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The Representation of Ukrainian Refugees in Media Discourse: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Three Newspaper Articles

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Dedication

Now, with the help of Allah, I have completed this work. The journey was long, and the attainment was magnificent and arduous.

I dedicate this work to my beloved father, who shaped our upbringing and is my role model and pride. To my dear mother, who has made Paradise lie beneath her feet, and is the dearest of all that I possess. To my support in this life, my siblings.

I also cannot forget the unseen hand, my constant companion. At every step of this journey, you have been my unwavering support, and my source of strength I am out of words to tell you how grateful I am to have you.

Lastly, I would like to conclude the dedication by expressing my deepest gratitude to my friend my dear, who stood by my side in the toughest times and placed your trust in my abilities.

You bet on my success and never hesitated to support me in every step I took on this journey.

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Abstract

This dissertation focuses on the representation of Ukrainian refugees in media discourse through the lens of critical discourse analysis (CDA). The study aims to examine how Ukrainian refugees are portrayed and constructed in three articles from different newspapers. The research employs Van Leeuwen's socio-semantic model as a framework to analyze the linguistic strategies, ideological constructs, and power relations embedded within the representation of Ukrainian refugees. The study begins with a comprehensive review of the literature on critical discourse analysis and its application to media analysis, highlighting the

relevance of examining media representations in shaping public perceptions and attitudes toward refugees. The specific focus on Ukrainian refugees is justified by their significant presence within global displacement crises and the need for a nuanced understanding of their experiences and challenges. The Key categories of Van Leeuwen's model include nomination, categorization, evaluation, exclusion, inclusion, functionalization, personalization, impersonalization, and identification. This socio-semantic inventory is used to uncover the underlying linguistic and visual representations of Ukrainian refugees in the media. The findings reveal the linguistic strategies employed in the representation of Ukrainian refugees and their implications in shaping public understanding and empathy towards this marginalized group. The analysis highlights potential biases, stereotypes, and power dynamics within the media discourse, emphasizing the need for more accurate and responsible portrayals. This dissertation contributes to the field of discourse studies by providing a detailed examination of the representation of Ukrainian refugees in the media. The findings offer insights into the power relations and ideological constructs that shape media narratives, aiming to promote a more inclusive and informed public discourse surrounding refugee issues.

Keywords: Ukrainian refugees, media representation, critical discourse analysis, Van Leeuwen's socio-semantic model, power relations, ideological constructs

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General Introduction

Recently, the world has witnessed a significant increase in the number of refugees fleeing their home countries due to various socio-political crises and conflicts. Among these global displacement crises, the situation of Ukrainian refugees has garnered substantial attention. As individuals and families seek safety and stability, their experiences and challenges become a subject of interest for both academic research and public discourse.

This dissertation delves into the representation of Ukrainian refugees in media discourse, aiming to explore how their stories, struggles, and aspirations are depicted and communicated to the wider public. The media plays a crucial role in shaping public opinion, influencing social attitudes, and constructing narratives surrounding refugee issues. Therefore, understanding the media's portrayal of Ukrainian refugees is essential for fostering empathy, challenging stereotypes, and promoting more informed and inclusive discussions.

The motivation behind this research stems from the realization that media representations have the power to shape public perceptions and policy responses toward refugees. By critically examining the way Ukrainian refugees are represented in the media, this study seeks to shed light on potential biases, stereotypes, and gaps in coverage. Moreover, it aims to highlight the experiences and perspectives of Ukrainian refugees themselves, providing a platform for their voices to be heard.

In this context, the dissertation is structured into three chapters that systematically explore different aspects of the representation of Ukrainian refugees in the media. Chapter one provides an overview of critical discourse analysis (CDA) and its frameworks, with a specific focus on the application of CDA to media discourse. It also discusses the role of political discourse and the concept of power in shaping media representations. This chapter sets the theoretical foundation for understanding the analytical framework used in the subsequent chapters.

The second chapter focuses on the selection of newspaper articles for analysis. It describes the methodology employed in choosing relevant newspaper articles that will serve as primary sources for examining the representation of Ukrainian refugees in the media. Additionally, it presents an in-depth discussion of Van Leeuwen's model and its application in analyzing media representations of Ukrainian refugees.

Chapter three is the main focus of this dissertation. It delves into the analysis of media representations using Van Leeuwen's model. By applying this framework to selected

newspaper articles, this chapter examines the language, ideologies, and power dynamics embedded in the representation of Ukrainian refugees. We examine the key categories of nomination, categorization, evaluation, exclusion, inclusion, functionalization, and identification. The goal is to understand how language and imagery shape and convey representations of Ukrainian refugees in different societal contexts.

This chapter also presents the findings and discussion of the analysis. It reveals the linguistic strategies employed, the ideologies reflected, and the power relations at play in the media's portrayal of Ukrainian refugees. These insights contribute to a better understanding of media narratives and aim to foster more inclusive and empathetic discussions about refugees.

By conducting a comprehensive exploration of media representations and employing critical discourse analysis, this study contributes to a nuanced understanding of the depiction and representation of Ukrainian refugees in media. The findings aim to raise awareness about potential biases, stereotypes, and power imbalances within media narratives, ultimately promoting a more inclusive and empathetic public discourse surrounding refugees. Moreover, this research provides insights that can inform media practices, fostering responsible and accurate portrayals that contribute to a more equitable and informed society.

Chapter One

Conceptual and Theoretical Frameworks

1.2. Introduction

Over the past two decades, many researchers in the fields of linguistics, language learning, and other social sciences have been interested in critical discourse analysis such as Van Dijk, Van Leeuwen, and Norman Fairclough, they began researching different documents, newspapers, and speeches, especially in the political field and start analyzing various oral and written texts. The main aim of this study is to investigate the representation of Ukrainian refugees in newspapers. This chapter is divided into two parts. The first contains selected definitions to introduce the disciplines of, discourse (and critical discourse analysis (CDA)). The second part is concerned with media discourse, political discourse along with the concept of power.

1.3.1.2. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) Overview

Critical discourse analysis is an interdisciplinary approach to the study of language, that emerged in Europe in the late 1970s and early 1980s as a response to the growing interest in language and power, particularly in the fields of linguistics and sociology. It was influenced by the work of scholars such as Michel Foucault, Antonio Gramsci, and Pierre Bourdieu. CDA was initially developed by British linguists such as Norman Fairclough, Teun van Dijk, and Ruth Wodak, who sought to analyze how language is used to construct and maintain social power relationships. The approach gained popularity in the 1990s and has since spread to other disciplines such as anthropology, communication studies, and political science.

Van Dijk (2001) discussed CDA stating that:

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context. With such dissident research, critical discourse analysis takes explicit positions and thus wants to understand, expose, and ultimately resist social inequality. (p.352).

Critical discourse analysis takes an explicit stance to comprehend, expose, and ultimately reject social inequity.

Before examining the major approaches of critical discourse analysis, it is important to discuss its key concepts.

1.2.1. Key Concepts of CDA

1.2.1.1. Power and Ideology

CDA recognizes that language is not neutral and that it is used to maintain power relations and reinforce dominant ideologies.

1.2.1.2. Discourse

CDA views discourse as a social practice that shapes and reflects social reality. It emphasizes the importance of analyzing language in context, including the social, cultural, and historical factors that influence its use.

1.2.1.3. Social action

CDA focuses on how discourse is used to achieve social goals, such as maintaining or challenging power relations, constructing identities, or promoting particular values or beliefs.

1.2.1.4. Critical analysis

CDA aims to uncover hidden meanings and assumptions in discourse that may perpetuate inequality or injustice. It encourages a critical approach to language analysis that challenges dominant discourses and promotes social change.

1.2.1.5. Multimodality

CDA recognizes that meaning is conveyed through multiple modes of communication, including visual images, gestures, and other nonverbal cues. It emphasizes the importance of analyzing these multimodal aspects of discourse alongside linguistic features.

1.2.1.6. Contextualization

CDA emphasizes the importance of analyzing language in its broader context, including the social, cultural, and historical factors that shape its use. It recognizes that discourse cannot be understood in isolation from its context.

1.2.1.7. Interdisciplinarity

CDA draws on insights from a range of disciplines, including linguistics, sociology, anthropology, psychology, and political science. It encourages interdisciplinary collaboration to gain a more comprehensive understanding of how language functions in society.

The following part of this paper moves on to describe in detail the major frameworks of CDA.

1.2.2. CDA Major Frameworks

Critical discourse analysis aims to analyze how language is used to construct social reality and power relations. There are several major approaches to CDA, including the Faircloughian approach, and the van Dijkian approach. The Faircloughian approach focuses on the relationship between language and social structures, while the van Dijkian approach focuses on cognitive processes involved in understanding and producing discourse, as well as on social cognition and group dynamics. These approaches share a common goal of uncovering hidden power relations and ideologies that are embedded in language use.

1.2.2.1. Fairclough's Three-Dimensional Model

Norman Fairclough's model was one of the most widely used and well-known approaches in CDA. It is a framework for analyzing discourse that takes into account the social, textual, and discursive dimensions of language use and deals with the process of meaning-making within speeches and texts. These three dimensions of discourse are: (1) it is about a text (speech, writing, visual images, etc.), (2) it is a discursive practice that concerns the production and consumption of texts, and (3) it is a social practice.

These social dimensions refer to the broader social context in which discourse occurs, including the social institutions, power relations, and cultural norms that shape language use, it includes factors such as class, gender, ethnicity, and ideology. Overall, Fairclough's three-dimensional model is a good way to analyze discourse because it takes into account both the way language is used and how it is used in a larger social context.

1.2.2.2. Van Dijk's Socio-Cognitive Model

This model was developed by Teun A. Van Dijk in the 1980s. It is one of the most known frameworks of CDA. According to this model group favoritism and out-group derogation are semantic macro-ideological strategies used to divide people into "good and bad, superior and inferior, us and them either enhance/reinforce or mitigate (our/their) bad

characteristics, and as a result they ideologically mark discourse. It emphasizes the cognitive processes involved in language use (memory, attention...) and highlights the role of social structures and ideologies in shaping discourse. Van Dijk's sociocognitive model highlights the complex interplay between individual cognition and social context in shaping how people understand and interpret information.

1.2.2.3. Van Leeuwen's Socio-Semantic Model

This framework is one of the most powerful tools within CDA. It is based on the idea that language is a social practice and that discourse reflects and reproduces social relations of power. Van Leeuwen's approach involves analyzing the linguistic features of discourse such as grammar, vocabulary, and syntax as well as the social context in which it occurs. According to Van Leeuwen, there are ways in which social actors can be represented in a text and each expresses a specific view of the social actors and has a different effect on them and the comprehension of a text.

Van Leeuwen identifies three dimensions of social context. He identifies three dimensions of social context: field, tenor, and mode. The field refers to the subject matter or topic of discourse and includes the institutional setting in which it occurs. The tenor refers to the participants in the discourse, their roles, relationships, and identities. The mode refers to the medium or channel through which discourse is communicated, such as spoken or written language. Van Leeuwen also emphasizes the importance of intertextuality in CDA. Intertextuality refers to how texts are related to other texts within a broader cultural context. Van Leeuwen argues that analyzing intertextual references can reveal underlying ideologies and power relations. Overall, Van Leeuwen's approach in CDA focuses on uncovering how language use reflects and reinforces power relations in society. By analyzing linguistic features and social context, he aims to reveal hidden meanings and challenge dominant discourses. A more detailed account of this approach is given in the following chapter.

