

Doaa Taher Al-dihaymawee, 2022

Volume 8 Issue 3, pp. 01-21

Received: 15th June 2022

Revised: 28th September 2022, 20th October 2022, 24th October 2022

Accepted: 28th October 2022

Date of Publication: 15th November 2022

DOI- <https://doi.org/10.20319/pijss.2022.83.0121>

This paper can be cited as: Taher Al-dihaymawee, D. (2022). *Victims or Terrorists? A Critical Analysis of Western Media Discourse in the Depiction of Iraqi Refugees (2007-2017)*. PEOPLE: International Journal of Social Sciences, 8(3), 01-21.

This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International License. To view a copy of this license, visit <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/> or send a letter to Creative Commons, PO Box 1866, Mountain View, CA 94042, USA.

VICTIMS OR TERRORISTS? A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF WESTERN MEDIA DISCOURSE IN THE DEPICTION OF IRAQI REFUGEES (2007-2017)

Doaa Taher Al-dihaymawee

Ph. D., Department of English Language, College of Education, The Islamic University, Najaf, Iraq
duaataher1994@gmail.com

Abstract

Throughout a long and troubled past Iraq has faced many dogmatic, circumspect, and social plights. Serious problems arising as a cause of these plights have caused many of the population to seek sanctuary and protection in other countries. As a result of this, the increase of refugees now inhabiting Eastern and Western countries becomes a focal point of the media. The way these refugees are depicted and perceived by the public as terrorists or victims in the host and non-host countries is heavily influenced by media reports and as such, they have a crucial role to play. The aim of this paper is to highlight the most significant linguistic choices coupled with the ideological point of view of the participants. To achieve this, the researcher analyses British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) news reports employing critical discourse analysis. Accordingly, the researcher employs Wodak's (2001; 2009) discourse-historical approach and van Leeuwen's (2008) sociological categories of actor representation approach. The findings of the analysis have revealed that in the Netherlands the Iraqi refugees are portrayed as victims targeted by hostile laws. In the USA they are portrayed as terrorists that threaten society. Under Trump's

administration seven Arab countries including Iraq have been denied entry. Furthermore, the way Iraqi refugees are described by the media is attributed to the use of generic references. Despite the negative representation of Iraqi refugees by the Dutch government, USA policies, and the Iraqi government, the BBC's media coverage continues to represent them in a neutral light.

Keywords:

BBC, Critical Discourse Analysis, Refugees, Ideology, Iraq

1. Introduction

Media provide individuals with update about what is happening in the world (Barker, 2012). The significance of media in the contemporary world is indisputable. This is in line with O'Keeffe's (2006) opinion that media can be conventionally known as a broad term to show how reality is printed or broadcasted to a large number of people from television to newspapers. Accordingly, Malkawi (2012) defines media as "a window through which we can view the world and live the events as real. It has the power to influence readers by all means since it is an effective mechanism for affecting individual perceptions of reality." Thus, the majority of the world populations are recently affected by media discourse (Macdonald, 2003; Talbot, 2007). Also, media studies have a great interest in cultural studies, conversation analysis, linguistic anthropology, psychology, cultural geography, sociolinguistics, sociology, cognition, pragmatics and tourism studies. However, media discourse is considered as one of the salient genres of discourse that has been studied from critical discourse perspective to reveal the entrenched ideology and power within its linguistic structures. Thus, "media discourse is a multidisciplinary field" (Talbat, 2007). At the time of political tribulations, it is apparent that media play a crucial role in the representation of minority groups and constructing different ideological positions (Becker, 2007). These groups are the prominent core in media news reports because the number of refugees globally has grown at the beginning of the 21st century. As an unstable country, Iraq passed with several difficult events which accentuate to show that Iraqis are more frequently perceived as a problem.

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) stated that 4.5 million Iraqi displaced both before and after US invasion 2003, 2.2 million crossing the border while 2.3 million are internally displaced. In 2007, UNHCR declared that the Iraqis are the biggest population move in the Middle East since the displacement of Palestinians in 1948, following the establishment of Israel (O'Donnell & Newland, 2008). Thus, the influx

of Iraqi refugees to other countries has attracted the attention of British media news reports. Many researchers such as Baker et al (2008), Kandil (2009), KhosraviNik (2009; 2010), Žižková (2012), YaYlaci and Karakus (2015), Abid (2015), and Darweesh (2016) have studied media discourse in relation to the portrayal of refugees. With the continuous influx of refugees worldwide and particularly Iraqi refugees and in consent with Yanar and Tütüniş' (2016) emphasis that the interconnected role of language and media is needed to be studied and focused on, the researcher are motivated to critically study the media discourse about the Iraqi refugees. To this end, the researcher has found that the representation of Iraqi refugees in different social and political periods that the Iraqis passed through in BBC news reports has not been studied before; therefore, this has necessitated this study. Thus, this research can fill the gap in the literature, and because the case of refugees is one of the most common and debatable cases since 1991, it deserves a nearby examination of the linguistic strategies, discourse topics, and ideology. Accordingly, this research aims at representing the Iraqi refugees in media news reports from critical discourse analysis perspective. The researcher declaims the following objectives:

1. Studying the topics that are connected with the depiction of the Iraqi refugees in the selected news reports.
2. Investigating the strategies and categories that are used to depict Iraqi refugees in the selected news reports.
3. Studying the ideology of the participants.

