2], indicating that Fox News coverage of the legal barriers faced by Syrian refugees Fox News coverage of the legality frame is negative, characterized by the theme of returning and forcing the refugees or blocking their entry into the host countries For instance, the following article "Lebanon's president says Syrian refugees must return home " (Fox News, 2017) And "Greek court says Syrian refugees can be returned to Turkey" (Fox News, 2017b) indicates that Syrian refugees are not welcome anymore in Lebanon.

Equal to the negative legality frame, the positive services frame in Fox News coverage shows that Syrian refugees received essential services and support in the host countries. For instance, in the USA, refugees found homes and sponsors despite attempts by the government and some members of the Senate to link the refugees with terrorism. This will lead us to the negative security frame, with [12] negative and zero positive frames, followed by one undecided frame. This shows that Fox News coverage in this frame was totally negative. The reporting on this frame depicts Syrian refugees as dangerous to the citizens of host countries and as a security threat, especially in the United States. For instance, in these three articles: Rep. McCall: Bringing Syrian refugees to America is dangerous and reckless" (Fox News, 2018) , "US moves forward with plans to take in Syrian refugees even as some raise security concerns " (Fox News,

2015), and "Syrian refugee detained in Greece on terror charge" (Fox News, 2017d) Share the same tone as depicting the Syrian refugees as dangerous people and a threat to national security, linking them with terrorist groups such as ISIS.

4. **CNN**

CNN's coverage of Syrian refugees appears to be more negative than positive. The ethnicity frame is the most positive, while the legality and security frames are the most negative. The coverage on the services frame is generally positive, while the coverage on the economic frame is slightly more negative than positive. With 24 negative frames, the legality frame, is the emphasis on CNN's framing of the Syrian refugees. Most of the articles and stories tackle the idea of returning the refugees to their homeland. For instance, the following article by John (2021) on the CNN website, "Denmark plans to send some refugees back to Syria " which was posted in 2021, shows that Denmark wanted to send refugees to Syria and block their entry to the country as well because they claimed that Syria is safe now. Another theme was covered by CNN is the legal barriers the American authorities use to limit and block Syrian refugees entry into the United States. For example, Donald Trump's executive orders to block Syrian refugees by Jorgensen (2017) cause visa issues and concerns for the Syrian refugees who have already entered the country. The services frame, with 19 positive frames, focuses generally on the basic help and services the refugees received in the welcoming countries. The security frame with 18 negative frames on CNN emphasizes describing the refugees as a security threat. For instance, in this article, "More than half the nation's governors say Syrian refugees are not welcome," by Fantz and Brumfield (2015), Through the use of expressions such as "security comes first," "we refuse Syrian refugees," and "potential security threats " CNN emphasizes describing the refugees as a security threat and "supporters of ISIS," especially after the Paris attacks.

2.4.2 Framing of the Ukrainian Refugees

Table 2.2 shows the different framings of Ukrainian refugees in mainstream media.

Table 2.2 *Frames of the Ukrainian Refugees*

_____

	BBC News	The Guardian	CNN	FoxNews
Ethnicity positive	17	15	16	10
Ethnicity negative	0	4	0	1
Ethnicity undecided	1	1	0	0
Economic positive	11	13	9	15
Economic negative	0	9	2	3
Economic undecided	2	1	2	1
Legality positive	4	22	8	9
Legality negative	2	24	2	3
Legality undecided	1	12	8	5
Services positive	21	38	36	19
Services negative	10	4	4	5
Services undecided	4	2	10	2
Security positive	4	7	3	2
Security negative	0	1	0	1
Security undecided	0	0	3	0

_____

1. BBC News

The BBC News coverage of Ukrainian refugees is generally positive, especially in

services with 21 frames and ethnicity with 17 frames. The positive services frame deals with

reporting on the huge services, such as houses and shelters, provided to the refugees. According to BBC News (2023a), Ukrainian refugees have been accommodated in various institutions across the United Kingdom, including Croke Park, which highlights the government's efforts to provide housing facilities and other essential services to the refugees. Additionally, BBC News (2022) reported that Ukrainian refugees in Cornwall are being offered special privileges, such as free bus travel, further indicating the UK's commitment to supporting those seeking refuge in the country. BBC News has presented a positive perspective on the ethnicity of Ukrainian refugees. For instance, the following articles, "The Ukrainian language classes helping Britons talk to refugees " by Baynes (2023) and "Ukrainian refugees celebrate first Orthodox Christmas in the UK" (BBC News, 2023), highlighted that the Ukrainian refugees maintained their religious traditions and have integrated culturally and socially with their host countries. This includes celebrating Christmas with their hosts and sharing their traditions with them.

2. The Guardian

The Guardian's coverage of the Ukrainian refugees seems to have a general positive tone. The positive frames of ethnicity, services, and security outnumbered the negative frames. The economic and legality frames were more balanced, with slightly negative frames in legality and slightly positive frames in economic coverage. The most common positive frame in The Guardian's coverage of Ukrainian refugees was related to services, with a frequency of 38 frames, which shows that the Guardian focuses on the positive reporting of the essential services provided to the refugees. The Guardian indicates special positive reporting on this frame. One notable example of this was the article titled "Most Britons think housing Ukrainian refugees is a good thing, study shows," by Mason (2023), which demonstrated a particularly positive focus on the services provided to refugees. This type of coverage may encourage more citizens to get involved in helping Ukrainian refugees and contribute to their positive resettlement experience in the United Kingdom.

Another example is The Guardian's emphasis on the Ukrainian "Refugee Sponsorship Scheme" in their articles, which allows Ukrainians to come to the United Kingdom with their British hosts. The positive legality frame emphasizes the facilitation and acceleration of obtaining legal documents for Ukrainian refugees. This manifested itself in the article "Government to change rules on letting Ukrainian children into the UK" by Dugan (2022). And the statement "The home secretary had to update visa regulations for Ukrainians with relatives in the UK, and more relatives will now be listed" by Bryant and Townsend (2022). On the other hand, the negative legality frame addresses the legal challenges experienced by Ukrainian refugees, such as delays in obtaining visas.

3. Fox News

The coverage of the Ukrainian refugees by Fox News appeared to have a positive tone in all the frames. With 19 positive frames in the Services frame, for example, the following articles, "Lehi organization continues to provide comfort for Ukrainian refugees during war with Russia" by Arnold (2023) and "Ukraine refugees to receive help from Franklin Graham's humanitarian aid nonprofit" by Moore (2022), state that Fox News reporting focuses on the humanitarian aid and government efforts to provide shelter and housing programs for Ukrainian refugees in their host countries. The economic positive frame was another major frame in Fox News coverage, with 15 positive frames suggesting that the news coverage recognizes the economic contributions that refugees can make. For instance, the article "Moldova welcomes Ukrainian refugees, offers them jobs amid labor shortage" by Stimson (2022) suggests that Moldova sees the Ukrainian refugees as a solution to their labor shortage and is offering them employment opportunities to meet their economic needs. The statement "Ukrainian refugees fill US jobs and housing a year after the Russian invasion" by Hayes (2023) implies that Ukrainian refugees have found employment and housing opportunities in the United States. The phrase "fill US jobs" suggests that Ukrainian refugees have been able to find employment in various sectors