1.3. Discourse

Many scholars and linguists that work in the field of language and social sciences have defined the term discourse as any written or spoken communication and especially the way people construct meaning about social phenomena. Deborah Tannen (1994) pointed out "Discourse is an act of communication that allows us to explore ideas, challenge assumptions, and build consensus.", so discourse refers to the exchange of linguistic sentences between the speaker and the hearer and refers also to any form of communication

to convey ideas, beliefs, values, and attitudes about various aspects of society. According to Wodak and Ludwig (1999), the discourse and the society in which it is used are interrelated and these affect each other. Discourse is a broader concept than text. Discourse is the way language is used in a particular context or situation, and it includes not only written or spoken language, but also nonverbal communication such as body language and gestures. Text, on the other hand, refers to written or spoken language that is organized into sentences and paragraphs. Text can be part of discourse, but discourse can also include other elements such as intonation, facial expressions, and gestures. Moreover, the term genre in discourse analysis refers to a type or category of discourse that is recognized by its characteristic features, structure, and communicative purpose. It is a way of classifying texts based on their form, function, and context. Genres can be found in various forms of communication such as written texts, spoken language, visual media, and digital communication. Genres are important in discourse analysis because they provide insights into the social and cultural contexts in which they are produced and consumed. They also help us understand how language is used to achieve specific communicative goals and how different genres are used to address different audiences. Some examples of genres include news articles, academic papers, advertisements, political speeches, social media posts, and personal narratives. Each genre has its own set of conventions that govern its form and content. For instance, news articles typically follow a specific structure (headline, lead paragraph, body text) and use objective language to report on current events. Overall, the study of genres in discourse analysis helps us understand how language is used to create meaning in different contexts and for different purposes.

1.3.1. Representation in Discourse

Representation in discourse refers to how individuals or groups are portrayed or depicted in language, media, and other forms of communication. It involves the use of language and other symbols to construct meaning and shape perceptions about people, events, and issues. Representation can be positive or negative, accurate or distorted, and can have significant effects on how people perceive themselves and others. For example, media representations of certain groups can reinforce stereotypes and contribute to discrimination and prejudice. To promote more accurate and inclusive representations in discourse, it is important to consider the perspectives of diverse voices and challenge dominant narratives that perpetuate inequality. This can involve actively seeking out alternative viewpoints,

questioning assumptions about identity categories, and using language that is respectful and inclusive.

1.3.2. Political Discourse

Political discourse has been defined by many linguists in different ways, generally, it refers to the exchange of ideas, opinions, and arguments related to political issues and policies. It involves discussions and debates among individuals, groups, and institutions with different perspectives on political matters. Political discourse can take place in various forms, such as public speeches, media interviews, social media posts, and academic research papers. The purpose of political discourse is to inform, persuade, and influence people's views on political issues and policies. It plays a crucial role in shaping public opinion and decision-making processes in democratic societies. However, political discourse can also be divisive and polarizing when it becomes hostile or disrespectful towards opposing views or groups. Van Dijk (2002) stipulated that political discourse is not only defined by a topic or style but rather by who speaks to whom, as what, on what occasion, and with what goals. In other words, political discourse is especially 'political' because of its functions in the political process (p.225).

1.3.3. Media in Discourse

Media is an effective tool that plays a crucial role in changing and manipulating people's views of this world. Media discourse refers to the language and communication used by media outlets, including newspapers, television news programs, and online news sources. It includes the way news stories are framed, the language used to describe events and people, and the overall tone of coverage. Media discourse can have a significant impact on public opinion and can shape how people perceive events and issues. It can also influence political decision-making and policy outcomes. Some common features of media discourse include sensationalism, bias, and framing. Sensationalism refers to the use of exaggerated or dramatic language to grab attention or generate interest in a story. Bias refers to a particular perspective or slant that is evident in the way a story is presented. Framing refers to the way a story is presented to emphasize certain aspects or perspectives over others. Overall, media discourse plays an important role in shaping public opinion and influencing political decision-making. As such, it is important for individuals to be critical consumers of media and to be aware of how media outlets may be shaping their perceptions of events and issues.

Roger Fowler (1991) in this context claimed that any kind of news written or said about the world articulates from a particular ideological position: “Language is not a clear window but a refracting, structuring medium.” (P10). This implies that the media discourse is not randomly used, but it has to do with some ideologies which shape the world.

Noam Chomsky stated "In today's world, where information is power, control of the media means control of people's minds." (P.15).

1.3.3.1. Representation in Media Discourse

Representation in media discourse refers to how a lot of people are portrayed and depicted in various forms of media, including news, television shows, movies, and advertising. It involves the use of language, images, and other forms of communication to construct meaning about individuals or groups based on their identity characteristics such as race, gender, sexuality, religion, and age. Media representation can have a significant impact on how people perceive themselves and others. It can reinforce stereotypes and biases or challenge them. For example, media representation of women as passive objects of male desire can contribute to gender inequality and violence against women. Representation in media discourse is also influenced by power dynamics. Those who hold more power in society tend to have greater control over how they are represented in the media. This can result in marginalized groups being misrepresented or excluded altogether from mainstream media. Efforts to improve representation in media discourse include promoting diversity and inclusion both behind the scenes (in hiring practices) and on-screen (in casting choices). This includes increasing the number of women, people of color, LGBTQ+ individuals, and other underrepresented groups working in media production roles. It also involves creating more nuanced portrayals of these groups that move beyond stereotypes and reflect their lived experiences.

Several studies have focused on social, cultural, and ideological representations in discourse in general and media discourse in particular. In the area of gender studies, for instance, a study by Niklander et al. (2015) investigated the discursive strategies employed by digital platforms to represent the female gender and the corresponding people's interactions on social networks concerning the news.

1.3.4. Ideology in Discourse

Ideology refers to a set of beliefs, values, and ideas that shape an individual's or group's worldview and guide their actions. In discourse, ideology plays a crucial role in shaping the way people communicate and understand the world around them. Ideology can be expressed through language, symbols, and narratives that reflect the beliefs and values of a particular group or society. According to Fairclough ideology is a system of beliefs, values, and assumptions that shape and influence the way people think, act, and communicate. He argued that ideology is not just a set of abstract ideas or concepts, but rather a deeply ingrained and pervasive force that operates at multiple levels of society, including language, culture, politics, and economics. Fairclough also emphasized the role of power in shaping ideology, noting that dominant groups often use ideology to maintain their position of privilege and control over others. In political discourse, ideology often takes center stage as politicians use language to appeal to their supporters and persuade others to join their cause. For example, a conservative politician may use language that emphasizes individualism, free markets, and limited government intervention. In contrast, a progressive politician may use language that emphasizes social justice, equality, and government intervention to address societal problems. Ideology can also be expressed through media discourse. News outlets often frame stories in ways that reflect their ideological biases. For example, a conservative news outlet may frame stories about immigration as a threat to national security and emphasize the need for stricter border control. In contrast, a progressive news outlet may frame stories about immigration as an issue of human rights and emphasize the need for compassion towards immigrants. Overall, ideology plays a significant role in shaping discourse by influencing how people communicate and understand the world around them. Understanding how ideology operates in discourse is essential for analyzing communication patterns in society and developing effective strategies for communication and persuasion. Van Dijk (2002) defined an ideology as a system of beliefs, that he named "social representations" He claimed: "ideologies are the organizing, basic beliefs of these social representations" (Van Dijk, 2002, p.17). Van Dijk viewed ideologies as some kind of ideas, i.e. "beliefs system" –as it has been defined- but this definition implies that ideologies, in turn, do not include the ideologies practices, or societal (e.g. churches, or political parties); in other words defining ideologies as "belief system" implies that everything people think or believe may be called ideology. Van Dijk's definition shows that ideology, in one way or another is the basic belief that underlies the shared social representation of specific types of social groups. Thus, these representations are in turn, the platform that the discourse is based on.

1.3.5. Power in Discourse

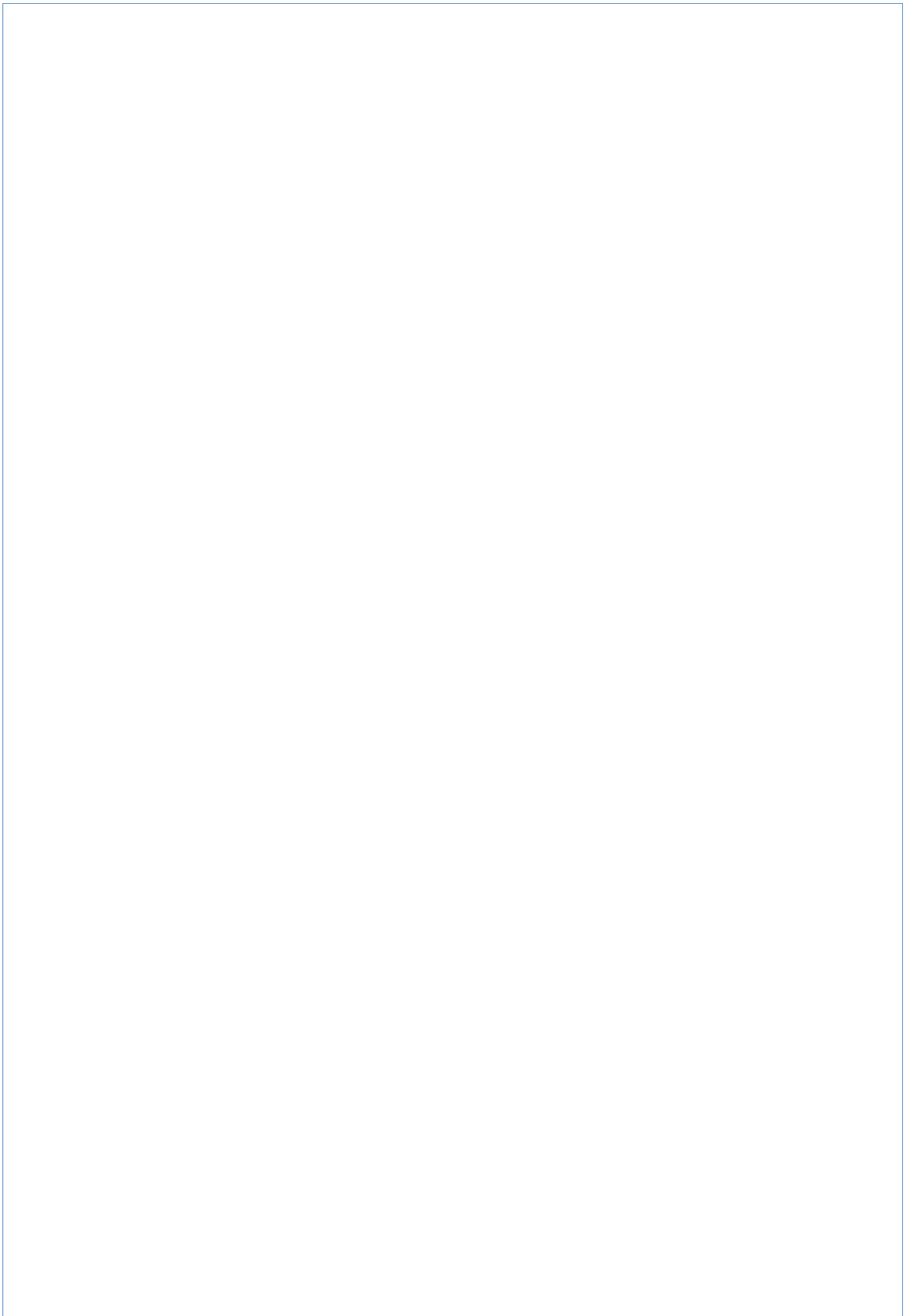
Power in discourse refers to the ability of individuals or groups to influence and control the language, ideas, and narratives that shape social interactions and relationships. This power can be exercised through various means, such as controlling access to information, setting the terms of debate, framing issues in a particular way, and using language to assert authority or dominance over others, for example, scientists are the primary users of scientific discourse, as they use it to communicate their research findings and theories such as (educators, journalist, policymakers, etc.). In many cases, power in discourse is closely linked to broader social hierarchies and inequalities, such as those based on race, gender, class, or sexuality. Those who hold more social power are often able to shape discourse in ways that reinforce their interests and perspectives while marginalizing or silencing others. At the same time, power in discourse is not necessarily fixed or static. Individuals and groups can challenge dominant discourses and work to create alternative narratives that challenge existing power structures. This can involve strategies such as reclaiming language that has been used against them or amplifying marginalized voices through storytelling and other forms of cultural production. Dahl (1969, p. 80) asserts that “A has power over B to the extent that he can get B to do something that B would not otherwise do”.