2. Critical Discourse Analysis

A critical approach to the study of discourse was developed in 1979 by a group of linguists and literary theorists such as Gunther Kress, Robert Hodge, Roger Fowler, and Tony Trew. This approach is called Critical Linguistics (henceforth CL). It is based on the concepts of Halliday's theory of Systemic-Functional Linguistics (SFL). SFL is a linguistic theory that associates language with aspects of social life (Fairclough, 2003). Accordingly, CL sought to show how language and grammar can be utilised as ideological instruments for the categorisation and classification of the world (Machin & Mayr, 2012).

Critical linguistics has been criticised because it lacks the link between language, power, and ideology (Fairclough, 1992 as cited in Machin & Mayr, 2012). That is, practitioners of CL attempted to synthesise language studies and social theory without discussing social theory and the concepts of ideology and power. Thus, this link could be

better captured by the critical discourse analysts who seek to develop methods and approaches to describe the practices and conventions in texts that uncover political and ideological speculation (Machin & Mayr, 2012). Hence, the theory of critical discourse analysis (henceforth CDA) emerged in the early 1990s. CDA is seen as an approach that contains different methods and perspectives for studying the connection between discourse and social context (Weiss & Wodak, 2003). This indicates that there are different approaches such as Fairclough's dialectical-relational approach, van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach, and Wodak's discourse-historical approach. They represent instances of theoretically and analytically miscellaneous approaches in the analysis of discourse (van Dijk, 2001). However, CDA does not have a unitary theoretical framework (van Dijk, 2015). Thus, CDA has evolved as an interdisciplinary branch of linguistics, composed of a range of approaches with the basic ideological assumptions and orientation that constitutes social relations. Interestingly, the term *critical* is central in both CDA, and Critical linguistics (Machin & Mayr, 2012). It can be traced back to the work of the Frankfurt School and Jurgen Habermas and their *Critical Theory* (Wodak & Meyer, 2001). The Critical Theory is extremely important in understanding the notions of *ideology* and *critical* (Wodak & Meyer, 2001). In addition, the aim of *Critical Theory* is to improve the perception on society by connecting the main social science, involving sociology, history, economics, political sciences, psychology and anthropology (Wodak & Meyer, 2001).

3. Theoretical Framework

The researcher has chosen two approaches related to the objectives and scope of this research; they are: Reisigl and Wodak (2001; 2009) Discourse-Historical approach (DHA) and van Leeuwen's (1996; 2008) Sociological Categories of Actor Representation. DHA is a hermeneutic and interpretative approach in studying discourse. Due to the fact that this approach mixes history, linguistics and cognition, the DHA is normally referred to as a "triangulatory approach". This necessitates that different methodological and conceptual perspectives from various disciplines are adopted to study discursive phenomena. For instance, historical, socio-political and linguistic perspectives are all combined when studying the development of national identity (Wodak et al., 2009). Wodak's DHA does not focus on specific linguistic items, but to provide a social, political, and historical critique and any necessary information as a background to be used later in the interpretation. Thus, Wodak's (2001; 2009) DHA is significant to provide the salient macro-topics (topoi) which

can be amalgamated with the arguments along with the linguistic and non-linguistic levels of analysis. This is done through the depiction of the referential, predicational, argumentation, perspectivisation and intensification/mitigation strategies that are associated with the representation of the social actors. Wodak (2009) mentions these five kinds of discursive strategies for the study of in-group and out-group. Discursive strategy stands to systematic habits of using language and can be used to apply certain aims: political, social, linguistic or psychological. Accordingly, discursive strategies are concerned with the notion of ideology that is "positive self-representation" and "negative other-representation" and they are established on the structure of "Us" and "Them" (Wodak, 2009).

On the other hand, van Leeuwen's (2008) approach draws up a *socio-semantic* inventory of the ways in which social actors can be represented and established the sociological and critical relevance of certain categories. According to van Leeuwen (1993), the socio-semantic network of social actors is divided into two main branches: exclusion and inclusion. Van Leeuwen (2008) contends that "representations include or exclude social actors to suit their interests and purposes in relation to the readers for whom they are intended" (p. 28). Inclusion occurs when the social actor is expressed and recognised in the context. Exclusion occurs when neither the participants nor the activities are found in the context of the social practice. From these two categories, van Leeuwen establishes a number of subcategories. Some of these categories deal with the variation in language use (Bortotuzzi, 2010). Thus, exclusion is divided into *Background* and *Suppression* whereas inclusion is divided into four types: *Activation*, *Passivation*, *Personalization*, and *Impersonalisation*. Van Leeuwen also presents three elements within the same level although they are not types of inclusion; however, they are form of *activation* of social actors. Thus, these elements are *possessivation*, *circumstantialisation*, and *participation*. Van Leeuwen's (2008) approach functions in this research on the micro (local) linguistic level and it is integrated within Wodak's DHA referential and predicational strategies. Thus, the representation of the social actors in this study is to be accounted for by these socio-semantic categories with their linguistic realisations.