of the US economy, potentially filling roles that were in high demand. This aspect of the statement is seen as having a positive tone in the economic context.
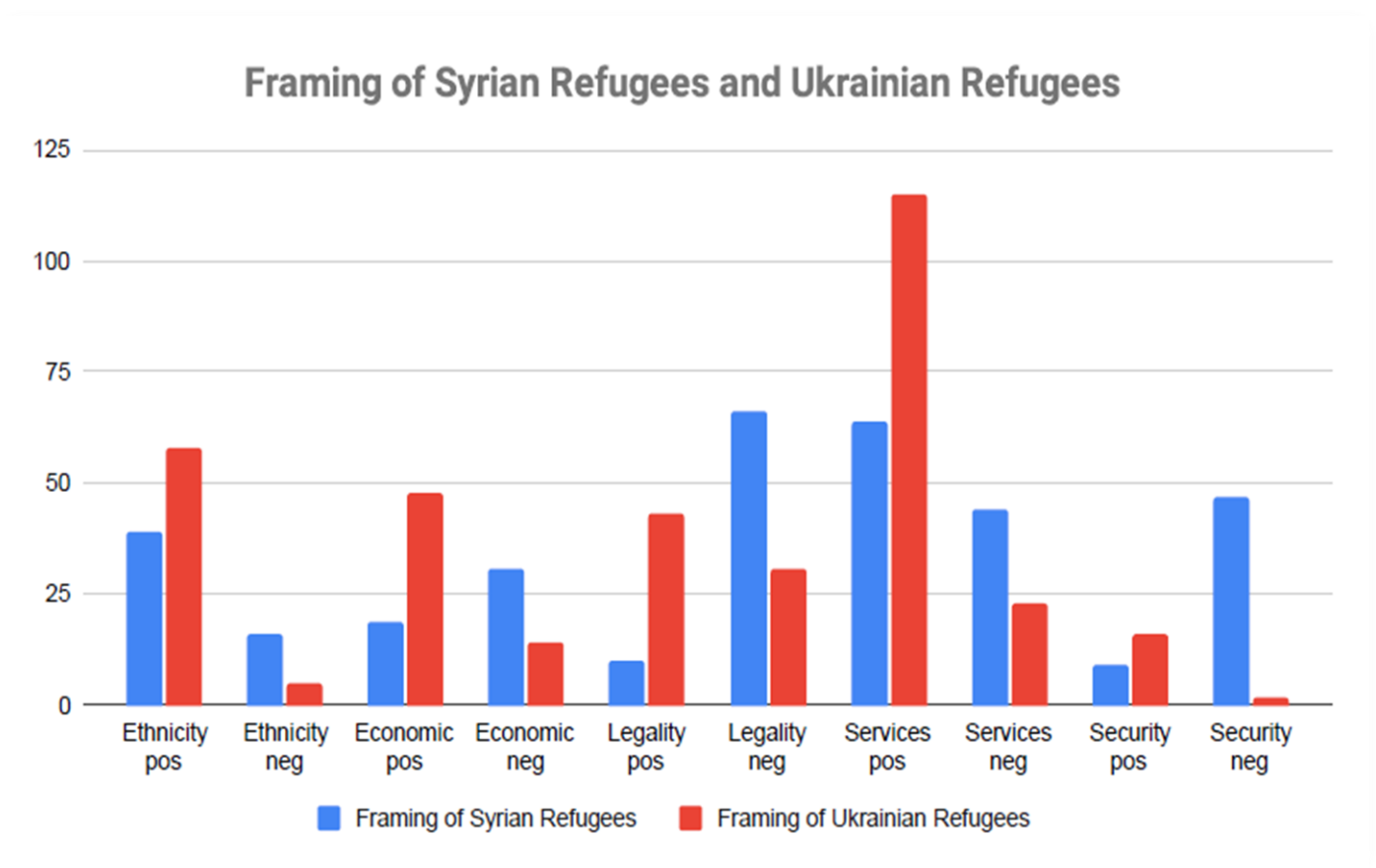
4. **CNN**

The overall tone of the CNN coverage of Ukrainian refugees appears to be positive, with the highest number of positive frames recorded in all the frames except legality and security, where the number of undecided frames equalled the number of positive frames. In addition, the number of undecided frames surpassed the number of negative frames in the services, legality, and security categories. The services frame [36] has the highest number of positive frames in this coverage. For instance, the article by Korn (2022) stating that Airbnb is offering free temporary housing for up to 100,000 Ukrainian refugees has a positive tone because it highlights Airbnb's efforts to provide free temporary housing for up to 100,000 Ukrainian refugees, which is a significant number, and encourages other companies to take the same step. In CNN's reporting on the Ukrainian refugees, the ethnicity frame is highlighted with 16 positive frames, emphasizing the importance of social and cultural integration of the refugees in their host countries. The following statements, "They were welcomed into British homes and celebrated their first Christmas together" by Edwards (2022) and the food embassy of Ukraine in the UK" by Hardingham-Gill (2022), suggest that the refugees are welcomed to share their local traditions and take part in religious and national events, such as Christmas and Thanksgiving.

2.4.3 Comparison of the Main Frames

This section discusses the main differences between reporting on Ukrainian refugees and Syrian refugees. An illustration of these differences is shown in Figure 2.1 as well as a commentary on them.

Figure 2.1

Comparison of the Main Framing of Syrian and Ukrainian Refugees in Mainstream Media.

Framing of Syrian Refugees and Ukrainian Refugees

(Bar chart comparing framing categories — Ethnicity pos, Ethnicity neg, Economic pos, Economic neg, Legality pos, Legality neg, Services pos, Services neg, Security pos, Security neg — for Framing of Syrian Refugees (blue) and Framing of Ukrainian Refugees (red). Y-axis ranges from 0 to 125.)

As shown in Figure 2.1, the Ukrainian refugees received more positive framing than the Syrian refugees regarding the frame of services. Specifically, out of the 179 frames analyzed, the Ukrainian refugees had 115 positive frames, while the Syrian refugees had only 64 positive frames. This suggests that the Ukrainian refugees were provided with more capacity, support,

and essential services compared to the Syrian refugees. On the other hand, the negative framing of services outnumbered the coverage of the Syrian refugees by more than the Ukrainian refugees, with 44 frames for the Syrian and 23 frames for the Ukrainian. This indicates that while the Syrian refugees were provided with basic services, they faced more obstacles and challenges in accessing them than the Ukrainian refugees.

Another difference in this comparison is the economic framework. The Ukrainian refugees received 48 positive frames, compared to only 19 for the Syrian refugees. On the other hand, the Syrian refugees received 31 negative frames, while the Ukrainian refugees had only 14. This suggests that the media portrayed the economic contribution of Ukrainian refugees more positively than that of Syrian refugees. The coverage highlighted the employment opportunities available to the Ukrainian refugees and painted them as people who could fit well into the economic community of the host countries. In contrast, the Syrian refugees were depicted as facing more challenges in the economic realm, leading to a more negative tone in the coverage of their economic situation.

Another significant difference here is the ethnicity frame. The media outlets here applied 58 positive frames to the Ukrainian refugees and 29 positive frames to the Syrian refugees. This suggests that the Ukrainian refugees were more socially, culturally, and religiously integrated into the host countries compared to the Syrian refugees. However, in the Ethnicity negative frame, the media applied 16 negative frames to the Syrian refugees and only 5 negative frames to the Ukrainian refugees. This indicates that the media saw the Syrian refugees as facing more challenges related to their ethnicity, such as language barriers and cultural differences, in their integration into the host countries.

The security framework also demonstrated a significant difference in the coverage of Ukrainian and Syrian refugees. The media applied 55 negative frames to the Syrian refugees and only 2 negative frames to the Ukrainian refugees. In addition, the media applied nine positive

frames to the Syrian refugees and 16 positive frames to the Ukrainian refugees. The results suggest that the media portrayed the Syrian refugees in a negative light, especially on Fox News and CNN. The coverage depicted the Syrian refugees as a potential national security threat to the United States, particularly after the Paris attacks. This led to a noticeable rise in negative coverage of the Syrian refugees, linking them to ISIS and Armed groups in conflict zones. Finally, in the legality frame, there were 43 positive frames for the Ukrainian refugees, while only 10 were applied to the Syrian refugees. On the other hand, negative frames were applied 69 times for the Syrian refugees, compared to 34 for the Ukrainians, with 26 undecided frames. The coverage suggests that the Ukrainian refugees generally received better and easier legal measures than the Syrian refugees. However, both groups of refugees faced legal issues, such as visa delays. The tone towards the Syrian refugees in the negative frame was more pronounced, as they were often reported to have fake passports or to be attempting to enter countries illegally.

2.4.4 Comparison of the Linguistic Framing

The results of the linguistic framing of both groups of refugees are presented in this section. As both tables show, there is a significant difference in both negative and positive frames when reporting about refugees.