1.4. Conclusion

This chapter covered the conceptual and theoretical frameworks. It provided an overview of CDA and presented a checklist of the major concepts developed within the scope of CDA. We focused on the importance of discourse as a representational tool that is imbued with power and ideology. Since CDA considers the historical, cultural, and social aspects of society, it was chosen to be the general scope of this research. Moreover, Van Leeuwen's model was explained along with other major CDA frameworks. The next chapter will be devoted to research methodology. It will mainly revolve around the choice of the texts and the method.

Chapter Two

The Research Methodology



2.1. Introduction

The global refugee crisis has become a pressing and complex issue with far-reaching social, political, and humanitarian implications. As waves of forced displacement continue to affect populations worldwide, it is crucial to examine how the discourses surrounding refugees are constructed and disseminated within various societal contexts. This serves as an introduction to the methodology employed for selecting newspaper articles and the application of Van Leeuwen's model in analyzing media representations of Ukrainian refugees. The chapter outlines the criteria and considerations used to choose relevant articles and highlights the importance of aligning them with the research objectives. It introduces Van Leeuwen's model as a valuable analytical framework and explains how it will be utilized and gaining insights from the selected texts. This chapter sets the stage for the analysis conducted in Chapter Three, providing a foundation for examining and interpreting the media representations of Ukrainian refugees.

Methodology

The primary methodological approach employed in this chapter involves a qualitative analysis of a selected corpus of textual data. The corpus consists of newspaper articles and other relevant media sources that have extensively covered the topic of refugee crises. These texts are carefully chosen to capture a diverse range of perspectives and discourses surrounding the issue of forced displacement. Through close reading and interpretation of the textual data, the analysis will focus on identifying recurring patterns, discursive strategies, and linguistic features, in line with the dimensions outlined in van Leeuwen's model.

2.2.1. Data Description

The data selected and analyzed in this study, consists of online newspaper articles covering topics about the Ukrainian refugees. The data are collected from three articles which were selected from the most popular national and local newspapers which are:

1-The Guardian

The Guardian is a British daily newspaper that was founded in 1821. It is known for its progressive and liberal stance on political and social issues. The newspaper covers national and international news, as well as culture, sports, and opinion pieces. The Guardian has won numerous awards for its journalism, including the Pulitzer Prize. It has a strong

online presence and is one of the most widely read newspapers in the world. The newspaper is owned by The Scott Trust Limited, which was created to ensure the independence of The Guardian in perpetuity.

2-Washington Post

The Washington Post is a daily newspaper based in Washington D.C., United States. It was founded in 1877 and has since become one of the most widely read newspapers in the country. The paper covers national and international news, politics, business, sports, entertainment, and lifestyle topics. It has won numerous Pulitzer Prizes for its investigative journalism and reporting on important issues. The Washington Post has a reputation for being a liberal-leaning publication and has been critical of the Trump administration in recent years. In addition to its print edition, the paper also has a strong online presence with its website and social media accounts.

3-Moscow Times

The Moscow Times is an English-language newspaper based in Moscow, Russia. It was founded in 1992 and covers news, politics, business, culture, and sports in Russia and the surrounding region. The newspaper has a reputation for independent journalism and critical reporting on the Russian government. It is owned by Dutch media company Sanoma Media BV and has a print circulation of around 35,000 copies per issue. The Moscow Times also has a strong online presence with its website attracting millions of visitors each month.

Table 1. Data table

Article	Date	Source	Author
"The Guardian view on Ukraine's refugees: Britain's grudging welcome"	March 31, 2022	The Guardian Online website The Guardian view on Ukraine's refugees: Britain's grudging welcome Editorial The Guardian	The Guardian Editorial Board.
"Ukrainian Refugees in Southern Russia Face Tensions, Rising Housing Costs"	May 5, 2023	Moscow Times Online website Ukrainian Refugees in Southern Russia Face Tensions, Rising Housing Costs - The Moscow Times	Evan Gershkovich.
"Where have Ukrainian refugees gone?"	February 24, 2022	Washington Post Online website Where Ukrainian refugees have gone in the last four months - Washington Post	Michael Birnbaum, Luisa Beck and Raul Gallego Abellan.

2.3. CDA as a Framework for Uncovering hidden realities about the refRefugees'iCrisisthin the field of critical discourse analysis and the study of refugee narratives, a significant body of literature has emerged, addressing the discursive representation of displaced populations, the role of media in shaping public perceptions, and the power dynamics inherent in the narratives surrounding forced displacement. This literature review aims to synthesize and critically analyze the key findings and theoretical frameworks within this domain, providing a comprehensive understanding of the existing scholarship and identifying research gaps that this study seeks to address.

Al-Sharmani (2018), examined how governments govern refugee populations, with a particular focus on the interplay between justice, order, and legal pluralism. The author argues that government policies and practices regarding refugees often prioritize maintaining order and control over ensuring justice and protection for refugees. The study highlights the concept of legal pluralism referring to it as the coexistence of multiple legal systems within a society, including state laws, customary laws, and international legal norms. The research emphasizes the need for more inclusive and rights-based approaches to refugee governance. It calls for governments to prioritize the protection of refugee rights and to address the structural inequalities and power imbalances that affect refugee populations. It also suggests the importance of recognizing and incorporating local legal systems and practices in refugee governance, rather than solely relying on formal state laws. Another study by Hainmueller and Hiscox (2018), provides a comprehensive review of empirical studies examining the impact of refugee crises on host communities. The researchers highlight the importance of understanding the effects of refugee influxes on various aspects of host societies, including economic, social, and political dimensions. In terms of the economic impact, the authors found that the overall effect of refugees on host economies was generally positive in the long term. Refugees can contribute to local economic growth, job creation, and entrepreneurship. However, the initial influx of refugees may pose short-term economic challenges, particularly in sectors with labor market competition or resource constraints. In terms of social impacts, the authors found mixed evidence. While some studies suggest potential social tensions and increased crime rates in host communities, others highlight positive outcomes such as enhanced cultural diversity, social cohesion, and community resilience. The social effects of refugee crises often depend on various factors, including the level of community support, integration policies, and cultural differences. Regarding the political impact, the authors found limited evidence of significant negative effects on host countries' political systems or public opinion. However, there may be localized political concerns or shifts in voting patterns in areas with high refugee concentrations. These effects are context-specific and influenced by factors such as the nature of host countries' political systems, media framing, and public discourse. The study concludes by emphasizing the need for nuanced and evidence-based discussions on the impact of refugee crises. In the same perspective, a recent study was carried out by Turnbull et al. (2022), who examined metaphorical expressions in teacher candidates' representations of Syrian refugees in Turkey using critical discourse analysis. The findings present six metaphorical constellations about Turkey's acceptance of Syrian refugees, and these metaphors involve three ideological

tensions that were dominant in the participants' discourse: (a) similarity and togetherness/difference and separation; (b) gift/scarcity; and (c) openness and bridging/spreading and disruption.

In the following section, light is going to be shed on Van Leeuwen's frameworks for the representation of social actors and their actions. We will focus on the main categories that are used to represent Ukrainian refugees in the media.

2.4. Van Leeuwen's Model

Van Leeuwen's model provides a comprehensive framework for analyzing how social actors and their actions are represented in discourse. The model consists of several categories that shed light on how social actors are named, categorized, evaluated, included or excluded, and identified within texts.

Nomination refers to how social actors are named or identified in a text, whether through explicit naming, pronouns, or broader categorizations like social roles or occupations. It explores the specificity of identification and whether social actors are portrayed as individuals or as part of a larger group.

Categorization examines how social actors are grouped or classified based on certain attributes or characteristics. It considers the labels, stereotypes, or affiliations assigned to them, which can shape perceptions and challenge or reinforce social norms and biases.

The evaluation focuses on the positive or negative assessments attached to social actors. It involves the use of evaluative language to express approval, disapproval, or judgment, which influences readers' perceptions and attitudes toward the actors.

Exclusion refers to the absence or marginalization of certain social actors within a text. It can involve deliberate omissions or neglect, leading to their invisibility or diminished significance. Exclusion perpetuates power imbalances and reinforces dominant narratives.

Inclusion, on the other hand, highlights the presence and visibility of social actors. It considers how diverse groups are represented and whether their voices and perspectives are acknowledged and valued. Inclusion contributes to a more comprehensive and representative portrayal of social actors.

Functionalization focuses on the roles and functions assigned to social actors within a text. It examines how they are depicted in terms of their actions, responsibilities, or contributions, which can reinforce or challenge social hierarchies and traditional roles.

Identification explores how social actors are associated or aligned with certain ideologies, values, or positions. It involves examining the affiliations, allegiances, or symbolic representations used to link social actors to broader discourses or identities. Identification shapes readers' perceptions and aligns them with specific viewpoints.

These categories provide researchers with tools to analyze the representation of social actors and their actions, uncovering the broader social, ideological, and power dynamics at play in discourse. By employing Van Leeuwen's model, scholars can gain insights into how social actors are constructed and represented, and how these representations influence the interpretation and understanding of texts.