Thus, the key concepts of the adopted approaches of CDA can be elucidated which constitute the theoretical framework of the research. The researcher employs two levels of analysis in this study: linguistic and ideological. The first level of analysis focuses on macro and micro levels of analysis. On one hand, the macro level concentrates on the analysis of discourse topics whereas micro level deals with four strategies; each strategy has different

linguistic forms. On the other hand, ideological analysis occurs to explore the ideologies professed in the selected texts. Besides, the essential constituent of Wodak's (2001; 2009) approach is the historical and socio-political contexts that are integrated in the analysis of the selected texts. Van Leeuwen's approach (1996; 2008) functions on a local intra-linguistic level and can be integrated within Wodak's referential, predicational, argumentation, perspectivisation, and intensification/mitigation strategies. The most significant categories that are applied in this study are: genericisation, specification, individualisation, aggregation.

4. Methodology and Data Analysis

From the internet, three transcripts of the selected news reports in this research can readily be accessed from the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) website. They are selected because they represent different political situations in Iraq that led to the influx of Iraqi refugees. BBC is selected because it is one of the most prosperous media in the world. In addition, *BBC's* news services are international, admired and trusted (Hall, 2015). Furthermore, *BBC* is the world's largest broadcasting organisation as it spends about £4,602 million between 2010-2011 and it employs 3,500 people (Mellanen, 2012). The following is the analysis of the selected news reports.

4.1. Text One: World 'Ignoring Iraqi Refugees' (2007)

More than four years after the US-led invasion of Iraq, stability and peace remain out of reach for the people of Iraq. The radical instability and violence forcing people to flee Iraq has resulted in the huge population movement in the Middle East. This increasingly desperate humanitarian situation has been mostly ignored by almost all news media in the world, and by the USA whose military involvement in Iraq has great part in forcing millions of people to fled Iraq. The situation in Iraq remains exceedingly dangerous for civilians, with additional thousands have fled to other countries because of persecution and violence. The majority of Iraq refugees are Shia and Sunni Muslims because of the sectarian war which threatens the stability of Iraq. Most of those refugees have fled to neighboring countries such as Jordan, Syria and Lebanon which are considered as the top refugees-receiving countries with more than 1, 9 million displaces and over 1, 2 million Iraqi refugees in Syria and about 800,000 in Jordan (Al-Qarawee, 2014).

Picture (1): *World 'Ignoring Iraqi Refugees'*



(Source: BBC, 2007)

4.1.1. Topics and Argumentation

The Iraqi refugees are associated with the topos of *victimisation* because of their anguish and tribulations of lacking the humanitarian aids from the international community as shown in the following extracts:

1. "UNHCR spokesman Peter Kessler said: There has been an abject denial of the impact, the humanitarian impact, of the war, the huge displacement within Iraq of up to 1.9 million people who are homeless because of the war, and those people who are homeless and never got back to the homes after Saddam Hussein was overthrown."
2. "Many need food and healthcare, some need counselling because of the violence they have experienced or witnessed, while others need jobs".
3. "On top of that, almost two million more people are displaced inside Iraq - people who have fled their homes to escape the violence".
4. "Most of the people killed in Iraq's violence are men".

Because this news report deals with both refugees and internally displaced persons (the movement of Arab Iraqis such as Sunnis and Shias to the autonomous Kurdish area), however, the Iraqi refugees who are described in this article are generalised via using the mass noun *people* which stands to the Iraqi refugees. The category of individualization is also highlighted with reference to the non-Iraqi actor as Peter Kessler who is the UNHCR spokesman emphasising the main impact of war which is displacement. The article contains a single *assimilation* represented by the noun phrase *those people* which refers to a group of displaced people escaping from Saddam Hussein's persecution and never returned to Iraq after the US invasion of Iraq in 2003.

Concerning aggregation, the participants are statistically treated as shown in (1 and 3). In fact, recent estimates prove that the flow of Iraqi refugees constitutes the highest refugee crisis worldwide with the number of internally displaced people reached to 2 million and more than 1.2 million refugees outside Iraq. The influence of such mass movement gives an increasingly climacteric situation for host communities, particularly Syria and Jordan that no

longer can be ignored. Thus, the reporter invokes the accurate number of Iraqi refugees depending on UNHCR reports about the Iraq refugees at that time to express the credibility of the news given. Moreover, another linguistic means used to express aggression is the utilisation of definite or indefinite quantifiers that act as numbering or as cores of nominal groups. Thus, the quantifiers of *many*, *almost* and *some* are used. In this case, the measures are quantified, even if not in exact numbers. Aggregation is very commonly used in this article to quantify and strengthen the nature of the representation of the Iraqi refugees. The above extracts highlight the political context in Iraq after Hussein was overthrown and the impact of this as a consequence on the social and religious aspects. As a result, millions of people displaced, thousands of men die, thousands of women become widows, and the children become orphans.

Another strategy used is nomination as explained in the followings:

5. "There's a need for governments to come in and address the health, the education, all the needs," *Mr Kessler* said.
6. "Their deaths leave households headed by women who struggle to survive the loss of the main breadwinner, says the BBC's *Jill McGivering*".

The reporter uses both *formal nomination* and *honorification* in terms of activity and occupation. The social actor in this article is represented through the use of proper nouns and formal nomination such as *UNHCR spokesman Peter Kessler*, *Mr. Kessler*, and the *BBC's Jill McGivering* in the above extracts respectively. Obviously, the reporter uses the formal nomination with honorification of a person through mentioning his occupation as a UNHCR spokesman and then the representation of the same social actor is done with a reference for his surname as his full name has already mentioned for the readers in (5). In (6), the reporter also amalgamates the use of *formal nomination* and *honorification* to represent the reporter of BBC Jill McGivering. However, the reference to the institution and the reporters shows a significant validity and reliability of the information given in representing reality, and a positive representation for their institution's offer in helping and depicting the Iraqi refugee crisis to the worldwide.