Table 2.3

The Linguistic Framing of the Syrian Refugees

	BBC News	The Guardian	CNN	Fox News
Linguistic positive	10	24	16	8
Linguistic negative	18	28	48	19

Table 2.4

The Linguistic Framing of the Ukrainian Refugees

	BBC News	The Guardian	CNN	Fox News
Linguistic positive	26	44	45	28
Linguistic negative	7	14	10	6

The positive linguistic framing was applied 143 times to the Ukrainian refugees and 58 times to the Syrian refugees. For the negative frame, it was applied 113 times with Syrian refugees and only 37 times with Ukrainian refugees. For instance, the article entitled "Ireland Gives a warm welcome to Ukrainians fleeing conflict" (CNN, 2022) highlights Ireland's readiness for the Ukrainians. It utilizes the phrase "warm welcome" twice and twice with "support" and "help." Similarly, in Moore's (2022b) article "Ukraine refugees to receive help from Franklin Graham's" (2022b), the humanitarian aid provided to the Ukrainian refugees is emphasized through the frequent use of the word "help" (7 times). Another example is the article "Denmark opens its arms to Ukrainians" by John (2022), which uses the expression "open arms" twice and mentions "help" three times. Furthermore, the article "Ukrainian refugees in Dereham celebrate Orthodox Christmas in the UK" (BBC News, 2023b) reports on the celebrations and emphasizes the support received by the Ukrainian refugees, using the word "support" three

times. The frequent usage of words such as "help," "support," "warm welcome," and "open arms" in coverage of Ukrainian refugees indicates a positive sentiment towards them. The focus of the reporting centres on the urgent need for Ukrainian refugees, highlighting the importance of providing them with a supportive environment to rebuild their lives in welcoming countries.

However, in the negative frame, the only concern was the growing number of Ukrainian refugees coming to the host countries. For Syrian refugees, denial expressions were commonly used. Words such as "no more capacity" and "no more houses" express that the Syrian refugees are a burden to the host countries. Similarly, the words "return" and "go home," which demonstrate a negative attitude towards refugees, indicate that they are unwelcome. To illustrate that, in the article, "More than half the nation's governors say Syrian refugees are not welcome," by Fantz and Brumfield (2015b), The expression "not accept" was used three times, which indicates the rejection of the Syrian refugees in the United States. Similarly, the repetition of the word "not" seven times in the article "Sandwell Council will not provide housing for Syrian refugees" (BBC News, 2015c) reflects that the Syrian refugees will not be housed.

Additionally, the use of the expression "a wave of refugees" implies a negative tone, which indicates a large, uncontrolled, and unstoppable influx of people fleeing their homes due to conflicts. For the linguistic positive frame, the word "welcome" was the most used positive word in reference to the Syrian refugees, implying a generally positive tone towards them. However, in the case of the Ukrainian coverage, the phrase "warm welcome" suggests a higher level of gratitude towards the Ukrainians than the Syrians. Both Syrians and Ukrainians have been described as "refugees" or "asylum seekers," although there are slight differences in how these terms are used. The term "refugees" is more commonly used to describe Ukrainians, while "asylum seekers" is more commonly used to describe Syrians. This may suggest a slightly more negative tone associated with the term "asylum seekers," as it can imply that Syrians are seen as taking advantage of the asylum system. In contrast, the term "refugees" for Ukrainians may evoke more sympathy towards them.

2.5 Discussion

In light of the findings, the research questions that guided this research can now be answered. First, the question, how has the media portrayed the Syrian refugees? Overall, the framing of the Syrian refugees was negative, especially in legality and security frames. The legality frame focused on the legal obstacles that Syrian refugees face when trying to enter host countries, as well as the changes in legal laws that have been implemented to restrict their entry. In the security context, the Syrian refugees were seen as dangerous people who threatened national security, especially in the coverage on CNN and Fox News, which indicates a negative attitude towards refugees in this matter. While for the BBC News coverage, the findings revealed a sudden negative tone from the channel, which claimed to have a neutral stance in its reporting. The coverage in The Guardian was generally balanced, with a slightly negative tone on legality and security.

For the second question, how has the media portrayed the Ukrainian refugees? The Ukrainian refugees were represented in a more positive light than the Syrians. Especially in the coverage of BBC News, Fox News, and CNN. While the Guardian showed more balanced coverage with a slightly more positive tone. The service, linguistic, and ethnicity frames were more emphasized, which demonstrates that Ukrainian refugees received basic services and integrated successfully into the host countries.

Finally, the last question: How does the media's framing of the Syrian refugee crisis compare to the Ukrainian refugee crisis? According to the findings, news media outlets portrayed Ukrainian refugees in a more positive light compared to Syrian refugees. The Ukrainian refugees were depicted as deserving of assistance and were presented as a unique and special group of refugees. On the other hand, the Syrian refugees were framed negatively and seen as problematic, a threat, and a burden for host countries. This suggests that there was

exposed bias and double standards in the way the two groups of refugees were represented, which may cause inequalities in their treatment.

Our findings corroborate with previous empirical research reported in the literature review section. Additionally, the findings are in line with the theoretical framework discussed in the first chapter, namely, framing theory and orientalism. The positive framing towards the Ukrainians reflects the tenets of framing theory, which show that media framing has the power to shape public opinion and perceptions through the selection and stressing of news to represent to the audiences that these refugees deserve to be helped. On the other hand, the news emphasizes presenting and framing the Syrians as a burden and a problem for the host countries. In this case, the framing theory may promote sympathy towards the Ukrainian refugees, and the negative representation may promote hostility and rejection towards Syrian refugees. The second theory, which is Orientalism, reflects Edward Said's ideas on how the West sees the East. The warm welcome and support for the Ukrainian refugees demonstrate that the Ukrainian refugees are not like other refugees and seem like "white refugees," "European refugees," or "people like us." From the orientalist perspective, the Ukrainian refugees here represent the West, the white people, the civilized people who are superior to the barbaric, uncivilized people who are the Syrian refugees, through the lens of the media.

Conclusion

In this chapter, the empirical part of the study was discussed, including the methods of analysis, the results, and the discussion. A detailed audit trail of the study's methods and procedures was provided, including data sources, data collection procedures, selection criteria and data analysis. The study revealed that Syrian refugees are portrayed in mainstream media more negatively than their Ukrainian counterparts. As a final step, the chapter concludes with a discussion section that addresses the study's main question. Based on the findings, this section presents an analysis and interpretation of the results, which demonstrated media bias and double

standards in framing these refugee groups as well as an application of framing theory and

orientalist ideas discussed in the first chapter.

General Conclusion

The current study examined how Western mainstream media depicted Syrian and Ukrainian refugees. The study was guided by the following main research question: How do Western mainstream media portrayals of the Syrian refugee crisis compared to the Ukrainian refugee crisis? This research question was addressed using mixed methods. Four media websites were browsed during the data collection stage, including BBC News, The Guardian, CNN, and Fox News, to locate news articles that addressed Syrian and Ukrainian refugees. Ultimately, 160 news articles were collected for analysis. This study's theoretical framework was grounded in framing theory and orientalist perspectives. A six-frame coding scheme was used for the analysis. Our results showed that the four media outlets examined in this study, which include BBC News, The Guardian, CNN, and Fox News, portrayed Ukrainian refugees in a positive light while portraying Syrian refugees in a negative and bad light on BBC News, CNN, and Fox News. However, the framing in The Guardian was generally balanced. These findings imply an obvious double standard and bias in media coverage of the refugee crisis.

The study's findings have significant implications for media bias and how it affects how the public perceives political issues. The study revealed the idea of double standards and biased representation in mainstream media coverage of political conflicts by exposing the notable differences between how the media portrayed Ukrainian and Syrian refugees. The study's findings contribute to the existing body of knowledge by confirming and extending previous research on media bias. The study has filled a gap in research by providing a comparative analysis of different groups of refugees from different cultural backgrounds and how they are framed in the mainstream media.

It is critical to evaluate the methodology utilized in the analysis of this research. For instance, applying both qualitative and quantitative methods is considered one of our methodology's key strengths. This enhanced our findings' validity, reliability, and accuracy and

produced a nuanced understanding of our study. The careful selection of mainstream media sources guarantees a wider reach across a larger segment of the population, especially within Western media. In contrast, Previous studies examined the phenomenon from a narrow perspective or focused on a single variable, which is understandable considering the novelty of the subject. Another notable strength is that our findings stated the reasons for the double standards and media bias towards the Syrian refugees, specifically and generally towards the refugees from the Middle East, and North Africa Middle East and North Africa refugees.