By using Van Leeuwen's (2008) socio-semantic inventory, several researchers attempted to identify how social actors are positioned and portrayed within a text, and how these representations may reflect broader social and cultural values and attitudes. Achugar (2004) conducted a study that used Van Leeuwen's socio-semantic inventory to determine some of the discursive aspects of Uruguayan media coverage of the events of September 11, 2001, and their aftermath. The emphasis was on the formation of out-group identity through the portrayal of events and their participants. Furthermore, the paper investigated how local political agendas push arguments that link these events to local struggles and issues. The study is based on a critical perspective that sees language as a social practice that is both construed by and construes the social. This understanding of the relationship between language and the social enables us to investigate the political realm through its manifestations in the language in order to probe the "naturalized" or hegemonic components of the recognized discursive practices. Early, Mohd Don and Lee (2014) conducted a study that used tools from Van Leeuwen's Social Actor Network model to examine how political elites' voices are incorporated into news reporting to portray refugees and asylum seekers in Malaysia as illegals, threats, and victims, reflecting their ideological positioning. One of the researchers' conclusions was that political elites, sometimes nominated with honorific titles (such as Dr. Datuk and Syed) and affiliations (such as Home Minister, Deputy Minister, Foreign Minister, and Prime Minister), express their views from a national

perspective. Such linguistic features indicate a focus on the dichotomy between 'us' and 'them,' with 'them' depicted as a bad other or good other depending on the context.

2.5. The Data Collection Process

This study aims to analyze the representation of Ukrainian refugees in the three selected texts using critical discourse analysis (CDA) with a focus on the Van Leeuwen approach. Quantitative data analysis will be employed as a complementary method to provide statistical insights into the frequencies and distributions of different discourse categories.

The data for this study was collected over a period of three weeks, from April 20 to May 10, 2022. During this time, a total of 3 articles were selected for analysis, with one article from each of the three selected newspapers. The data collection process was not without challenges, as some articles did not meet the purposes of the analysis and had to be replaced. However, these challenges were overcome, and the final sample size was deemed sufficient for the purposes of the study. The three articles were sourced from reputable online news websites known for covering international affairs and refugee-related issues.

2.5.1. Criteria of Selection

The texts were chosen based on the following criteria.

- 1. Relevance** The selected newspapers and articles should cover recent events and discussions surrounding Ukrainian refugees.
- 2. Diversity** It is important to select newspapers that represent different regions and political affiliations to get a diverse perspective on the issue.
- 3. Credibility** The newspapers should have a reputation for providing accurate and reliable information.
- 4. Availability** The articles should be easily accessible and available for analysis.

Table 2. Distribution of Actors’ Representations in the Selected Newspapers

Categories	The Guardian	Moscow times	Washington post
Impersonalization	5	0	3
Personalization	4	1	3
Nomination	5	7	5

Categorization	5	3	6
Exclusion	1	3	2
Inclusion	2	4	2
Functionalization	3	3	3
Identification	2	3	6
Evaluation	3	4	5
Assimilation	0	0	0

2.6. Conclusion

In this chapter, we have provided a comprehensive overview of the methodology employed in our study. We began by discussing the research approach, procedure, and data collection methods used. The main focus of our analysis was the examination of actor representations in the selected newspapers, and we utilized Van Leeuwen's socio-semantic inventory as a coding scheme for our quantitative analysis.

The data used in our study was collected over a specific period, from april 20, to May 2022, and we employed a manual coding technique to analyze the information gathered. This allowed us to systematically categorize and analyze the representations of actors in the newspapers.

The results of our quantitative analysis revealed variations in how actors were represented across the selected newspapers. Some publications placed greater emphasis on certain actors or groups, indicating the presence of biases or preferences in their coverage. This finding underscores the importance of examining media representation when studying social issues, as it can significantly influence public opinion and shape societal perceptions.

Moving forward, the subsequent chapter will delve into the detailed results of our analysis and provide a thorough discussion of their implications for understanding media representation of social issues. We will explore the patterns, trends, and underlying factors revealed by our research, shedding light on the ways in which actors are portrayed in the media and the potential consequences of these representations.

Chapter Three

Data Analysis & Discussion

3.1. Introduction

In this chapter, an attempt has been made to analyze three articles taken from three different Newspapers by focusing particularly, on the representation of the Ukrainian refugees. It draws on van Leeuwen's model of critical discourse analysis for the representation of social actors and their actions since this model examines language in the context of a language-based medium, such as a newspaper. In this chapter, I focus mainly on the similarities and differences between the three articles. Then I aim to critically analyze the representation of Ukrainian refugees in three selected articles using Van Leeuwen's socio-semantic model.

3.2. Some Contextual Clues

In recent years, the global refugee crisis has led to the displacement of millions of people, including many Ukrainians who have been forced to flee their homes due to conflict and political instability. In this context, media coverage of the crisis has played a significant role in shaping public perceptions of refugees and their experiences. As mentioned previously, we have selected three newspapers: one from the United States, one from Russia, and one from the United Kingdom.

It is worth mentioning that all three articles discuss the mass displacement of Ukrainians as a result of the conflict and their search for refuge in other countries, particularly within the European Union. In addition to this, the articles highlight the role of Russia's full-scale invasion in triggering the refugee crisis and shaping the response of European countries.

Similarly, they examine the European Union's reaction to the influx of Ukrainian refugees, including the activation of emergency measures and the granting of temporary protection rights. When it comes to the magnitude of displacement, the articles emphasize the significant number of Ukrainian refugees, with millions fleeing their homes and seeking safety in neighboring European countries, focusing on Central and Eastern Europe, such as Poland, Romania, and Slovakia as major destinations for Ukrainian refugees. Finally, what all these articles have in common is the fact that they make references to previous refugee crises, particularly the 2015 migration wave, to provide context and draw comparisons in terms of scale and response.

On the other hand, each article presents different figures and statistics regarding the number of Ukrainian refugees, the countries they have fled to, or the percentage of the population they represent in certain host countries. Regarding the focus on the involvement of other countries, while all articles

discuss the European Union's response, they also highlight other countries within the EU and their specific actions or challenges in accommodating Ukrainian refugees.

What we found intriguing is that each article emphasizes different aspects or angles of the crisis. For example, *The Washington Post* article focuses on the activation of the Temporary Protection Directive, *The Guardian* article emphasizes the generosity of certain European countries, and *The Moscow Times* centers on the activities of the Wagner Group. Overall, the articles cover different periods within the crisis, providing specific snapshots of the situation at different points in time.

These similarities and differences in content reflect the various perspectives and nuances in the coverage of the Ukrainian refugee crisis, contributing to a more comprehensive understanding of the multifaceted aspects of the situation.

3.3 Analysis

Article 1 "The Guardian View on Ukraine's Refugees: Britain's Grudging Welcome"

Nomination

As explained in the previous chapters, in Van Leeuwen's (2008) socio-semantic inventory, the category of "nomination" refers to the linguistic strategies used to identify, name, and classify people, objects, events, and other entities.

In this article, Ukrainian refugees are primarily referred to using the broader category of "refugees" or "Ukrainian migrants."

(1)

"One in four Ukrainians has now fled their home, and at least 4 million have left the country."

In this sentence, the term "Ukrainians" is used to refer to the broader category of individuals who have fled their homes, indicating their status as refugees.

(2)

"They have found a warm welcome even in places that generally reject and denigrate refugees."

(3)

"But a relatively small number have reached Britain."

Proper nouns or specific names of individuals are occasionally used to identify Ukrainian refugees for example "Those words, from a refugee in Warsaw, sum up a broader mood." In this sentence, the phrase "a refugee in Warsaw" refers to a specific individual who is identified as a Ukrainian refugee. This example demonstrates the occasional use of specific names or proper nouns to identify Ukrainian refugees in the article. Another example of nomination includes the use of some proper names such as the name of the prime minister, Boris Johnson to deliberately illustrate the involvement of persons of authority and to show the generosity of the country towards those fleeing in fear for their lives.

Categorization

The article portrays Ukrainian refugees as vulnerable individuals who are seeking safety and fleeing conflict. The language used in the article emphasizes their plight and positions them as victims of the ongoing war in Ukraine. Additionally, the article highlights the bureaucratic hurdles and challenges faced by Ukrainian refugees, categorizing them as victims of an inefficient system that impedes their journey to safety. This categorization underscores the struggles and hardships experienced by Ukrainian refugees in their quest for asylum.

(1)

"They have found a warm welcome even in places that generally reject and denigrate refugees."

(2)

"Just 2,700 visas have been granted out of more than 28,000 applications under the 'Homes for Ukraine' scheme."

(3)

"Another 23,000 have been granted under the family scheme allowing applicants to join relatives in the UK."

Ukrainian refugees are categorized based on their status as displaced individuals or victims of conflict. Some articles categorize them as "displaced families," "war refugees," or "survivors of the conflict."

(4)

"Just 2,700 visas have been granted out of more than 28,000 applications under the 'Homes for Ukraine' scheme. Another 23,000 have been granted under the family scheme allowing applicants to join relatives in the UK. But in both cases, lengthy waits and what Yvette Cooper, the shadow home secretary, described as Kafkaesque bureaucracy are leaving tens of thousands in limbo and increasingly desperate, with some still in areas under bombardment."

This excerpt highlights the categorization of Ukrainian refugees as "applicants" under different schemes such as the "Homes for Ukraine" scheme and the family scheme. They are categorized based on their status as displaced individuals or victims of the conflict, seeking refuge and joining relatives in the UK.

The term "displaced families" may suggest that the focus is on the fact that these individuals have been forced to leave their homes and communities and that they may be seeking refuge together with other family members. The term "war refugees" emphasizes the link between their displacement and the conflict, and positions them as refugees who have been driven from their homes by the violence of war. Finally, the term "survivors of the conflict" may suggest a broader perspective on the experiences of these individuals, emphasizing their resilience and ability to survive in the face of adversity.

Personalization

As explained before personalization is a linguistic technique that involves attributing actions, experiences, or perspectives to specific individuals or groups, creating a sense of individuality and

personal connection. In the given text, there are instances of personalization that highlight the experiences and viewpoints of specific individuals involved in the refugee situation.

(1)

"Those words, from a refugee in Warsaw..."

This phrase introduces a direct quote from a refugee in Warsaw, providing a personal perspective on the matter. By attributing the words to an individual, it adds a personal and authentic voice to the narrative, allowing readers to connect with the experiences of the refugee.

(2)

"But a relatively small number have reached Britain, and frustration and anger at delays and obstacles are growing."

This statement highlights the personal emotions and experiences of frustration and anger felt by those who have been affected by delays and obstacles in reaching Britain. It suggests that these individuals are directly impacted by the situation and their voices and concerns should be acknowledged.

(3)

"Yvette Cooper, the shadow home secretary, described as Kafkaesque bureaucracy..."

By mentioning Yvette Cooper, the shadow home secretary, this statement attributes a specific viewpoint to a prominent individual involved in the political landscape. It personalizes the critique of the bureaucracy by connecting it to a specific person, adding credibility and authority to the statement.

(4)

"British humanitarian workers at the Polish border said..."

This phrase refers to a group of British humanitarian workers who are directly involved in assisting refugees at the Polish border. By mentioning them, it gives a sense of the personal experiences and

observations of these individuals, providing insights from those who are on the ground and actively engaged in the situation.

In summary, personalization in the text brings a human element to the narrative by highlighting individual voices, experiences, and perspectives. It adds depth and empathy to the discourse, allowing readers to connect with the people affected by the refugee crisis.

Impersonalization

(1)

"One in four Ukrainians has now fled their home..."