From ideological perspective, a positive representation is given for all offers that have been done by UNHCR and by the host countries as well in helping the Iraqi refugees. As it is well-known that both Syria and Jordan are relatively unfortunate countries, (if one compares them with other neighboring countries to Iraq such as Kuwait and Saudi Arabia),

and suffer a lot as far as availability of job opportunities, but they still managed to help the Iraqi refugees to a great extent.

4.1.2. Metaphor

7. "The UN faces an enormous task in helping countries such as Jordan and Syria cope with the huge *influx* of Iraqi refugees, a spokesman said".
8. "*That number*, too, is steadily growing, the UN says, with some provinces feeling overwhelmed and attempting to close their boundaries to refugees from other areas".

The reporter uses a flood metaphor – huge influx of Iraqi refugees – and supports his argument with topos of victimisation. Such a type of metaphor is commonly used in the context of refuge. Metaphors such as *influx* and *flow* are used by sympathetic press to express the large-scale terror. The use of *flood* metaphor is purposefully employed in this article to show the negatively-evaluated reaction of the international community towards the huge number of Iraqi refugees and to describe people who have been displaced from their homes, often after going through unimaginable hardship. Nevertheless, the words that the reporter selects have direct and extensive political divergence on whether a country will aid those who have fled dreadful conditions in search of protection for themselves and families. Therefore, the outcome of such a language show that refugees become statistics, not people.

4.1.3. Quotation Patterns

9. UNHCR spokesman Peter Kessler said: "*There has been an abject denial of the impact, the humanitarian impact, of the war, the huge displacement within Iraq of up to 1.9 million people who are homeless because of the war, and those people who are homeless and never got back to the homes after Saddam Hussein was overthrown.*"
10. "*There's a need for governments to come in and address the health, the education, all the needs,*" Mr Kessler said.

Both quotations stated above have the same reporting phrase with the verb *said* as the sayer who is the UNHCR spokesman Peter Kessler to. However, the reporter quotes the UNHCR spokesman's statement about the humanitarian impact of American invasion 2003 on Iraqis and its consequences of the sectarian war and violence which pushed about 1.9 million Iraqis to be displaced and became homeless. Meanwhile, the second quotation for the same speaker representing his view about this crisis as he believes that the only solution for such problem is through cooperation between different governments in order to address all the refugees' needs. As usual, political news reports are often backed with statements that are quoted from the interviewee (s) in the form of reactions or opinions about the event.

Therefore, the BBC writer has selected the above-mentioned excerpts to match the event that is in progress and to show that the Iraqis are experienced hardship and they need an aid to resume their lives. These quotations are mostly used to report the abject denial towards the crisis of the Iraqi refugees and the consequences of this crisis as those people are in need for assistance, healthcare and education respectively and thus emphasising a bad action of the out-group members (the international community).

4.2. Text Two: Iraqi Refugees Arrested in Hague Tent Camp Eviction (2012)

In 2012, a group of Iraqi refugees whose asylum claims have been rejected in Netherland set up in tents outside the central railway station in Hague, the administrative and political capital of the Netherlands, for almost three months from 18 September to 13 December. This is considered as illegal settlement by the Dutch government which released an order to evict those refugees from the camp. Therefore, they protested in their camp demanding that they have the 'right to exist'. As a result, the rapid and forceful destruction of a refugee protest camp was taken in 11 December following court hearings through which judges declared eviction orders and turned down the demonstrators' objections. This inhumane treatment affected all undocumented people particularly those who refused to go home 'voluntarily' because they fear the consequences. This was due to the declaration of the Iraqi government that they are not welcoming any force returnees. Such a declaration put the Iraqi refugees in a very critical situation with both sides refusing to give them their simple choice to live safely.

Picture (2): *Dozens of Iraqi refugees have been forcibly removed from a camp in the Netherlands.*



(Source: BBC, 2012)

4.2.1. Topics and Argumentation

Obviously, the main topic in this text is the undocumented Iraqi refugees' deportation from Hague camp as their asylum's claims are rejected by the Dutch government.

1. "Iraqi refugees arrested in Hague tent camp eviction"
2. "Dozens of Iraqi refugees have been forcibly removed from a camp in the Netherlands".
3. "The police moved in to evict those who refused to leave and 28 people were arrested".
4. "Demonstrators at the site accused officers of adopting aggressive tactics"
5. "They used special equipment to slice through the chains and metal tubes the refugees were using to bind themselves together".
6. "Our correspondent estimated that at least 100 police were at the scene. Some were on horseback. Those arrested were 21 failed asylum-seekers and seven sympathizers"
7. "They cannot be deported back to their home country because Iraq refuses to accept forced returnees".
8. "The refugees, whose asylum claims were rejected, had lost their legal battle to remain in tents outside the central railway station in The Hague".