It is crucial to also account for the limitations of the study A significant limitation of our study is that we aimed to include six mainstream media outlets, particularly Euronews and France24, in addition to the four mainstream media we examined. Both Euronews and France24 have a considerable and important influence in Europe. However, we encountered a problem as the articles related to Syrian and Ukrainian refugees were limited because they were removed from their websites and databases. It is critical to recognize that our findings might be valid for a limited period of time, considering the wave of Ukrainian migrants' recent emergence The limited study period may not have fully captured fully the long-term impacts or possible future shifts and changes. Hence, Several recommendations for further research can be made based on the study's findings and considering its limitations. A recommendation would be to investigate media framing bias from the perspective of refugees. The study of this phenomenon over time would also be a crucial recommendation.

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    LIST_LATEST&sortOrder2=title_sort_asc&query=&language=en&pid=diva2%3A1735

    363&aq=%5B%5B%5D%5D&sf=all&aqe=%5B%5D&sortOrder=author_sort_asc&only

    FullText=false&noOfRows=50&dswid=-2007

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Appendices

Appendix A. Coding scheme for the coverage of Syrian refugees

BBC News. (2018, December 27). Syrian refugees: 1,258 given shelter in Northern Ireland. BBC News. https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-northern-ireland-46697396

Services pos : 3 | Legality pos: 1 | Linguistic pos : 3

"No more capacity" for Syrian refugees in Turkey. (2016, February 8). [Video]. BBC News. https://www.bbc.com/news/av/world-europe-35519454

Services neg: 2 | Linguistic neg: 1

Can Syrian refugees live on $13.50 a month? (2015, August 26). [Video]. BBC News. https://www.bbc.com/news/av/world-middle-east-34054974

Economic neg: 1 | Ethnicity neg: 1

Syrian refugees on settling into life in Scotland. (2016, May 24). [Video]. BBC News. https://www.bbc.com/news/av/uk-scotland-3637021

Ethnicity neg: 2 | Linguistic pos : 2

BBC News. (2015b, October 16). Jersey church "not holding" Syrian refugees. *BBC News*. https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-jersey-34547698

Services neg : 1 | Linguistic neg: 1

BBC News. (2015c, November 20). US House votes to restrict Iraqi and Syrian refugees entry. *BBC News*. https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-34870724

Security pos : 1 | Linguistic neg : 3 Legality neg : 2 | Security neg : 3 |

US governors move to block Syrian refugees. (2015, November 17). [Video]. BBC News. https://www.bbc.com/news/av/world-us-canada-34838029

Legality neg : 2 |Security neg : 1 | Linguistic neg: 2

McCormack, B. J. (2021, September 8). Syrian refugees in NI "trapped" in poverty and trauma. *BBC News*. https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-northern-ireland-58486567

Ethnicity neg : 2 | Services neg : 3

Syrian refugees thank people of Ystradgynlais with party. (2017, April 20). [Video]. BBC News. https://www.bbc.com/news/av/uk-wales-39661142

Ethnicity pos : 1 | Linguistic pos: 1

BBC News. (2015c, November 9). Syrian refugees "not at school in Turkey." *BBC News*. https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-34765657

Ethnicity neg : 3 | Economic neg : 1 | Services pos : 1

BBC News. (2019, December 12). Students' plea for U-turn on Syrian refugees defeated. *BBC News*. https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-isle-of-man-50760753

Services neg : 2 | Economic pos : 1

BBC News. (2016, October 12). Germany urged to reward Syrian refugees who arrested fugitive. *BBC News*. https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-37628523

Ethnicity pos : 1 | Services pos : 1 | Linguistic pos: 2

BBC News. (2016a, April 13). Resettling Syrian refugees in the UK "to cost more than half a billion pounds." *BBC News*. https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-36036922

Economic neg : 3 | Linguistic neg: 2

BBC News. (2017, January 12). Syrian migrant launches Facebook "fake news" legal fight. *BBC News*. https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-38599385

Security neg : 3

Prices increase in Jordan due to impact of Syrian refugees. (2014, February 1). [Video]. BBC News. https://www.bbc.com/news/av/business-25980017

Services pos : 1 | Economic neg : 1 | Linguistic pos : 1

BBC News. (2015c, October 23). Sandwell Council will not provide housing for Syrian refugees. *BBC News*. https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-birmingham-34616404

| Linguistic neg : 7 Services neg : 2

100 Women: Syrian mother employing refugees in Lebanon. (2014, October 27). [Video]. BBC News. https://www.bbc.com/news/av/world-middle-east-29789103.

Economic pos : 2 | Security pos : 1

BBC News. (2019a, March 19). Syrian refugees in Aberystwyth set up pop-up restaurant. *BBC News*. https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-wales-47614556

Security pos : 1 | Linguistic pos : 1 | Ethnicity pos : 1 | Economic pos : 2

BBC News. (2016a, April 1). Turkey "illegally returning Syrian refugees" - Amnesty. *BBC News*. https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-35941947

Legality neg : 5 | Services neg : 2 | Linguistic neg : 3

Mathur, B. S. (2022, April 20). Syrian refugee retraining to become teacher in Wales. *BBC News*. https://www.google.com/amp/s/www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-wales-61150252.amp

| Ethnicity pos : 2 | Linguistic pos : 2 | Legality und : 1 Economic pos: 1

Karadsheh, J., & Kourdi, E. (2022, September 5). Syrians in Turkey fear the worst as Erdogan changes tune on Assad. *CNN*. https://edition.cnn.com/2022/08/29/middleeast/syrian-refugees-turkey-assad-mime-intl/index.html

Legality pos : 1 Economic neg : 1 | | Legality und : 1 | Legality neg : 1

John, T. (2021, April 18). In its latest lurch to the far right, Denmark plans to send some refugees back to Syria. *CNN*. https://edition.cnn.com/2021/04/18/europe/denmark-syrian-refugees-damascus-intl/index.html

Legality neg: 7 | Ethnicity pos : 3 | Security pos : 2 Economic neg : 1 | Ethnicity neg: 2 |

Services neg : 1

Karadsheh, J., & Tuysuz, G. (2020, March 7). Migrants say Greek forces stripped them and sent them back to Turkey in their underwear. *CNN*. https://edition.cnn.com/2020/03/07/europe/turkey-greece-migrants-clash-intl/index.html

Legality neg : 2 Security neg : 3 |

Elassar, A. (2019, November 20). A new 'Sesame Street' show in Arabic aims to help refugee children. *CNN*. https://edition.cnn.com/2019/11/20/world/sesame-workshop-syrian-refugees-trnd/index.html

Services pos : 2 | Services und : 1 | Linguistic pos: 2

Alvarez, P. (2019, October 29). No refugees will be resettled in the US in October, leaving hundreds in limbo around the world. *CNN*. https://edition.cnn.com/2019/10/29/politics/refugee-pause-october/index.html

| Services und : 1 | Linguistic neg: 3 Legality neg: 5

Schmidt, N. (2023, April 4). Syrian refugee elected mayor of German town, years after fleeing war. *CNN*. https://www.google.com/amp/s/amp.cnn.com/cnn/2023/04/04/europe/germany-mayor-syrian-refugee-intl/index.html

Legality pos: 1 | Linguistic pos: 1 Economic pos : 1| Ethnicity pos: 2 |

Fantz, A., & Alhenawi, R. (2015, October 9). Fleeing war, more Syrians are coming to the U.S.: One family's story. *CNN*. https://edition.cnn.com/2015/10/07/world/syrians-in-the-united-states/index.html

| Legality neg: 2 | Services und : 1 | Security: neg : 2 Services neg: 1 | Ethnicity pos : 1 Economic neg: 3 | Services pos: 1 | Linguistic neg : 2

Koran, L. (2016, August 19). US expects to surpass Syrian refugee admissions target. *CNN*. https://www.google.com/amp/s/amp.cnn.com/cnn/2016/08/19/politics/us-syrian-refugee-admissions-target/index.html

Services und : 1 Services pos : 1 |Services neg : 1 |

Pope Francis helps relocate Syrian refugees. (2018, March 13). [Video]. CNN. https://edition.cnn.com/videos/world/2018/03/08/pope-francis-most-powerful-man-in-history-bill-weir-pkg.cnn

Services pos : 1 | Linguistic pos: 1

Tavoletti, M. (2016, October 18). Syrian refugee: Americans are among the best in the world. *CNN*. https://www.google.com/amp/s/amp.cnn.com/cnn/2016/10/18/us/syrian-refugees-new-jersey-camerota/index.html