This statement presents a statistical fact without specifying which individuals specifically have fled their homes. It takes an impersonal approach by focusing on the overall proportion of Ukrainians affected, rather than individual stories or experiences.

(2)

"Just 2,700 visas have been granted out of more than 28,000 applications..."

This sentence presents factual information about the number of visas granted and the number of applications received. It focuses on numerical figures rather than highlighting specific individuals who have been granted or denied visas.

(3)

"Another 23,000 have been granted under the family scheme..."

Here, the sentence mentions the number of visas granted under a specific scheme without providing personal details about the individuals involved. It emphasizes the number of visas granted without delving into individual stories.

(4)

"Scaling up processing is not simple."

This statement takes an impersonal approach by discussing the challenges of increasing the processing capacity without attributing the issue to specific individuals or groups. It presents a general observation about the complexity of the process.

(5)

"Ministers continue to treat refugees as a political problem..."

This sentence describes the actions of ministers without specifying which ministers are or providing personal details. It highlights a broader pattern or perception without focusing on individual actions or experiences.

In summary, personalization in the text presents information, statistics, or observations without attributing them to specific individuals. It takes a general or objective approach to convey facts, numbers, or broader perspectives on the refugee situation.

Evaluation

In terms of evaluation, the article expresses frustration and anger regarding the treatment of Ukrainian refugees in the UK. It highlights the delays and obstacles faced by these refugees, criticizing the government's approach of viewing them as a political problem rather than recognizing their vulnerability as human beings. The article suggests that the government's actions and bureaucratic hurdles contribute to a sense of neglect and lack of support for Ukrainian refugees seeking safety and assistance in the UK. For example:

(1)

"But in both cases, lengthy waits and what Yvette Cooper, the shadow home secretary, described as Kafkaesque bureaucracy are leaving tens of thousands in limbo and increasingly desperate."

This example highlights the evaluation of Ukrainian refugees as individuals facing bureaucratic hurdles and long waiting times. The use of the term "Kafkaesque bureaucracy" emphasizes the frustration and difficulties experienced by the refugees. This portrayal emphasizes their vulnerability and the need for assistance.

(2)

"British humanitarian workers at the Polish border said that while other nations have been helping refugees find new homes for weeks, not one of 70 visa claims they have assisted with has been approved."

This example highlights the evaluation of Ukrainian refugees as individuals who are not receiving the same level of assistance as refugees in other countries. The statement suggests that Ukrainian refugees are facing delays and obstacles in obtaining visas and finding new homes. This portrayal emphasizes their vulnerability and the perceived lack of support they receive.

(3)

"Ukrainians are receiving little help as they tackle the official obstacles to reach Britain."

This example suggests that Ukrainian refugees are encountering difficulties and obstacles in their journey to reach Britain. The phrase "receiving little help" implies a lack of support and assistance provided to them. This portrayal underscores their vulnerability and emphasizes the challenges they face in seeking safety and resettlement.

These examples highlight the varying evaluations of Ukrainian refugees, portraying them as individuals in need of support, facing bureaucratic hurdles, and experiencing delays and obstacles in their journey to find safety and resettlement.

Exclusion/Inclusion

The article highlights both the inclusion and exclusion of Ukrainian refugees in the narrative. On one hand, the article emphasizes the challenges and struggles faced by Ukrainian refugees, shedding light on their experiences and the urgent need for assistance. This inclusion in the narrative serves to raise awareness about their plight and advocate for their rights.

On the other hand, the frustrations and obstacles faced by Ukrainian refugees also point to their exclusion from a more efficient and compassionate system. The article criticizes the delays, bureaucratic hurdles, and lack of support that Ukrainian refugees encounter, suggesting that they are being excluded from a system that should be providing them with a more streamlined and

compassionate process. This exclusion underscores the need for improvements in policies and practices to ensure that Ukrainian refugees are properly included and supported in their quest for safety and protection.

Here are some examples:

a. Exclusion

(1)

"But a relatively small number have reached Britain, and frustration and anger at delays and obstacles are growing."

This example highlights the frustration and anger experienced by Ukrainian refugees due to delays and obstacles, indicating their exclusion from a smoother and more efficient process.

b. Inclusion

(1)

"Households are being not assisted in matching up with those in need – a process being left to social media or charities."

This example acknowledges the presence of Ukrainian refugees and the need to connect them with households in need, indicating their inclusion in the discussion.

(2)

"Ukrainians are receiving little help as they tackle the official obstacles to train."

This example directly mentions Ukrainians and their struggle with official obstacles, signifying their inclusion in the article's focus on the challenges faced by Ukrainian refugees.

This sentence directly mentions Ukrainians and their struggle to overcome official obstacles to reach Britain. It signifies the inclusion of Ukrainian refugees in the article, focusing on their challenges and the lack of assistance they receive. By specifically referring to Ukrainians, the article acknowledges their presence and their role in the narrative.

Overall, while Ukrainian refugees are included in the articles, their visibility may vary. Some articles give them a more prominent role, foregrounding their experiences and challenges, while

others may mention them indirectly or briefly. This variation in visibility demonstrates how different articles approach the representation and discussion of Ukrainian refugees.

Functionalization

In terms of functionalization, the article portrays Ukrainian refugees as individuals who are in desperate need of help and facing significant challenges in their quest for safety. They are depicted as encountering bureaucratic hurdles and experiencing delays in their journey to find refuge. The article emphasizes the urgent need for substantive action to improve the asylum system and provide support to these traumatized individuals, recognizing the importance of addressing their plight and providing necessary assistance. Take for example:

(1)

"Ukrainians are receiving little help as they tackle the official obstacles to reach Britain."

This statement highlights the actions and experiences of Ukrainian refugees in their efforts to reach safety in Britain. It implies their active pursuit of assistance while facing obstacles along the way.

(2)

"Scaling up processing is not simple."

Although not directly mentioning Ukrainian refugees, this statement indirectly portrays their experience of seeking safety and rebuilding their lives. It suggests that the process of scaling up refugee processing is complex, indicating the challenges faced by Ukrainian refugees in finding refuge and starting anew.

(3)

"While ministers say that they have cut back on the documentation required, more substantive action is required."

This sentence underscores the experiences of Ukrainian refugees in navigating bureaucratic processes. It implies their actions in trying to meet documentation requirements to access support and emphasizes the need for additional action to address their circumstances.

These examples demonstrate how Ukrainian refugees are portrayed in terms of their actions and experiences. They are depicted as individuals seeking safety, escaping conflict, and striving to rebuild their lives in new countries.

Identification

The identification of Ukrainian refugees in the article is based on their nationality as Ukrainians and their status as individuals who are fleeing the conflict in their home country and seeking refuge. The article underscores their connection to the ongoing war in Ukraine, portraying them as victims of the conflict. By emphasizing their nationality and the circumstances that have forced them to leave their homes, the article highlights the specific group of individuals affected by the conflict and seeking protection in other countries. For instance:

(1)

"Ukrainians are receiving little help as they tackle the official obstacles to reach Britain."

This example highlights the identification of Ukrainian refugees based on their nationality as Ukrainians. It emphasizes their affiliation with Ukraine and their experiences as refugees as they face challenges and obstacles in reaching Britain.

(2)

"While ministers say that they have cut back on the documentation required, more substantive action is required."

This statement indirectly identifies Ukrainian refugees based on their displacement from Ukraine. It acknowledges their need for support and action, underscoring their experiences as refugees in the context of the ongoing conflict.

These examples showcase how Ukrainian refugees are identified based on their displacement from Ukraine and their status as refugees. Their Ukrainian nationality is emphasized, highlighting their connection to the conflict and their experiences as individuals seeking refuge.

*Article 2 "Ukrainian Refugees in Southern Russia Face Tensions,
Rising Housing Costs"*

Nomination

In this article, the primary terms used to refer to the Ukrainian refugees are "Ukrainian refugees" and "Ukrainian migrants." These terms are employed to identify the individuals who have been forced to leave their homes in Ukraine due to the conflict and seek refuge in southern Russia.

The term "Ukrainian refugees" highlights their status as individuals who have been displaced from their homes and are seeking safety and protection in another country. It emphasizes their forced displacement and the challenges they face as a result of the conflict.

Additionally, the term "Ukrainian migrants" is used to describe these individuals who have left Ukraine and migrated to southern Russia. This term implies their movement and relocation to a different country and emphasizes their status as people who have had to leave their home country due to the conflict.

By using these terms, the article acknowledges the specific circumstances of these individuals as refugees and migrants, highlighting their experiences of displacement and their need for support and assistance in their new location. For instance:

(1)

**"Arrival of 100,000 Ukrainians in Southern
Russia Sparks Housing Price Surge and
Tensions"**

This headline itself reflects the nomination of Ukrainian refugees as "Ukrainians" who have arrived in southern Russia. It emphasizes their national identity and their status as people displaced from Ukraine.

(2)

"Ukrainian Refugees in Southern Russia"

Throughout the article, the term "Ukrainian refugees" is repeatedly used to refer to the individuals who have sought refuge in southern Russia. This nomination categorizes them based on their displacement from Ukraine and highlights their refugee status.

The use of proper nouns such as Kherson, Kyiv, Russia, Novaya Vkladka, Govorit NeMoskva, Krasnodar, and rights groups helps in identifying and referring to specific locations, sources, and organizations involved in the situation described in the article.

Categorization

Ukrainian refugees are categorized as victims of the conflict and individuals seeking asylum. They are sometimes identified based on their age or family status, such as "women and children refugees." For example:

(1)

"Kherson evacuees are the only Ukrainian refugees to be allowed Russian government-issued housing vouchers."

In this sentence, the categorization is based on the distinction between "Kherson evacuees" and other "Ukrainian refugees." The Kherson evacuees are categorized as a specific subgroup of Ukrainian refugees who have been granted housing vouchers.

(2)

"Officials have not commented on why refugees from Ukraine's other three partially-Russian-occupied regions have not been granted housing certificates."

This sentence categorizes refugees based on their origin from "Ukraine's other three partially-Russian-occupied regions." The categorization highlights a distinction between the refugees from these regions and the Kherson evacuees who have received housing certificates.

(3)

"Interviews conducted by the news outlets revealed a high level of mistrust for the new arrivals among Krasnodar region residents."

This sentence implies a categorization of the "new arrivals" from Kherson as a distinct group. The categorization is based on their recent arrival in the Krasnodar region, which elicits a level of mistrust among the residents.

These examples demonstrate how categorization is employed in the text to differentiate and classify individuals or groups based on specific criteria, such as their origin, status, or entitlement to housing vouchers. Categorization helps organize and convey information about different segments of the refugee population in the context of the article.

Personalization

Personalization in discourse refers to the attribution of specific perspectives, opinions, or actions to individuals or groups involved in the discourse. It adds a human element to the text by highlighting the viewpoints and reactions of particular actors. In the provided text, we can observe personalization in the following example: "Kyiv and rights groups decry the evacuations as forced deportations and potential war crimes."

In this sentence, the perspective of both Kyiv (the government of Ukraine) and rights groups is presented. They are portrayed as actively criticizing or condemning the evacuations, labeling them as forced deportations and potential war crimes. This attribution of a specific viewpoint to these actors personalizes the statement by emphasizing their stance and concerns regarding the situation.