The undocumented Iraqi refugees have faced a tribulation in their asylum seeking in Netherland and treated severely and harshly because their residency is considered as illegal by the Dutch government. This article was about deportation of the undocumented Iraqi refugees who acted illegally through their camping and protesting in Hague camp. The representation of the social actors in the above extracts is varied such as *Iraqi refugees*, *dozens of Iraqi refugees*, *the refugees*, *demonstrators*, and *the Iraqis*. From the title of the article, the nationality of the refugees who are Iraqi has been mentioned via the depiction of the plural noun without definite article to indicate the generic reference of refugees such as *Iraqi refugees* in (1) and (2). These Iraqi refugees were considered as illegal residents according to the Dutch government and then treated them as criminals and arrested them. However, the reference to Iraqi refugees in the lead as in (2) is merged with the use of quantifier "Dozens" to show the high number of refugees participating in the protest. Although the first two representations of refugees are combined with the noun *Iraqi*, the reference to the refugees is minimised to the plural noun with definite article *the refugees* as the nationality have already been indicated in (1 and 2) and thus, it is understood from the context. However, the reporter prefers the term *the refugees* in order to add the humanitarian touch to his news, as if he wants to say in spite of their nationality, they are homeless people, without any support or warm home to secure them, and they are struggling in a foreign country. Thus, he wants the reader to sympathy with their case.

Finally, the use of the term *the Iraqis* shows that the reporter blames the Iraqi government for not helping its citizens, and for not showing any willingness to figure out a solution to their dangerous situation in Netherlands. The in-group member represented by Iraqi refugees is depicted as oppressed people and the out-group member represented by the Dutch government is described oppressor who use violence against the homeless people and consider them as ostracised persons as if they are not humans. Thus, Iraqi refugees are represented as powerless and helpless due to the harsh rules of residency and thus, they have no right to live in Netherlands. Accordingly, they are evicted from their camp because the Dutch government has rejected their asylum claims. Although the right to asylum, which is a human right, is something one could forfeit. In addition, the use of the term of *demonstrators* stands for both the protest Iraqi refugees and the sympathisers, therefore, accusing the police in adopting this aggressive attitude from a mixture of in-group and out-group represent the validity that strength the accuracy in depicting the scene.

Aggregation is realised by the presence of definite or indefinite quantifiers which either function as the enumerative or as the head of nominal group. The social actors are represented in the above extracts either with the use of quantifiers *dozen*, *all*, and *some*, or through the use of statistical numbers. The latter is used to provide the reader with accurate information about the number of Iraqi refugees, and the period of their residency in the tents camp. The information about the Dutch preparation for the eviction are given, thus, about 100 policemen are equipped and ready to remove the camp. Meanwhile, detailed information about the arrest of those refugees and their supporters who are about twenty-one failed asylum-seekers and seven sympathizers are represented. Interestingly, the participants in the protest are not only Iraqis but also seven Dutch citizens who rejected their government's cruelty against those refugees. This support reflects the basic values and beliefs of the Dutch society and culture through calling for human rights for all the people regardless of their nationality, color, and ethical background. Hence, those seven Dutch sympathisers are depicted positively due to their virtuous support.

From ideological point of view, the Dutch government such as the high authorities, Hague court and the police are represented in two ways. The first representation is implicitly a positive representation of the Dutch government which has sheltered more than fifty Iraqi refugees for three months as in the extract "*The camp has been in place for almost three months, housing more than fifty people in an area of parkland near the station*" (*topos of usefulness*) and released the twenty-eight protesters shortly after arresting them. The second

representation is a negative representation of the Dutch government because of declining those refugees' asylum claims to the aggressive treatment that the police followed against the peaceful refugees. In addition, the out-group is also represented by the Iraqi government which is depicted negatively due to their passive role towards those refugees through refusing to welcome the Iraqi citizens who are in a very dangerous situation abroad. On the other hand, the Iraqi refugees are represented as protest people who refuse the Dutch government's decision twice: when the Dutch government rejected their asylum claims and when police attempt to empty the camp. In such cases, their protest against this policy which hosted them for three months is considered as a negative representation for the Iraqi refugees; thus, they are shown to be ungrateful. Furthermore, the reporting of this event generally represents as sympathetic by drawing heavily on topos of victimisation, where the refugees are represented as helpless, desperate, powerless and the victims of the Dutch police attack.

4.2.2. Metaphor

9. "The refugees, whose asylum claims were rejected, had *lost their legal battle* to remain in the tents outside the railway station in The Hague".
10. "*They used special equipment to slice* through the chains and mental tubes the refugees were using to bind themselves together".

Metaphor is one of the most chief strategies the reporter used to describe two main actions one of them is related to the refugees' fighting to remain in the camp, while the other is related to the police movement in order to empty the camp as shown in the above-mentioned extracts. In (9), the metaphor shows that the Iraqi refugees fight for a long period of time, starting from the moment they reach Netherlands, to rejecting their asylum claims, and then living in tents for three months. However, this fight seems to reach its end after destroying the camp and arresting numbers of the refugees and finally forcing them to return back to Iraq. However, within the same battle the police use a very aggressive, savage, and dehumanises ways against those powerless refugees who have nothing to show their power except the chain which they used to represent their unity but the police attempt in every way to destroy their last point of strength by using "special equipment" to break up this union as shown in (10).

4.2.3. Quotations Patterns

11. Dutch police spokesman Wim Hoonhout said: "I don't know, they have gone to other places, but they cannot go back to the camp, the camp is also gone."
12. "No man, no woman is illegal," they chanted.