Legality neg : 3 Security pos : 1 | Ethnicity neg : 1| Economic neg : 1 | Services pos : 2 |

| Ethnicity pos: 2 | Linguistic pos: 2 Economic und : 1 | Security neg : 2

Essaid, S. (2016, February 18). Saudis ease work options for Syrians, Yemenis residing there. *CNN*. https://www.google.com/amp/s/amp.cnn.com/cnn/2016/02/18/middleeast/saudi-syrian-yemeni-jobs-ajeer/index.html

| Economic und : 1 | Legality und :1 | Ethnicity pos : 1 | Economic pos : 1 Economic neg : 1

Legality pos: 1

Refugees filling job gaps created by drugs. (2017, March 27). [Video]. CNN. https://edition.cnn.com/videos/us/2017/03/25/refugees-jobs-drug-testing-orig-mg.cnn

Economic pos : 1

Whiteman, H. (2019, March 20). A Syrian refugee and his son are first victims to be buried in Christchurch. *CNN*. https://www.google.com/amp/s/amp.cnn.com/cnn/2019/03/20/australia/new-zealand-victims-funerals-christchurch-intl/index.html

Security neg : 1

Jorgensen, S. (2017, January 30). Syrian Christian family, visas in hand, turned back at airport. *CNN*. https://www.google.com/amp/s/amp.cnn.com/cnn/2017/01/28/us/syrian-family-trump-travel-ban/index.html

**Legality und : 1 Legality pos : 1 | Ethnicity neg : 1 | | Services neg : 1 | Legality neg: 1
Linguistic neg: 2**

Smith-Spark, L., Cotovio, V., & Damon, A. (2015, August 20). Slovakia says it will only take Christian migrants as Europe's crisis mushrooms. *CNN*. https://edition.cnn.com/2015/08/20/europe/europe-migrant-crisis/index.html

Services und : 1 | Ethnicity neg : 1 | Services: pos : 2 | Security neg : 1 | Services neg : 2

Legality und : 1 | Linguistic neg:1

Lebanon pressuring Syrian refugees to go home. (2018, June 20). [Video]. CNN. https://edition.cnn.com/videos/world/2018/06/20/lebanon-arsal-syrian-refugee-camp-ben-wedeman-pkg.cnn

Services neg: 1 : | Linguistic neg: 1

Hancocks, P., & Kwon, K. (2016, June 2). Syrian refugees stuck in limbo at Seoul airport. *CNN*. https://www.google.com/amp/s/amp.cnn.com/cnn/2016/06/01/asia/south-korea-airport-syrians/index.html

Legality neg : 2 | Security neg: 1 Economic neg: 1 | Services neg : 1 |

Griffin, D., & Fitzpatrick, D. (2016, February 11). Canadian city welcomes Syrian immigrants. *CNN*. https://www.google.com/amp/s/amp.cnn.com/cnn/2016/02/11/americas/canada-syrian-refugees/index.html

| Security pos : 1 |Ethnicity pos : 1 | Economic pos : 1 | Services pos : 3 Security und : 1 | Linguistic pos : 1

Fantz, A., & Brumfield, B. (2015, November 19). More than half the nation's governors say Syrian refugees not welcome. *CNN*. https://edition.cnn.com/2015/11/16/world/paris-attacks-syrian-refugees-backlash/index.html

Services pos : 1 | | | Security neg : 8 Legality neg: 2 Legality und : 1 | Services neg : 2 | Linguistic neg : 7

Martinez, M. (2015, September 10). Syrian refugees: Which countries welcome them, which ones don't. *CNN*. https://edition.cnn.com/2015/09/09/world/welcome-syrian-refugees-countries/index.html

Services neg : 3 Legality pos : 1 | | Services und : 6 Economic neg : 2 | | Services pos : 7

Legality neg : 2 | Linguistic pos: 4 | Linguistic neg : 9

Fox News. (2017, September 25). Lebanon's president says Syrian refugees must return home. *Fox News*. https://www.foxnews.com/world/lebanons-president-says-syrian-refugees-must-return-home

| Legality neg: 1 | Linguistic neg: 3 Services neg : 1

Fox News. (2017a, September 22). Greek court says Syrian refugees can be returned to Turkey. *Fox News*. https://www.foxnews.com/world/greek-court-says-syrian-refugees-can-be-returned-to-turkey

Legality neg : 2 | Linguistic neg: 2

Fox News. (2016, September 1). 10,000 Syrian refugees find new home in US. *Fox News*. https://www.foxnews.com/us/10000-syrian-refugees-find-new-home-in-us

Services pos : 2 | Linguistic pos : 2

Fox News. (2015, March 30). US moves forward with plans to take in Syrian refugees even as some raise security concerns. *Fox News*. https://www.foxnews.com/us/us-moves-forward-with-plans-to-take-in-syrian-refugees-even-as-some-raise-security-concerns

Security neg: 3 | Linguistic neg: 3 | Legality neg: 1 | Services pos : 2

Fox News. (2015b, September 8). Bachelet says Chile will welcome "an important number" of Syrian refugees. *Fox News*. https://www.foxnews.com/world/bachelet-says-chile-will-welcome-an-important-number-of-syrian-refugees

Services pos : 2 | Legality pos: 1 | Economic neg : 1 | Linguistic pos : 2

Fox News. (2018, November 15). Rep. McCaul: Bringing Syrian refugees to America "dangerous and reckless." *Fox News*. https://www.foxnews.com/transcript/rep-mccaul-bringing-syrian-refugees-to-america-dangerous-and-reckless

Security neg : 3 | Linguistic neg: 3

Fox News. (2022, November 10). Syrian refugee and supporter of Islamic State sentenced to 17 years for plot to bomb Pittsburgh church. *Fox News*. https://www.foxnews.com/us/syrian-refugee-supporter-islamic-state-sentenced-17-years-plot-bomb-pittsburgh-church

Security neg : 1 | Linguistic neg: 2 Legality neg: 1 |

Fedschun, T. (2018, June 27). Jordan keeps border sealed, says it cannot take more Syrian refugees amid new fighting. *Fox News*. https://www.foxnews.com/world/jordan-keeps-border-sealed-says-it-cannot-take-more-syrian-refugees-amid-new-fighting

Legality neg : 2 | Services neg : 1 | Economic neg : 1 | Services pos : 1 | Linguistic neg: 2

Afp. (2015, January 7). No school for many Syria refugee children in Lebanon: UN. *Fox News*. https://www.foxnews.com/world/no-school-for-many-syria-refugee-children-in-lebanon-un

Services und : 2 | Services neg : 2 | Linguistic neg: 1

Fox News. (2016b, December 16). Syrian refugee jailed in Greece for attack on toddler son. *Fox News*. https://www.foxnews.com/world/syrian-refugee-jailed-in-greece-for-attack-on-toddler-son

Security neg : 1 Legality neg : 1 |

Miles, C. (2015, November 23). Humanitarian organization CEOs: Let's show Syrian refugees the promise of America. *Fox News*. https://www.foxnews.com/opinion/humanitarian-organization-ceos-lets-show-syrian-refugees-the-promise-of-america

Security neg : 1 Services pos : 1 | Legality neg: 1 | Services neg: 1 |

Fox News. (2015c, November 30). After months of uncertainty, a new start for Syrian refugee family in Germany. *Fox News*. https://www.foxnews.com/world/after-months-of-uncertainty-a-new-start-for-syrian-refugee-family-in-germany

| Ethnicity neg: 1 Ethnicity pos : 2 | Services pos : 2 Legality und: 1 |

Fox News. (2015b, May 2). Syrian refugee women in Iraq's Kurdish region take mall jobs spurned by locals. *Fox News*. https://www.foxnews.com/world/syrian-refugee-women-in-iraqs-kurdish-region-take-mall-jobs-spurned-by-locals

Economic und : 1 Economic pos : 3 |

Lam, K. (2018, September 13). Syrian refugee charged in "random" murder of girl, 13, in Canada. *Fox News*. https://www.foxnews.com/world/syrian-refugee-charged-in-random-murder-of-girl-13-in-canada

| Legality neg: 1 Security und : 1 | Services pos : 1

Fox News. (2015d, September 19). Canada to accelerate Syrian refugee applications to bring in 10,000 by next year. *Fox News*. https://www.foxnews.com/world/canada-to-accelerate-syrian-refugee-applications-to-bring-in-10000-by-next-year

| Services pos : 2 | Linguistic pos: 1 Legality pos : 1

Fox News. (2017c, October 20). Syrian refugee detained in Greece on terror charge. *Fox News*. https://www.foxnews.com/world/syrian-refugee-detained-in-greece-on-terror-charge