Evaluation

In the article "Ukrainian Refugees in Southern Russia Face Tensions, Rising Housing Costs," the evaluation of Ukrainian refugees varies, but there is an overall emphasis on their vulnerability and need for support, as well as their resilience and courage in the face of adversity. Here are a few examples:

(1)

"Victims of the Conflict"

The categorization of Ukrainian refugees as "victims of the conflict" implies their vulnerability and the hardships they have experienced due to the ongoing war. This categorization highlights their need for support and assistance.

(2)

"Forced Deportations and Potential War Crimes"

The article mentions how Kyiv and rights groups decry the evacuations of Ukrainian refugees as forced deportations and potential war crimes. This evaluation emphasizes the vulnerability and mistreatment faced by the refugees.

(3)

"High Level of Mistrust"

The article reports a high level of mistrust among residents towards the Ukrainian refugees. This suggests that the refugees are viewed as vulnerable and potentially causing disruptions, which may further emphasize their need for support and understanding.

(4)

"Resilience and Courage"

While not explicitly stated in this particular article, the general portrayal of Ukrainian refugees often highlights their resilience and courage in the face of adversity. These individuals have been forced to leave their homes and navigate challenging circumstances, yet they continue to persevere and rebuild their lives.

Overall, the evaluation of Ukrainian refugees in the article leans towards emphasizing their vulnerability and need for support, while also acknowledging their resilience and courage in the face of the hardships they have experienced.

Exclusion/Inclusion

a. Exclusion

The article does not explicitly mention whether refugees from Ukraine's other partially-Russian-occupied regions have been granted housing certificates like the Kherson evacuees. In addition to this, the article does not provide details or mention the specific challenges faced by Ukrainian refugees from other regions in obtaining housing certificates or accessing support.

b. Inclusion

The Ukrainian refugees are indeed included and the article primarily focuses on their experiences and the specific issues they face in southern Russia. Here are a few examples that highlight their inclusion and the focus on their experiences:

(1)

"Arrival of 100,000 Ukrainians in Southern Russia Sparks Housing Price Surge and Tensions"

The title itself acknowledges the arrival of Ukrainian refugees in southern Russia and how it has led to housing price surges and tensions. This indicates their inclusion in the article.

(2)

"Russia's military estimates it had evacuated 115,000 residents of Kherson"

The article mentions the evacuation of residents from Kherson, which refers to Ukrainian refugees who were displaced from their homes due to the conflict. This demonstrates their direct inclusion and highlights their experiences.

(3)

"A report by the Novaya Vkladka and Govorit NeMoskva news sites said Kherson evacuees are the only Ukrainian refugees to be allowed Russian government-issued housing vouchers"

The article specifically mentions the Kherson evacuees as a group of Ukrainian refugees who have been granted housing vouchers. This emphasizes their inclusion and the focus on their specific circumstances.

(4)

"Interviews conducted by the news outlets revealed a high level of mistrust for the new arrivals among Krasnodar region residents"

The article highlights interviews with residents in the Krasnodar region expressing mistrust toward the Ukrainian refugees. This indicates that the experiences and reactions of the refugees are being discussed and included in the article.

Overall, the article focuses on the experiences, challenges, and specific issues faced by Ukrainian refugees in southern Russia. Their inclusion is evident throughout the article, emphasizing the importance of their narratives and circumstances.

Functionalization

The Ukrainian refugees are portrayed as individuals who have been forced to leave their homes and are now facing challenges such as rising housing costs and tensions with residents. Here are some examples from the text that portray Ukrainian refugees as individuals seeking safety, escaping violence, and starting anew:

(1)

"The arrival of more than 100,000 Ukrainians in southern Russia following Kyiv's recapture of the southern Ukrainian city of Kherson has driven up housing prices and sparked tensions with residents..."

This suggests that the Ukrainian refugees sought safety by fleeing the conflict in Kherson.

(2)

"Russia's military estimates it had evacuated 115,000 residents of Kherson — nearly half of the city's pre-war population — before its withdrawal in November."

This indicates that the Ukrainian refugees had to leave their homes and seek refuge elsewhere.

(3)

"Housing vouchers have also fueled price hikes in new Krasnodar region homes to nearly double the government-imposed standard."

This highlights the struggle of the Ukrainian refugees in finding affordable housing in their new location.

These examples illustrate the challenges faced by Ukrainian refugees as they try to secure safety, escape violence, and establish a new life in the face of rising housing costs and tensions with residents.

Identification

The Ukrainian refugees are identified based on their nationality (Ukrainian) and their status as individuals who have been displaced from their homes due to the conflict in Ukraine. Here are some examples from the text that highlight the identification of Ukrainian refugees based on their nationality and displacement:

(1)

"More than 100,000 Ukrainians in southern Russia following Kyiv's recapture of the southern Ukrainian city of Kherson..."

This identifies the individuals as Ukrainians who have sought refuge in southern Russia.

(2)

"Kherson evacuees are the only Ukrainian refugees to be allowed Russian government-issued housing vouchers..."

This specifically refers to Ukrainian refugees as a distinct group who are eligible for housing vouchers.

(3)

"Interviews conducted by the news outlets revealed a high level of mistrust for the new arrivals among Krasnodar region residents."

This indicates that the new arrivals being referred to are Ukrainian refugees who have faced mistrust from the residents.

These examples demonstrate the identification of Ukrainian refugees based on their nationality (Ukrainian) and their status as individuals who have been displaced from their homes due to the conflict in Ukraine. The focus is on their specific nationality and their experience as refugees.

B. Article 3 "Where have Ukrainian refugees gone?"

Nomination

To provide examples of nomination from the article "Fearing a Russian invasion, Ukrainians flood into the European Union," Ukrainian refugees are primarily referred to as "Ukrainian migrants" or "refugees." Specific names or individual stories may be used to humanize their representation.

Here are some relevant excerpts:

Ukrainian refugees are primarily referred to as "Ukrainian migrants" or "refugees." Specific names or individual stories may be used to humanize their representation.

(1)

"Ukrainians flood into the European Union"

The title itself includes the nomination "Ukrainians" to refer to the individuals from Ukraine who are seeking refuge in the European Union.

(2)

**"They packed into trains bound for Poland.
Drove through the night to Romania. Pushed
strollers to the safety of Slovakia."**

The use of pronouns like "they" and "their" indirectly refers to the Ukrainian refugees, emphasizing their actions and movements.

(3)

**"Russia's full-scale invasion sent millions
of Ukrainians fleeing to countries in the
European Union."**

The term "Ukrainians" is directly used to identify the individuals who are fleeing from Ukraine and seeking refuge in EU countries.

These examples highlight the use of nomination by specifically referring to the individuals as "Ukrainians" and linking them to their actions and experiences as refugees.

Impersonalization

In these sentences, impersonal language is used to depict the actions taken by individuals in the context of the Ukrainian crisis:

(1)

"They packed into trains bound for Poland."

This sentence uses impersonal language to describe the action of Ukrainians packing into trains bound for Poland. It does not specify who exactly packed into the trains, creating a more general and anonymous portrayal of the individuals involved.

(2)

"Drove through the night to Romania."

Similar to the previous example, this sentence uses impersonal language to describe the action of driving through the night to Romania. It does not provide specific details about who acted, presenting it in a more general and impersonal manner.

(3)

"Pushed strollers to the safety of Slovakia."

Again, impersonal language is used to describe the action of pushing strollers to the safety of Slovakia. The sentence does not specify who exactly pushed the strollers, maintaining an impersonal tone.

Personalization

(1)

"Russia's full-scale invasion sent millions of Ukrainians fleeing to countries in the European Union."

This sentence personalizes the impact of Russia's invasion by attributing the action to Russia and emphasizing the direct consequence it had on millions of Ukrainians. It portrays the individuals as directly affected by the invasion, highlighting their personal experiences and displacement.

(2)

"Most went to neighboring countries."

Here, the word "most" personalizes the situation by suggesting that it was the majority of Ukrainians who sought refuge in neighboring countries. It implies a personal decision made by individuals based on their circumstances and choices.

(3)

"Four months into Russia's full-scale invasion, 5.2 million refugees from Ukraine were recorded across Europe..."

This sentence personalizes the situation by providing specific figures and data about the number of refugees recorded from Ukraine across Europe. It quantifies the scale of displacement and emphasizes the personal status of these individuals as refugees.

Categorization

Categorization in the context of Ukrainian refugees refers to how they are classified or grouped based on certain characteristics or experiences. In the provided examples, Ukrainian refugees are categorized as victims of war and individuals fleeing conflict. They are also sometimes identified based on their age, gender, or family status. Let's explore some examples from the text:

(1)

"Fearing a Russian invasion, Ukrainians flood into the European Union."

In this example, Ukrainian refugees are categorized as individuals who are fleeing the fear of a Russian invasion. The term "flood" implies a large-scale movement of people seeking safety and indicates the extent of the displacement caused by the conflict.

(2)

"They packed into trains bound for Poland. Drove through the night to Romania. Pushed strollers to the safety of Slovakia."

These sentences highlight the various ways in which Ukrainian refugees are seeking refuge in different countries. The use of specific actions like "packed into trains," "drove through the night," and "pushed strollers" emphasizes the experiences of different groups of refugees based on their chosen means of transportation or movement.

(3)

"Most went to neighboring countries."

This statement indicates that a significant number of Ukrainian refugees sought safety and refuge in countries that are geographically close to Ukraine. It suggests a categorization based on proximity and highlights the regional impact of the conflict on migration patterns.

(4)

"Those decisions will likely shape future E.U. debates over migration, as certain countries seek more funding and support for services, including schools."

This sentence suggests that Ukrainian refugees' categorization based on their choices of host countries may have implications for future discussions and debates within the European Union regarding migration policies and the allocation of resources.

Overall, the categorization of Ukrainian refugees as victims of war and individuals fleeing conflict, along with the identification of specific characteristics such as age, gender, or family status, helps to provide a clearer understanding of their experiences and the challenges they face as a result of the ongoing conflict in Ukraine.

Evaluation

The evaluation in the context of Ukrainian refugees refers to the assessment or portrayal of their circumstances and qualities. It involves how articles perceive and depict Ukrainian refugees in terms of their resilience, strength, vulnerability, and need for support. Let's examine the evaluation aspects of the article:

(1)

"Europe responded with a speed — and generosity — that was a sharp contrast to other recent influxes."

This statement suggests a positive evaluation of Europe's response to the arrival of Ukrainian refugees. The mention of "speed" and "generosity" implies a recognition of the efforts made by European countries to provide assistance and support to the refugees.

(2)

"Europe was confronted by another wave of newcomers... as well refugees and migrants from South Asia, the Middle East, and elsewhere."

This sentence implies that the arrival of Ukrainian refugees is viewed in the context of previous migration waves. By including Ukrainian refugees alongside refugees and migrants from other regions, it suggests a relatively balanced evaluation, considering them as part of a broader global phenomenon.

(3)

"They packed into trains bound for Poland. Drove through the night to Romania. Pushed strollers to the safety of Slovakia."

This description highlights the determination and resilience of Ukrainian refugees as they navigate challenging journeys to find safety and refuge. It implies an evaluation of their strength and determination in the face of adversity.