Quoting as a strategy of the writer is not only used to convey information but also to give an orientation to the text through the choices made in the linguistic constituents of the quoting procedure. The selected two quotations in extracts (11) and (12) represent two voices expressing their opinions about the destiny of the refugees as the camp is removed and the right for the refugees to live respectively. The first one comes from the Dutch spokesman who showed his carelessness about the destiny of the refugees by saying that he did not know their places after their eviction from the camp and destroyed it. The second voice is the voice of the Iraqi refugees and their sympathizers who protest against the decision of deportation from the tent. The reporter of this news has selected two quotations to maintain objectivity and avoid biasness by quoting the Dutch spokesman and the administrators. Moreover, because the BBC has deployed a number of reporters to cover the significant event, the writer/editor has to select from and summarise the reports sent in to their respective agency, the BBC. It is clear that the first quotation was made through a personal interview with the Dutch spokesman as it can be inferred from the intransitive verb *said*; and the second one was probably made in an observation due to the use of the intransitive verb *chanted*.

4.3. Text Three: Did Donald Trump Adviser Kellyanne Conway just Invent a Massacre? (2017)

On 27 January 2017, President Trump has declared an executive order No. 13769, tentatively banning travels from seven Muslim countries as they present sensitive terrorism threats. These countries include Iraq, Iran, Libya, Sudan, Somalia, Yemen, and Syria for the period of three months. This act has raised several legal questions and incited protests around the country because people who had already been approved to come to the US were being restrained at airports. Additionally, Trump minimises the refugees' number to "the entry of more than 50,000 refugees in fiscal year 2017 would be detrimental to the interests of the United States" (Curiam, 2017, pp. 2-4). However, his adviser Kellyanne Conway attempts to justify Trump's ban by highlighting the fact that it is for the sake of America's security. In addition, it is the second time an American president declares a travel ban, as president Obama already banned the Iraqi refugees in 2011, yet it was not covered by the media. Thus, the topic of Obama's ban is highlighted to stop the people's exasperation against Trump's ban.

4.3.1. Topics and Argumentation

1. "... *two Iraqis* came here to this country, were radicalised, and they were the masterminds between the Bowling Green massacre. Most people don't know that because it didn't get covered," she said.

2. "Two men, originally from Iraq, were found guilty of terrorism offences back in May 2011".
3. "They lived in Bowling Green, Kentucky, and they admitted using improvised explosive devices (IEDs) against US soldiers in Iraq".
4. "They also attempted to send weapons and money to al-Qaeda in Iraq".
5. "They were not charged with plotting an attack in the United States," prosecutors said at the time. They were conspiring to harm Americans abroad.
6. "These are experienced terrorists who willingly and enthusiastically participated in what they believed were insurgent support operations designed to harm American soldiers in Iraq," *US Attorney David Hale* said in 2013.
7. "They were mistakenly admitted to America as *Iraqi refugees* in 2009 and resettled in Bowling Green".
8. Later on, Friday she tweeted an old news article about the case and said "I meant to say 'Bowling Green *terrorists*'".

The main topos that is associated with the social actors in this text is terrorism. In 2011, Obama banned Iraqis because of the danger that two Iraqi refugees have caused to America's interests, and this reflects a clear representation of *topoi of danger and threat*. Mohanad Shareef Hammadi and Waad Ramadan Alwan are the Iraqi refugees who were captured in May 2011 and found guilty of terrorism activities in Iraq and admitted sending money and weapons to al-Qaeda. Despite the fact they did not do any terrorist acts in America, they did harm the US interest abroad which lead Obama to ban Iraqi refugees for six months. Different *authorities* are mentioned in this article such as American news channel *MSNB* where Conway declared her brand news. The use of such an authority is to prove the accuracy of the given information and the power of media as well. The different types of authority are represented in the above extracts, some are presidents such as *Donald Trump* and Obama, while *Kellyanne Conway* as Trump adviser and *David Hale* as the US Attorney. However, in (J) the authority *Research into terrorist attacks on US soil* states that no citizen from the seven banned counties killed any American in the last forty years that is an obvious representation for *topos of reality*. However, the Kellyanne's words "Bowling Green massacre" were the top read words on Twitter overnight because there is no such massacre in Bowling Green. This proves Kellyanne's inaccuracy of mentioning facts which in turn becomes the focus of the social media in highlighting and criticising such an inaccuracy.

Finally, she attempts to depend on her habit of alternative fact by tweeting the old news article about the two Iraqis with the modification "I meant to say "Bowling Green terrorists".

Different generic references are used to refer to the Iraqi refugees in this article such as *the Iraqi refugees, two Iraqis, the two Iraqis, two men, they, the pair, experienced terrorists, the two Iraqis' arrest, Iraqi refugees, and terrorists*. In (B), Conway uses the term *Iraqi refugees* as she attempts to emphasise the nationality and the method that those two terrorists have followed to enter to America in 2009. In (A) and (C), the "experienced terrorists" and "terrorists" are used to stand for Hammadi and Alwan, as they are not like any refugees who entered America seeking security, rather they came to target American security.