Legality neg : 1 | Linguistic neg: 1 Security neg : 1 |

Fox News. (2016a, July 24). Syrian refugee arrested in machete murder in Germany. *Fox News*. https://www.foxnews.com/world/syrian-refugee-arrested-in-machete-murder-in-germany

| Security neg : 2 | Linguistic neg: 2 Legality neg : 1

Fox News. (2016c, October 20). Syrian refugees now enrolling in schools. *Fox News*. https://www.foxnews.com/us/syrian-refugees-now-enrolling-in-schools

Services pos : 3 | Ethnicity neg : 1

DeMarche, E. (2020, February 28). Turkey to allow Syrian refugees free access to Europe after troop attack. *Fox News*. https://www.google.com/amp/s/www.foxnews.com/world/turkey-to-allow-syrian-refugees-free-access-to-europe-after-troop-attack.amp

Legality pos : 1

Fox News. (2015e, November 29). Thousands of Syrian refugee children born in Iraq are left in legal limbo. *Fox News*. https://www.foxnews.com/world/thousands-of-syrian-refugee-children-born-in-iraq-are-left-in-legal-limbo

Economic neg : 1 | Linguistic neg: 2 Legality neg : 3 |

Bertram, S. (2023, April 11). *Syrian refugee Hussain Besou becomes Germany's youngest national chess team player – video*. The Guardian. https://www.theguardian.com/sport/video/2023/apr/11/chess-germany-syrian-refugee-hussain-besou

Ethnicity pos : 2 | Linguistic pos: 1

Oltermann, P. (2023, April 3). Syrian refugee celebrates 'sensational' win in German mayoral race. *The Guardian*. https://www.google.co.uk/amp/s/amp.theguardian.com/world/2023/apr/03/syrian-refugee-ryyan-alshebl-win-germany-mayoral-race-ostelsheim

Ethnicity pos : 2 | Services pos : 1 | Economic pos : 1 | Linguistic pos: 1

Murphy, J. (2018, April 14). Canada will take extra time bringing in Syrian refugees in order to "do it right." *The Guardian*.
https://www.google.co.uk/amp/s/amp.theguardian.com/world/2015/nov/24/canada-syrian-refugees-extra-time-do-it-right

Services und : 1 | Security neg: 1 | Services pos : 3 | Services neg : 2 | Legality neg : 1

Cecco, L. (2018, November 26). Syrian refugee stranded in airport for months is granted asylum in Canada. *The Guardian*.
https://www.google.co.uk/amp/s/amp.theguardian.com/world/2018/nov/26/hassan-al-kontar-syrian-refugee-stranded-airport-asylum-canada-vancouver

Legality neg: 2 | Services pos : 1 | Legality pos: 1 | Services neg : 1

Luhn, A. (2018, April 14). Norway tells refugees who used cycling loophole to enter to return to Russia. *The Guardian*.
https://www.google.co.uk/amp/s/amp.theguardian.com/world/2016/jan/14/norway-tells-refugees-bikes-russia-bicycle-immigration-storskog

Legality neg : 3 | Linguistic neg: 2

Brodzinsky, S. (2018, April 14). Latin American countries welcome Syrian refugees. *The Guardian*. https://www.google.co.uk/amp/s/amp.theguardian.com/world/2015/sep/09/latin-american-countries-welcome-syrian-refugees

Services pos : 4 | Economic neg : 1 | Linguistic pos: 2

Sherwood, H. (2020, August 3). Syrian refugee family to be given home inside London synagogue. *The Guardian*.
https://www.google.co.uk/amp/s/amp.theguardian.com/world/2017/jan/21/syrian-refugee-family-given-home-in-london-synagogue

Services neg : 1 | Linguistic pos: 2 | Services und : 1 | Services pos : 3

Michael, C. (2018, August 2). *Newcomer Kitchen: how Syrian refugees took over a Toronto restaurant – video*. The Guardian.
https://www.theguardian.com/world/video/2016/dec/12/newcomer-kitchen-syrian-refugees-toronto-restaurant-video

Ethnicity pos : 1

Reporter, G. S. (2022, October 19). "How will we survive?": Syrian refugees trapped in poverty in Thailand. *The Guardian*. https://www.google.co.uk/amp/s/amp.theguardian.com/global-development/2017/jan/23/how-will-we-survive-syrian-refugees-trapped-in-poverty-in-thailand

Legality neg: 1 Services neg : 2 |

Wintour, P. (2018, April 14). Countries not fulfilling pledges to help Syrian refugees, report finds. *The Guardian*.
https://www.google.co.uk/amp/s/amp.theguardian.com/world/2016/may/20/countries-who-pledged-to-help-syrian-refugees-not-doing-it-report-finds

| Services und : 1 | Linguistic neg: 1 Economic neg: 3 | Economic und : 2

McClenaghan, M. (2018, April 14). Syrian asylum seekers in UK forced into poverty. *The Guardian*. https://www.google.co.uk/amp/s/amp.theguardian.com/uk-news/2017/mar/26/destitute-syrian-asylum-seekers-fear-deportation

| Economic neg : 3 | Linguistic neg : 1 Legality neg : 4 Services neg: 5 |

Reporter, G. S. (2018, August 18). Berliners get an appetite for refugees' cuisine. *The Guardian*. https://www.google.co.uk/amp/s/amp.theguardian.com/travel/2017/apr/16/berlin-refugee-cuisine-syria-restaurants-cooking-groups

Ethnicity pos: 3 | Economic pos : 1

Sherwood, H. (2022, October 19). Syria's female refugees facing poverty, harassment and isolation. *The Guardian*. https://www.google.co.uk/amp/s/amp.theguardian.com/world/2014/jul/08/women-head-quarter-syrian-refugee-families

Economic neg: 2 | Linguistic neg: 2 Services neg : 3 | Services pos : 2 | Security neg: 3 |

Burgen, S. (2020, February 3). How a small Turkish city successfully absorbed half a million migrants. *The Guardian*. https://www.google.co.uk/amp/s/amp.theguardian.com/cities/2019/jun/19/gaziantep-turkish-city-successfully-absorbed-half-a-million-migrants-from-syria

Services pos : 4 | Legality und : 1 | Economic neg: 2 | Ethnicity pos: 3| Economic pos: 1

Reporter, G. S. (2017, November 29). Switzerland seizing assets from refugees to cover costs. *The Guardian*. https://www.google.co.uk/amp/s/amp.theguardian.com/world/2016/jan/15/switzerland-joins-denmark-in-seizing-assets-from-refugees-to-cover-costs

Services neg : 2

Jacobs, B. (2018, April 14). House passes bill adding barriers for Syrian and Iraqi refugees entering US. *The Guardian*. https://www.google.co.uk/amp/s/amp.theguardian.com/us-news/2015/nov/19/house-passes-bill-adding-barriers-for-syrian-and-iraqi-refugees-to-us

Security und : 2 | Linguistic neg: 3 Legality und : 1 | Security neg : 3 | Legality neg: 2 |

Summers, H. (2022, October 19). "Why we're paying the rent for a million Syrian refugees." *The Guardian*. https://www.google.co.uk/amp/s/amp.theguardian.com/global-development/2018/mar/26/scheme-cash-transfer-turkey-1m-refugees-eu-aid

Legality und : 1| Economic pos : 4 | Ethnicity pos: 1 | | Ethnicity neg : 1 | Services pos : 5 Linguistic neg : 2

McKernan, B., Kelly, A., & Swash, R. (2021, July 29). Denmark could face legal action over attempts to return Syrian refugees. *The Guardian*. https://www.google.co.uk/amp/s/amp.theguardian.com/global-development/2021/jul/29/denmark-faces-legal-action-over-attempts-to-return-syrian-refugees

| Security neg : 1 | Linguistic neg : 1 | Economic pos : 1 Legality neg: 3

Lakhani, N. (2018, April 14). Honduras detains five Syrians with stolen Greek passports. *The Guardian*. https://www.google.co.uk/amp/s/amp.theguardian.com/world/2015/nov/18/honduras-detains-five-syrians-stolen-greek-passports