(4)

"Those fleeing the war [are granted] rights denied to other migrants, including the right to work and travel in the bloc."

This statement indicates a recognition of the specific needs and vulnerabilities of Ukrainian refugees and the evaluation that they should be granted certain rights and protections that may not be available to other migrants. It underscores the notion of vulnerability and the need for targeted support.

Exclusion/Inclusion

Exclusion/Inclusion in the context of Ukrainian refugees refers to their representation and visibility in articles. It involves examining whether Ukrainian refugees are adequately included in the narrative or if they are excluded or marginalized. Let's analyze the exclusion/inclusion aspects of the text:

a. Exclusion

(1)

"Previous waves of newcomers, including from the Middle East and Africa in 2015, were not offered the same protections."

This sentence highlights the exclusion of previous waves of newcomers, specifically those from the Middle East and Africa in 2015, from receiving the same protections as the current influx of Ukrainian refugees. It suggests that there was a differential treatment or lack of comprehensive support for these earlier arrivals, implying their exclusion from certain rights and benefits.

(2)

"After a warm welcome initially from Germany, with then-Chancellor Angela Merkel promising 'We can do this!', much of the E.U. decided it would not."

This statement indicates a shift in the attitude of many European Union countries after an initial welcoming response from Germany. It implies that the broader European Union decided not to follow the same inclusive approach and instead excluded or limited their acceptance of asylum seekers and refugees. This change in stance reflects a form of exclusion from providing support and protection to those in need.

b. Inclusion

(1)

"The E.U. enacted the Temporary Protection Directive, granting those men, women, and children the right to live, work, and access social services in the bloc ..."

This sentence highlights the inclusion of Ukrainian refugees through the enactment of the Temporary Protection Directive by the European Union. It emphasizes that these individuals, regardless of their gender or age, are granted specific rights such as the right to live, work, and access social services within the European Union. This inclusion demonstrates a concerted effort to provide support and opportunities for the refugees.

(2)

"European Commission President Ursula von der Leyen declared, referring to the Russian president, 'All those fleeing [Vladimir] Putin's bombs are welcome in Europe.'"

This statement by the European Commission President signifies the inclusion of all individuals who are fleeing the bombings carried out by Russian President Vladimir Putin. It explicitly states that these individuals are welcome in Europe, emphasizing their inclusion and the willingness of Europe to provide them with safety and protection. This declaration demonstrates a commitment to inclusivity and support for those seeking refuge.

Overall, the article actively includes Ukrainian refugees in the narrative by focusing on their experiences, discussing specific policies aimed at them, and highlighting the actions taken by European countries to support and accommodate them. This inclusion ensures that Ukrainian refugees are not marginalized or overlooked, but rather acknowledged as a significant group in need of attention and assistance.

Functionalization

The Ukrainian refugees are portrayed as individuals seeking safety and protection from the Russian invasion. The articles highlight their efforts to escape the conflict and find a haven in countries within the European Union. Moreover the use of phrases like "seeking safety" and "protection from the Russian invasion" emphasizes the underlying motivation and purpose of the Ukrainian refugees. It underscores their desire to find a secure environment away from the conflict zone and highlights their vulnerability and needs for shelter.

Here are some examples from the article that illustrate the functionalization of Ukrainian refugees as individuals seeking safety and protection:

(1)

"They packed into trains bound for Poland. Drove through the night to Romania. Pushed strollers to the safety of Slovakia."

This example portrays the actions taken by Ukrainian refugees to escape the conflict and find safety in neighboring countries. The use of words like "packed," "drove," and "pushed strollers" emphasizes their active pursuit of safety.

(2)

"Fearing a Russian invasion, Ukrainians flood into the European Union."

This headline captures the functionalization by highlighting the motivation behind the influx of Ukrainian refugees. It portrays them as individuals fleeing the threat of a Russian invasion and seeking refuge in the European Union.

(3)

"Four months into Russia's full-scale invasion, 5.2 million refugees from Ukraine were recorded across Europe, one of the biggest mass displacements since World War II."

This sentence showcases the scale of displacement and reinforces the functionalization by characterizing the Ukrainians as refugees. It implies that they were forced to leave their homes due to the invasion and require protection and support.

These examples illustrate how the functionalization of Ukrainian refugees in the article emphasizes their active pursuit of safety, their fears of the Russian invasion, and their displacement as refugees. It underscores their agency in seeking refuge and highlights the urgent circumstances that have compelled them to flee their homes.

Identification

The Ukrainian refugees are identified based on their nationality (Ukrainians) and their status as individuals fleeing the conflict and seeking refuge in the European Union. Here are a few examples from the text that highlight the identification of Ukrainian refugees based on their nationality and status:

(1)

"Fearing a Russian invasion, Ukrainians flood into the European Union."

(2)

"Russia's full-scale invasion sent millions of Ukrainians fleeing to countries in the European Union."

(3)

"In the first week of the war, roughly a million people, mostly women, and children, escaped to the European Union."

(4)

"Four months into Russia's full-scale invasion, 5.2 million refugees from Ukraine were recorded across Europe."

(5)

"In Poland, 547,000 Ukrainians arrived in just one week; volunteers rushed to the border to offer them food, shelter, and support."

(6)

"The E.U. enacted the Temporary Protection Directive, granting those men, women, and children the right to live, work, and access social services in the bloc for at least a year, potentially more."

In the given examples, the identification of Ukrainian refugees is based on their nationality (Ukrainians) and their status as individuals fleeing the conflict in Ukraine. The use of terms like "Ukrainians" and "refugees" explicitly identifies the affected population as people from Ukraine who have been forced to leave their homes due to the ongoing conflict. This identification emphasizes their nationality and the specific circumstances they are facing.

The examples also highlight the scale of the displacement, such as the millions of Ukrainians fleeing to countries in the European Union and the significant number of arrivals in specific countries like Poland. This further reinforces the identification of Ukrainian refugees as a distinct group of people affected by the conflict.

By emphasizing the nationality and refugee status of these individuals, the articles recognize the unique challenges and needs they may have as they seek safety and support. This identification helps bring attention to the specific experiences and concerns of Ukrainian refugees within the broader context of the conflict in Ukraine.

3.4. Discussion and Key Findings

The analysis of the three articles employing Van Leeuwen's socio-semantic model, in the context of the Ukraine-Russia conflict, has provided valuable insights into the representation of Ukrainian refugees. Across the articles, certain patterns and variations in the representation of Ukrainian refugees can be observed, shedding light on the nuanced dynamics of media discourse

surrounding this issue. Furthermore, it is important to consider the political context, including the geopolitical dynamics and power struggles between Ukraine, Russia, and other involved countries, as they shape the media discourse and narratives around Ukrainian refugees.

In terms of nomination, the articles predominantly referred to Ukrainian refugees as "refugees" or "Ukrainian migrants," highlighting their displaced status. Proper nouns or specific names were occasionally employed to personalize their representation. These nominations are influenced by the political context and the ongoing conflict between Ukraine and Russia, which frames the experiences of Ukrainian refugees as victims of war and individuals fleeing conflict.

The categorization of Ukrainian refugees focused on their victimhood and status as individuals seeking asylum or escaping conflict. Their experiences were often identified based on their age, gender, or family status, highlighting the vulnerabilities faced by different subgroups within the Ukrainian refugee population. However, it is important to acknowledge that the categorization of Ukrainian refugees is also shaped by political agendas, with different actors and governments have vested interests in framing their narratives in particular ways.

Evaluation of Ukrainian refugees varied across the articles, with some emphasizing their resilience and determination in the face of adversity, highlighting their courage and strength. Other articles underscored their vulnerability and emphasized the need for international support. These evaluations reflect the complexities and multiple dimensions of the refugee experience, influenced by the authors' perspectives, the intended audience, and the broader political context.

The inclusion of Ukrainian refugees was generally observed across the articles, with their experiences and challenges discussed to varying degrees. Some articles provided more detailed and foregrounded representations, allowing for a deeper understanding of the individual stories and struggles of Ukrainian refugees. For example:

1. Title: "Ukrainian Refugees in Southern Russia Face Tensions, Rising Housing Costs" (Reuters)

- This article extensively explores the experiences of Ukrainian refugees living in southern Russia, highlighting their challenges with rising housing costs and tensions with residents. It includes interviews with refugees, providing personal narratives that shed light on their daily struggles and aspirations.

C. 2. Title: "Where have Ukrainian refugees gone?"

(The Washington Post)

- This article discusses the mass influx of Ukrainian refugees into the European Union, providing an overview of their journey and destinations. While it offers a broader perspective on the scale of displacement, it doesn't delve deeply into individual stories or specific challenges faced by the refugees.

On the other hand, some articles mentioned Ukrainian refugees indirectly or briefly, focusing more on policy or geopolitical implications rather than their personal experiences. These variations in inclusion indicate the influence of newspapers' agendas, stances, and interests in shaping the coverage of Ukrainian refugees. It suggests that the media's priorities and the context in which the articles are published can impact the extent to which the individual narratives and struggles of Ukrainian refugees are highlighted.

Functionalization highlighted the actions and experiences of Ukrainian refugees, emphasizing their journey to safety, escape from violence, and the process of rebuilding their lives in new countries. Their efforts to seek safety and protection from the Russian invasion were often emphasized, portraying them as individuals striving for a better future. However, it is important to critically analyze functionalization, considering how it may also contribute to certain narratives or representations, influenced by political interests and media priorities.

The identification of Ukrainian refugees focused on their displacement from Ukraine and their status as refugees. Their Ukrainian nationality and connection to the ongoing conflict were underscored, reflecting the geopolitical context and the implications of the Ukraine-Russia conflict. It is worth noting that the analysis revealed both individualized representations, where specific names or stories were used to personalize the experiences of Ukrainian refugees and more general representations that emphasized the collective experience of this group. These identification strategies shape the perceptions of Ukrainian refugees and influence how their stories are understood and contextualized.

To provide a more comprehensive analysis, it is essential to consider the political contexts, provide specific examples from the articles to illustrate the patterns observed, and reference scholarly perspectives that shed light on media representation, discourse analysis, and the framing of refugee issues. Furthermore, examining the newspapers' agenda, stance, and interests can help uncover potential biases and further understand the variations in representation.

These findings highlight the significance of media representation in shaping public perceptions and attitudes toward Ukrainian refugees. The variations in representation across the

articles indicate the presence of diverse narratives and perspectives, influenced by factors such as the authors' choices, the intended audience, and the broader social and political context.

Understanding the representation of Ukrainian refugees through the lens of Van Leeuwen's socio-semantic model provides a comprehensive framework for analyzing the linguistic and discursive strategies employed in media discourse. By examining the nomination, categorization, evaluation, inclusion/exclusion, functionalization, and identification of Ukrainian refugees, we gain a deeper understanding of how media constructs and mediates their experiences.

It is worth noting that some of the differences in the representation of the Ukrainian refugees stem from the fact that in terms of the coverage of political events and issues, it appears that *the Moscow Times*, *the Guardian*, and *the Washington Post* hold different political agendas.

The Moscow Times is a publication based in Russia it has been known to have a pro-Kremlin editorial stance, and its coverage of events that may reflect poorly on the Russian government or its policies has often been criticized for being biased and incomplete.