Aggregation is found in the statistical form only, however, all the above italic forms stand for the two terrorists who entered America as refugees. In extracts (A, and C), the expression "two Iraqis" and "Two men" is aggregation in statistical form without using quantifier, while (B, D, and E) is statistical aggregation preceded by definite article. Both types of aggregation are used to highlight the accuracy of the reporter in delivering his information. In addition, the two individuals in extract (9) are the Iraqi refugees "*Mohanad Shareef Hammadi*" and "*Waad Ramadan Alwan*" who are accused of being terrorists who hurt America's interests abroad. They are treated as individuals and who both are represented in the *semi-formal nomination* form as shown in the following extract:

9. "*Mohanad Shareef Hammadi, 25, was sentenced to life, and Waad Ramadan Alwan, 31, was handed a 40-year term*".

Ideologically, the article represents two groups: America, its citizens, and its troops in Iraqi as *in-group*, while the seven banned counties including Iraq as *out-group*. Therefore, the two arrested Iraqis, Hammadi and Alwan, are considered as *out-group*, as they conspired with al-Qaeda. Thus, it is a clear negative other representation of the Iraqi refugees.

4.3.2. Metaphor

10. "I bet it's *brand-new* information to people that President Obama had a six-month ban on the Iraqi refugee programme after two Iraqis came here to this country, were radicalised, and they were the masterminds between the Bowling Green massacre. Most people don't know that because it didn't get covered," she said.
11. "The phrase trended top on Twitter in the US and elsewhere *overnight*."

Conway describes her new uncovered information as *brand new* in order to attract the listeners' attention, while she attempts to justify Trump's ban by connecting it to Obama's uncovered ban in 2011. However, she succeeds in grabbing the listener attentions as

thousands and thousands of tweets were posted *overnight*, not only in America, but worldwide.

4.3.3. Quotation Patterns

12. "I bet it's brand-new information to people that President Obama had a six-month ban on the Iraqi refugee programme after two Iraqis came here to this country, were radicalised, and they were the masterminds between the Bowling Green massacre. Most people don't know that because it didn't get covered," she said.
13. "They were not charged with plotting an attack in the United States," prosecutors said at the time. They were conspiring to harm Americans abroad.
14. "These are experienced terrorists who willingly and enthusiastically participated in what they believed were insurgent support operations designed to harm American soldiers in Iraq," US Attorney David Hale said in 2013.
15. Later on, Friday she tweeted an old news article about the case and said "I meant to say 'Bowling Green terrorists'".

Extract (12) is the first central direct speech in this news report which depicts the first time Conway mistakenly used the expression Bowling Green massacre that later on created a great controversy. Extract (13) contains a quotation given by the prosecutors emphasising the conspiracy against America and its interest in Iraq. This is supported with a quotation by US Attorney David Hale in 2013 who confirms that those terrorists are trained and willing to commit operations to attack the American soldiers in Iraq. Then, the reporter closes his argument by quoting Kellyanne Conway's exact tweet words to show for the readers how she used her alternative facts as a political strategy in order to avoid all the gaps that she got through. Briefly, the reporter uses five direct speeches for three different political figures to build up his entire article on.

5. Conclusions

The findings of first question show that the most prevalent topoi found in the selected texts are: victimisation, danger, threat and terrorism. In the selected first two texts, the Iraqi refugees are represented as victims but for different agents (Saddam Hussein's persecution, the Dutch polices, and the American's policy). For instance, in the first text, the Iraqi refugees are depicted as victims of Hussein's persecution which forced them to flee Iraq to face another type of persecution that is of kidnapping and execution by the Iraqi secret agents in Jordan. Meanwhile, the Jordanian government did not stop them, and when they

offered asylum claims for other countries, they faced great daily which is also another type of victimisation from the Western countries who witness Hussein's oppression upon those refugees. In 2007, the Shia and Sunni militias had the leadership and they victimise the Iraqis via forcing people to live according to their sectarian areas, this forces a huge number of Iraqis to be displaced or sought safety abroad. In the third article, the Iraqi refugees became victims for Dutch government which reject their asylum claims and destroyed their tents in Netherlands. The world witnesses the Iraqi refugees' suffering without help while the Iraqi government refuses to welcome any forceful returnee which is a total victimisation but this time from their home government.

As far as aggregation is concerned, numbers are highly used as the reporters intend to give extremely precise information in the news to the reader. However, the most essential number that is mentioned in the first text is 1,900 indicating the number of Iraqi refugees accepted in 2001 in Jordan. In the third text, the reporter represents the story of fifty Iraqi refugees in Netherlands and how twenty-eight among them "21 failed asylum-seekers and seven sympathizers" were arrested. However, in the last case study, the reporter depicts the story of two Iraqis who entered America as refugees then they are arrested as terrorists in 2011. Thus, the statistical aggregation is used to provide accurate information in the news reports. In addition, dissociation is used only once in each case study.

Metaphor is also utilised to represent the social actors. In the first text, the reporter represents the long waiting that the Iraqi refugees face for more than a year as "stuck in limbo", as almost all the Western countries stop accepting their asylum claims after 11 September attacks. In the second text, the metaphor of water is mentioned as in extracts "with the huge influx of Iraqi refugees" which stand for the huge numbers of refugees. As far as the Iraqi refugee in Netherland is concerned, the reported used two metaphors, the first one stands for the aggressive attitudes of the Dutch police, while the other represent the Iraqis losing their battle in staying in Netherlands after destroying the tents camp. Thus, all the metaphors are about the case of Iraqi refugees. Moreover, metaphor is highly used in representing the movement and the situation of the Iraqi refugees in general.