Legality neg: 2 | Security neg : 2 | Security pos : 2 | Linguistic neg: 1

Brooks, L. (2018, April 14). Paris attacks will have "no effect" on plans to welcome Syrian refugees to Scotland. *The Guardian*. https://www.google.co.uk/amp/s/amp.theguardian.com/uk-news/2015/nov/16/paris-attacks-no-effect-plans-welcome-syria-refugees-scotland

Security pos: 2 | Services pos : 3 | Security neg : 2 | Linguistic pos : 2

Appendix B. Coding scheme for the coverage of Ukrainian refugees

O'Grady, B. C. (2023b, April 9). The Ukrainian refugees making a living somewhere new. *BBC News*. https://www.bbc.com/news/business-64663105

Economic pos : 4 | Economic und : 2 | Ethnicity pos : 1 | Legality neg : 1 | Security pos : 1 Linguistic pos: 2

Baynes, B. C. (2023, March 26). The Ukrainian language classes helping Britons talk to refugees. *BBC News*. https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-south-yorkshire-64993843

Ethnicity pos : 3 | Services pos : 3| Linguistic pos: 1

By PA Media & Tom Airey. (2023, March 26). Ukrainian refugee shares pride over Euro 2024 qualifier. *BBC News*. https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-leeds-65080374

Services pos : 1 | Ethnicity pos : 1

Harby, B. D. M. &. J. (2023, February 23). How Ukrainian refugees found their second home in the UK. *BBC News*. https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-derbyshire-64676216

Ethnicity pos : 1 | Services pos : 1 | Economic pos : 2 | Security pos : 1 | Linguistic pos: 3

BBC News. (2023, January 8). Ukraine war: Croke Park to temporarily house refugees. *BBC News*. https://www.bbc.com/news/articles/c2vn111d3y7o

Services pos : 3 | Services neg : 2

BBC News. (2023a, January 7). Ukrainian refugees celebrate first Orthodox Christmas in UK. *BBC News*. https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-sussex-64186808

Ethnicity pos: 2 | Linguistic pos: 2

BBC News. (2023c, January 8). Ukrainian refugees in Dereham celebrate Orthodox Christmas in UK. *BBC News*. https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-norfolk-64199439

Ethnicity pos: 3

BBC News. (2022, December 3). Middlesbrough Ukrainian refugees: Four families forced to find new homes. *BBC News*. https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-tees-63846282

Services neg : 3 | Services und : 3 | Services pos : 2 | Economic pos: 1 | Linguistic neg: 1

Hill, B. J. (2022, November 30). Ukraine war: Germans struggle with influx of Ukrainian refugees. *BBC News*. https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-63792498

Services neg : 3 | Services pos : 1

BBC News. (2022a, June 27). Ukrainian refugees: Call for more English tutors in Brighton. *BBC News*. https://www.bbc.com/news/articles/c6pzl1z0p2po

Services pos : 2 | Ethnicity pos: 1 | Ethnicity und : 1

Social event for Ukrainian refugees and their host families. (2022, June 28). [Video]. BBC News. https://www.bbc.com/news/av/uk-england-humber-61957763

Ethnicity pos: 1 | Security pos : 1 | Linguistic pos: 1

BBC News. (2022a, June 15). Free bus travel for Ukrainian refugees in Cornwall. *BBC News*. https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-cornwall-61797612

Services pos : 1 | Economic pos : 1 | Linguistic pos: 2

BBC News. (2022a, April 28). Ukrainian refugee starts "dream job" in Cambridge. *BBC News*. https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-cambridgeshire-61250293

Economic pos : 1

BBC News. (2022b, May 6). Oxford University to start Ukrainian refugees scholarship. *BBC News*. https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-oxfordshire-61336943

Services pos : 3 | Economic pos : 1 | Linguistic pos: 2

BBC News. (2022a, April 21). Ukrainian boy misses term start "due to visa delay." *BBC News*. https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-coventry-warwickshire-61175283

Legality neg : 1 | Legality pos : 1 | Services pos : 1

Fernandez, B. J. (2023, March 3). Ukrainian refugee praises Guernsey visa system. *BBC News*. https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-guernsey-64816695

|Security pos : 1 | Linguistic pos: 1 Legality pos: 1 | Economic pos : 1

BBC News. (2022a, April 8). Homes for Ukraine: Visas for 566 Ukrainians to come to Scotland. *BBC News*. https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-scotland-61037800

| Legality und : 1 | Linguistic pos: 1 Legality pos : 2 | Services pos : 1

Limbu, B. L. B. &. D. (2023, January 6). Ukrainians in Bristol celebrate Orthodox Christmas. *BBC News*. https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-bristol-64191300

Ethnicity pos: 3 | Security pos : 1

BBC News. (2023d, January 17). Coventry centre calls for more homes for Ukrainian refugees. *BBC News*. https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-coventry-warwickshire-64301227

Services pos : 1 | Ethnicity pos : 1 | Services neg : 1 | Linguistic pos: 1

BBC News. (2022g, November 1). Ukrainian refugees in Wiltshire could be homeless. *BBC*

News. https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-wiltshire-63455387

| Services neg : 1 | Services: pos : 1 | Linguistic neg: 1 Services und : 1

Alvarez, P. (2023, February 19). Ukrainian refugees, uncertain about returning home, wrestle
with their legal status in the US. *CNN*.
https://www.google.com/amp/s/amp.cnn.com/cnn/2023/02/19/politics/ukrainian-
refugees-legal-status-us/index.html

**|Economic pos : 1 | Ethnicity pos : 2 | Legality und : 1 | Legality pos : 2 | Services pos : 2
Services und : 1**

Sebastian, C., & Graham-Yooll, A. (2022, June 27). Uprooted by war, some Ukrainians in the
UK now face homelessness alone. *CNN*.
https://www.google.com/amp/s/amp.cnn.com/cnn/2022/06/27/europe/ukrainian-refugees-
uk-homeless-intl-cmd/index.html

Services pos : 3 | Services neg : 1 | Legality pos : 1 | Legality und : 1 | Services und : 1

Linguistic neg: 1

Hardingham-Gill, T. (2022, July 18). Ukrainian chef to launch London restaurant staffed by
refugees. *CNN*. https://www.google.com/amp/s/amp.cnn.com/cnn/travel/article/ukraine-
chef-london-restaurant-refugees/index.html

Ethnicity pos : 2 | Legality und : 1 | Linguistic pos: 2

Bergeron, R. (2022, June 17). World Refugee Day: a 'long vision' needed to help displaced
people. *CNN*. https://www.google.com/amp/s/amp.cnn.com/cnn/2022/06/17/us/iyw-
world-refugee-day/index.html

Services pos : 1 | Linguistic pos : 2

Russian priest says he's helped "thousands" of Ukrainian refugees get to Europe. (2022, June
20). [Video]. CNN. https://edition.cnn.com/videos/world/2022/06/20/russia-priest-
ukraine-refugee-europe-pleitgen-dnt-lead-vpx.cnn

Services pos :1 | Linguistic pos : 1

Kennedy, N., & O'Sullivan, D. (2022, May 20). Ireland gives warm welcome to Ukrainians fleeing conflict. Asylum-seekers from elsewhere point to unequal treatment. *CNN*. https://www.google.com/amp/s/amp.cnn.com/cnn/2022/05/20/europe/ireland-ukraine-refugees-controversy-intl-cmd/index.html

Services pos : 4 | Legality und : 2 | Ethnicity pos : 4 | Services neg : 1

Linguistic pos : 7

She fled Ukraine for the UK. Then her hosts asked her to leave. (2022b, June 27). [Video]. CNN. https://edition.cnn.com/videos/world/2022/06/27/uk-ukrainian-refugee-homeless-sebastian-pkg-ovn-intl-hnk-vpx.cnn

Services neg : 2 | Linguistic neg: 2

Shoichet, C. E. (2022b, August 3). Scammers are targeting sponsors who are trying to help Ukrainians reach the US. *CNN*. https://www.google.com/amp/s/amp.cnn.com/cnn/2022/08/03/us/uniting-for-ukraine-phishing-scam-cec/index.html

Services pos : 2 | Services und : 2

Bennett, K. (2022, May 5). Jill Biden's trip to Romania and Slovakia includes spending Mother's Day with Ukrainian refugees. *CNN*. https://www.google.com/amp/s/amp.cnn.com/cnn/2022/05/05/politics/jill-biden-romania-slovakia-ukraine/index.html