The Washington Post, on the other hand, has been known to have a liberal editorial stance, and its coverage of events tends to be focused on issues related to social justice, civil rights, and domestic and international policy. As regard *the Guardian*, it is said that it has provided a balanced account of the conflict and its causes, and has refrained from taking a particular stance or promoting any agenda on the issue.

It is important to note that media outlets may have different perspectives and approaches to covering political events and issues, and it is up to readers to critically evaluate the information presented and form their own opinions based on multiple sources of reliable information.

This analysis contributes to the existing body of knowledge on the media representation of refugees and underscores the importance of critical analysis in examining the portrayal of marginalized groups. The findings can inform further research and contribute to a more nuanced understanding of the complex dynamics between media, language, and social issues. Overall, the analysis highlights the need for responsible and ethical media practices in representing Ukrainian refugees and other displaced populations. By promoting accurate, inclusive, and empathetic representations, the media can contribute to a more informed and compassionate public discourse surrounding the experiences and challenges faced by Ukrainian refugees.

3.5. Conclusion

In this chapter, we have engaged in a comprehensive exploration of critical discourse analysis, specifically focusing on Van Leeuwen's model for the representation of social actors and their actions. Through the analysis of various texts, we have examined the key categories of the model, including nomination, categorization, evaluation, exclusion, inclusion, functionalization, and identification. This model has allowed us to delve into the intricate ways in which social actors are linguistically and visually represented, uncovering the underlying ideologies and power dynamics within the discourse. By applying Van Leeuwen's model, we have gained valuable insights into the representation of social actors in different contexts, ranging from news articles. The analysis has revealed patterns and frequencies within each category, providing us with a deeper understanding of how language constructs and shapes our perceptions of social actors and their actions.

General Conclusion

In conclusion, this dissertation has undertaken a comprehensive analysis of the representation of Ukrainian refugees using Van Leeuwen's socio-semantic model as a critical framework. By examining a corpus of three articles from reputable news sources, the study has shed light on the various dimensions of representation, including nomination, categorization, exclusion, inclusion, functionalization, identification, impersonalization, personalization, and evaluation. Through this analysis, several key findings have emerged.

Firstly, it was observed that Ukrainian refugees were predominantly portrayed as victims of the conflict, emphasizing their vulnerability and suffering. This victimization narrative often resulted in their exclusion from mainstream discourses, with limited agency and voice attributed to them. However, certain articles also showcased their resilience and strength, highlighting their capacity to overcome challenges and contribute to host societies.

Secondly, there were notable variations in the representation of Ukrainian refugees across the selected articles. These differences could be attributed to factors such as the news source's political stance, geographical location, and target audience. Such variations underscored the need for a critical approach to media analysis, recognizing the role of power dynamics, ideologies, and media agendas in shaping refugee representations.

Furthermore, the analysis revealed the presence of both explicit and implicit biases in the portrayal of Ukrainian refugees. Stereotypes and generalizations were evident, impacting the perception of refugees and potentially reinforcing negative attitudes or misconceptions among the readership. The importance of challenging these biases and promoting a more nuanced understanding of refugees' experiences cannot be overstated.

This research contributes to the broader fields of media studies, discourse analysis, and refugee studies by providing valuable insights into the discursive construction of refugee narratives. By unpacking the complexities of representation, this dissertation highlights the need for media practitioners to adopt more ethical and responsible approaches in reporting on refugee issues, fostering empathy, understanding, and social cohesion.

In conclusion, the findings of this dissertation emphasize the significant role of media in shaping public perceptions and attitudes toward Ukrainian refugees. It underscores the need for more accurate, balanced, and empathetic representations that humanize and empower refugees, moving beyond simplistic victimization narratives. By addressing the challenges and biases inherent in media representation, society can work towards creating a more inclusive, informed, and compassionate approach to the global refugee crisis.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1

Article 1 "The Guardian view on Ukraine's refugees: Britain's grudging welcome" The Guardian Editorial Board, (March 31, 2022). The guardian.

"I think the UK is ensuring that all the Ukrainians don't come." Those words, from a refugee in Warsaw, sum up a broader mood. One in four Ukrainians has now fled their home, and at least 4 million have left the country. They have found a warm welcome even in places that generally reject and denigrate refugees. But a relatively small number have reached Britain, and frustration and anger at delays and obstacles are growing.

Just 2,700 visas have been granted out of more than 28,000 applications under the "homes for Ukraine" scheme. Another 23,000 have been granted under the family scheme allowing applicants to join relatives in the UK. But in both cases, lengthy waits and what Yvette Cooper, the shadow home secretary, described as Kafkaesque bureaucracy are leaving tens of thousands in limbo and increasingly desperate, with some still in areas under bombardment. British humanitarian workers at the Polish border said that while other nations have been helping refugees find new homes for weeks, not one of 70 visa claims they have assisted with has been approved.

The government can take no credit for the fact that around 200,000 people in the UK have now registered as potential hosts, under a scheme that it had to be arm-twisted into introducing. Households are being given no assistance in matching up with those in need – a process being left to social media or charities – and Ukrainians are receiving little help as they tackle the official obstacles to actually reach Britain.

While ministers say that they have cut back on the documentation required, more substantive action is clearly required. Several major charities, including Oxfam and the Refugee Council, are calling on the government to waive visas, with security checks carried out on arrival.

Scaling up processing is not simple. Underlying the delay and bureaucracy is an asylum system that is geared not to supporting the traumatised, but to rejecting those who come in search of help, and which is underresourced and beset by inertia, because the people at its heart are neither valued nor respected. Ministers continue to treat refugees as a political problem rather than as vulnerable human beings – stoking the hostile attitudes to which they are pandering. In this context, even when the government grants a group special

dispensation, they are almost certain to struggle, be they the Ukrainians now fleeing war, or the Afghans evacuated when the Taliban took power last summer, around 11,500 of whom are still stuck in hotels, waiting to find new homes.

“This is a country overwhelmingly generous to people coming in fear of their lives,” Boris Johnson insisted on Wednesday. Households across the UK have shown that they are willing to open their hearts to desperate Ukrainians. If only the government would do the same.”

Appendix 2

Article 2 "Ukrainian Refugees in Southern Russia Face Tensions, Rising Housing Costs" Routledge. Gershkovich E, (May 5, 2023). Moscow Times .

"The arrival of more than 100,000 Ukrainians in southern Russia following Kyiv's recapture of the southern Ukrainian city of Kherson has driven up housing prices and sparked tensions with local residents, independent media reported Thursday.

Russia's military estimates it had evacuated 115,000 residents of Kherson — nearly half of the city's pre-war population — before its withdrawal in November. Kyiv and rights groups decry the evacuations as forced deportations and potential war crimes.

A report by the Novaya Vkladka and Govorit NeMoskva news sites said Kherson evacuees are the only Ukrainian refugees to be allowed Russian government-issued housing vouchers to purchase homes in southern Russia's Krasnodar and other regions.

Officials have not commented on why refugees from Ukraine's other three partially-Russian-occupied regions have not been granted housing certificates.

Interviews conducted by the news outlets revealed a high level of mistrust for the new arrivals among Krasnodar region residents. Locals accused refugees of unruly behavior, according to Novaya Vkladka and Govorit NeMoskva.

Housing vouchers have also fueled price hikes in new Krasnodar region homes to nearly double the government-imposed standard.

The Krasnodar region administration estimates more than 6,500 Kherson refugee families have received 19.4 billion rubles (\$250 million) worth of housing certificates as of February."

Appendix 3

Article 3 "Where have Ukrainian refugees gone?" Bimbaum, M, Beck, L, Abellan, G.A., (February 24, 2022). The Washington Post.

“They packed into trains bound for Poland. Drove through the night to Romania. Pushed strollers to the safety of Slovakia.

Russia’s full-scale invasion sent millions of Ukrainians fleeing to countries in the European Union.

In the first week of war, roughly a million people, mostly women and children, escaped to the European Union, according to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. Most went to neighboring countries.

On March 3, the E.U. agreed to activate an emergency measure known as the Temporary Protection Directive for the first time. It grants those fleeing the war rights denied to other migrants, including the right to work and travel in the bloc.

Four months into Russia’s full-scale invasion, 5.2 million refugees from Ukraine were recorded across Europe, one of the biggest mass displacements since World War II.

By mid-June, 3.2 million had been granted temporary protection in the E.U.

Central and eastern Europe are hosting a disproportionate share of newcomers compared with relatively wealthy western Europe.

In the Czech Republic, those registered for temporary protection now account for 3.5 percent of the population. Despite the large numbers, the continent responded with a speed — and generosity — that was a sharp contrast to other recent influxes.

In Poland, 547,000 Ukrainians arrived in just one week; volunteers rushed to the border to offer them food, shelter and support. Hungary, which built razor-wire fences during the last migration crisis, welcomed 133,000 Ukrainians in the same period.

The E.U. enacted the Temporary Protection Directive, granting those men, women and children the right to live, work and access social services in the bloc for at least a year, potentially more. Previous waves of newcomers, including from the Middle East and Africa in 2015, were not offered the same protections.

“All those fleeing [Vladimir] Putin’s bombs are welcome in Europe,” European Commission President Ursula von der Leyen declared, referring to the Russian president. “We will provide protection to those seeking shelter, and we will help those looking for a safe way home.”

The latest data does not provide a complete picture on the refugees’ whereabouts because some have not registered with national authorities, or have not yet been approved. People who started off in one country may now be in another. Some have gone back to Ukraine. But the numbers do give a sense of where displaced people plan to stay for now.

As in the war's early days, most people have opted to remain closer to home in central and eastern European countries. Those decisions will likely shape future E.U. debates over migration, as certain countries seek more funding and support for services, including schools.

Seven years ago, Europe was confronted by another wave of newcomers that included Syrians fleeing a brutal war as well refugees and migrants from South Asia, the Middle East and elsewhere

There is no precise way to compare what happened in 2015 and 2016 to what is happening now because temporary protection has not been used in the E.U. before. However, refugee and asylum numbers offer a sense of how much larger and faster this wave is. Poland was hesitant to accept refugees during the last crisis, but has already welcomed 1.18 million people who left Ukraine. Germany, one of the most receptive countries last time, has received 780,000 refugees from Ukraine so far, 40 percent of the number of refugees and asylum seekers it received in 2015 and 2016 combined. The aftermath of the earlier exodus is still felt in Europe. After a warm welcome initially from Germany, with then-Chancellor Angela Merkel promising "We can do this!", much of the E.U. decided it would not. Since then, a far-right backlash has fueled efforts to block asylum seekers. Europe did not invoke temporary protection seven years ago, leaving many in limbo for years while their asylum cases were assessed.

As the war drags on, questions about how the bloc will share the cost of supporting newcomers will likely get more complicated. Margaritis Schinas, vice president of the European Commission, told The Post last month that he expects "at least 2.5 million to 3 million" Ukrainian refugees will stay in the bloc.

What happens next will be closely watched for ideas on how to handle displacement on a massive scale. The lesson so far, said Shabia Mantoo, a spokesperson for UNHCR: "If we can do this with millions of refugees who are fleeing in a short amount of time, then this can be done elsewhere."