Services pos : 2

Korn, J. (2022, February 28). Airbnb offering free temporary housing for up to 100,000 Ukrainian refugees. *CNN*. https://www.google.com/amp/s/amp.cnn.com/cnn/2022/02/28/tech/airbnb-ukraine-refugees/index.html

| Legality pos : 1 Services pos : 2

Wedeman, B., Tarasova-Markina, D., & Khadder, K. (2023, January 9). Ukrainians mark somber Orthodox Christmas in Bakhmut as shelling goes on. *CNN*. https://www.google.com/amp/s/amp.cnn.com/cnn/2023/01/09/europe/bakhmut-ukraine-orthodox-christmas-intl-cmd/index.html

Services pos : 2 | Ethnicity pos : 2

Edwards, C. (2022, December 27). They were welcomed into British homes. Celebrating their first Christmas together, Ukrainians wonder if that hospitality will last. *CNN*. https://www.google.com/amp/s/amp.cnn.com/cnn/2022/12/24/uk/uk-ukraine-refugee-scheme-gbr-cmd-intl/index.html

Ethnicity pos : 5 | Legality pos :1 | Services pos : 4 | Services und : 2 | Legality und : 2 Economic pos : 2 | Economic neg : 1 | Economic und : 1 | Linguistic pos: 4

Ukrainian refugees face difficult UK visa process. (2022, March 27). [Video]. CNN. https://edition.cnn.com/videos/tv/2022/03/26/ukrainian-refugees-uk-bashir-newsroom-pkg.cnn

Legality neg: 1 | Services pos: 1 | Linguistic neg: 2

Paget, S., & Suarez, K. (2022, April 3). The number of Ukrainians seeking asylum at the US-Mexico border is growing by the day. *CNN*. https://www.google.com/amp/s/amp.cnn.com/cnn/2022/04/02/us/ukrainians-us-mexico-border/index.html

Legality neg: 1 |Services pos : 2 | Services und : 1 | Linguistic neg

Linguistic neg: 3

Sahadi, J. (2022, March 28). *Companies are making a big push to help Ukrainian Refugees Get Jobs | CNN business*. CNN. https://edition.cnn.com/2022/03/28/success/ukrainian-refugee-jobs/index.html

Economic pos : 5 | Services pos : 3 | Ethnicity pos : 1 | Economic und : 1 | Services und: 1 Linguistic pos: 2

Malloy, A., Liptak, K., & Vazquez, M. (2022, March 24). US to welcome 100,000 Ukrainian refugees. *CNN*. https://www.google.com/amp/s/amp.cnn.com/cnn/2022/03/24/politics/us-to-accept-more-ukrainian-refugees/index.html

Services pos : 2 | Legality pos : 3 | Services und : 2 | Economic neg: 1

Linguistic pos: 3

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Services pos : 2 | Linguistic pos : 2

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Services pos : 3 | Legality pos : 1 | Legality und : 1 | Security und : 3

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Services pos : 2 | Ethnicity pos : 1 | Ethnicity neg: 1 | Economic neg : 1 | Economic pos | Services und : 1 | Linguistic neg : 2 : 1 Legality pos : 1

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Services pos : 2 | Economic pos : 3 | Security neg: 1

Linguistic pos: 2

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Ethnicity pos : 2 | Linguistic pos: 1

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Linguistic pos: 1

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Services pos : 2 | Linguistic pos: 1

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Economic pos: 1 | Services pos : 1 | Linguistic pos: 1

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Services pos : 1 | Economic pos : 3 | Security pos : 1 | Ethnicity pos : 2

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Ethnicity pos : 1 | Legality pos : 1 | Economic pos : 2

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Linguistic neg: 2

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| Linguistic pos: 1 Ethnicity pos : 2 | Services pos : 1 | Linguistic pos: 1

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Services pos : 3 | Legality neg : 1 | Legality pos : 1

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Economic pos : 1 | Services neg : 2 | Services pos: 1 | Linguistic neg: 1

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Services pos : 3 | Security pos : 1 | Legality und : 1 | Ethnicity neg : 1 | Ethnicity pos : 1 Linguistic pos: 2

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Legality pos : 2 | Legality neg : 2 | Legality und : 2 | Services pos: 1

Linguistic pos : 3

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Legality neg: 2 | Legality pos : 3 | Legality und : 1

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Services pos : 1 | Linguistic: 1

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Services pos : 5 | Ethnicity pos: 4 | Legality neg : 1 | Legality und: 1 | Legality pos: 2

Economic und: 1 | Security pos : 1 | Economic pos: 2 | Ethnicity und: 1

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Legality neg: 3 | Security pos : 1 | Services pos : 2 | Legality pos : 1 | Legality und : 1

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Ethnicity pos : 1

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Ethnicity pos: 4 | Services pos : 3 | Security pos : 1 | Economic neg: 1

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Ethnicity pos: 1 | Linguistic pos: 1

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Services pos : 2 | Economic pos: 4 | Ethnicity neg : 2 | Ethnicity und : 1

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Services neg : 1 | Services pos : 3 | Legality pos : 2 | Services und : 1

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Legality neg : 2 | Legality pos: 4 | Legality und : 1 | Linguistic neg: 2

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Services pos : 5 | Legality und : 2 | Economic neg: 2 | Economic pos: 3 | Ethnicity pos: 3

Ethnicity neg : 1 | Linguistic pos: 3

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Services pos : 3 | Legality neg : 2 | Linguistic pos: 2

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Legality neg : 2 | Legality pos : 4 | Economic pos: 2 | Economic neg: 3 | Security neg : 1

Services neg : 1 | Security pos : 1 | Linguistic neg: 1

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Legality neg: 5 | Services neg : 2 | Legality pos: 2 | Legality und : 2

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Services pos : 1 | Security pos : 1 | Linguistic pos: 1

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Services pos : 4 | Economic neg: 3 | Ethnicity pos: 1 | Economic pos: 1 | Legality pos: 1

Linguistic pos: 1 | Linguistic neg: 1

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Economic pos: 1 | Services pos : 2 | Legality neg: 2 | Legality und : 1 | Legality pos: 2

Linguistic pos: 1

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Legality neg: 3 | Security pos : 1 | Services pos : 4 | Services neg : 1 | Legality pos: 1

Linguistic pos: 2 | Linguistic neg: 1

ملخص

فحصت الدراسة الحالية تمثيلات و تَأطيرُ وسائل الإعلام لاثنين من أحدث الأزمات الإنسانية، اللاجئين السوريين والأوكرانيين، وما إذا كانت صور هذه المجموعات اختلفت عبر وسائل الإعلام الغربية الرئيسية. تم استخدام نهج الأساليب المختلطة للتحقيق في كيفية تأطير وسائل الإعلام لهاتين المجموعتين بشكل مختلف أو متساو. تم جمع ما مجموعة 160 مقالة إخبارية من أربعة منافذ إخبارية: بي بي سي نيوز، والجارديان، وسي إن إن، وفوكس نيوز. تم إجراء تحليل للمقالات المختارة كما ونوعا بناء على مخطط ترميز يتألف من ستة إطارات: الخدمات، والاقتصاد، والعرق، والقانون، والأمن، واللغويات. كشفت النتائج أن بي بي سي نيوز وسي إن إن وفوكس نيوز تميل إلى تغطية اللاجئين السوريين بشكل سلبي أكثر من اللاجئين الأوكرانيين. ومع ذلك، فهم إيجابيون بشكل عام بشأن اللاجئين السوريين. علاوة على ذلك، تميل صحيفة الغارديان إلى أن تكون أكثر توازنا، مع نبرة إيجابية أكثر قليلا تجاه الأوكرانيين منها تجاه السوريين. وبالتالي، كان التحيز واضحا في الإبلاغ عن مجموعات اللاجئين وكذلك ازدواجية المعايير عند تأطيرها. نظرا لخطورة هذه القضية والصراع المستمر، من الضروري إجراء مزيد من البحث من أجل اكتساب فهم أعمق لكيفية تطور صياغة هذه القضية.

كلمات مفتاحية: ازدواجية المعايير ، تَأطيرُ وسائل الإعلام ، الاستشراق ، اللاجئين السوريين ، اللاجئين ، الأوكرانيين ،