The reporter uses quotation marks only in delivering the important speeches whether of the refugees (as in the first text), or of public and political figures such as the UNHCR's spokesman speeches (in the second text), the Dutch police spokesman (in the second text), John Allen, Gen Martin Dempsey, and Conway (in the third text). Moreover,

reported speech and free direct speech are used majorly in delivering additional information that support what has already stated in the quotation marks.

The ideological analysis can be contemplated at both macro and micro levels of analysis simultaneously. This is done through the adoption of Wodak's dichotomy of in-group and out-group representation. The out-group is represented by Saddam Hussein's spies in Jordan, the Dutch government, and al-Qaeda supporters. The in-group is represented by the Iraqi refugees, and the governments and institutions that help them and consider them as in-group such as Syria, Jordan, UNHCR, and the Catholic humanitarian aid agency (Caritas). However, the first two texts contain a negative representation to the ruling system in Iraq, whether Saddam Hussein, the Iraqi government in 2012 which refused to welcome their citizen. Nevertheless, this does not stop the BBC's reporters from representing other governments negatively, such as the western countries which witness the suffering of the Iraqi refugees in different countries and in different periods without taking any step to help as well as criticizing Trump's ban against the seven Muslims countries and his adviser Kellyanne Conway's inaccurate information. Additionally, the Iraqi refugees are not free from the negative representation as seen in the last case study in which two terrorists entered America as refugees and continue their support for al-Qaeda in Iraq. On the other hand, there is a positive representation for Syria, Jordan, and UNHCR for their continuous help for the Iraqi refugees. This shows that BBC news reports represent Iraqi refugees neutrally.

REFERENCES

- Abid, R. Z. (2015). *The Representation of Syrian Refugees in the Online Media News reports of the Host and non-Host Countries: A Corpus-Based Critical Discourse Analysis*. Unpublished thesis at the University Sains Malaysia.
- Al-Qarawee, H. H. (2014). *Iraq's sectarian crisis a legacy of exclusion* Carnegie-MEC.org.
- Barker, G. (2012). Portrayals of the Iraq war by Swedish and American media. *International Communication Gazette*. Vol 74, Issue 1, pp. 3-22.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1748048511426981>
- Becker, A. (2007). Between “us” and “them”. Two TV interviews with German chancellor Gerhard Schroder in the run-up to the Iraq war. In Hodges, A. and Nilep, C. *Discourse, War and terrorism*. John Benjamins B.V. pp. 161-184.
<https://doi.org/10.1075/dapsac.24.12bec>

- Darweesh, A. D. (2016). Representation of the Syrian crisis in the American political speeches: A critical discourse analysis. *International Journal of Language and Linguistics*, 1, 40-48.
- Fairclough, N. (2003). *Analysing discourse: Textual analysis for social research*. London: Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203697078>
- Hall, T. (2015). *British bold creative*. UK: BBC Charter Review. <https://downloads.bbc.co.uk/aboutthebbc/reports/pdf/futureofthebbc2015.pdf> (Accessed 2017, 19 June).
- Kandil, M. A. (2009). The Israeli-Palestinian conflict in American, Arab, and British media: Corpus-based critical discourse analysis. PhD diss., Georgia State University.
- Khosravi Nik, M. (2009). The representation of refugees, asylum seeker and immigrants in British newspapers during the Balkan conflict (1999) and the British general election (2005) *Discourse & Society*. UK: SAGE. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926509104024>
- Khosravi Nik, M. (2010). The Representation of Refugees, Asylum Seekers and Immigrants in British Newspapers: A Critical Discourse Analysis. *Journal of Language and Politics*, 9(1), 1-28. <https://doi.org/10.1075/jlp.9.1.01kho>
- Kress, G. & Hodge, R. (1979). *Language as ideology*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Macdonald, M. (2003). *Exploring media discourse*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Machin, D., & Mayr A. (2012). *How to do critical discourse analysis: A Multimodal Introduction*. Los Angeles: SAGE.
- Malkawi, R. (2012). *The ideological stamp: Translation of political discourse in news media*. Australia: Writescop Publishers.
- O’Keeffe, A. (2006). *Investigating Media Discourse*. London: Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203015704>
- O’Donnell, K., & Newland K. (2008). *The Iraqi refugee crisis: The need for action*. Washington: Migration Policy Institute.
- Reisigl, M., & Wodak, R. (2001). *Discourse and discrimination: Rhetoric of racism and antisemitism*. London: Routledge.
- Reisigl, M., & Wodak, R. (2009). The discourse-historical approach (DHA). In R. Wodak & M Meyer (eds), *Methods for Critical Discourse Analysis*. Sage (2nd revised edition). London, pp. 87-121.

- Talbat, M. (2007). *Media discourse: Representation and interaction*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9780748630073>
- Van Dijk, T. A. (2001). 'Multidisciplinary CDA: A plea for diversity', in R. Wodak & M. Meyer (eds), *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*. London: Sage, pp.95-120. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9780857028020.d7>
<https://doi.org/10.4135/9780857028020.n5>
- Van Dijk, T. A. (2015). *Critical discourse analysis*. In *The handbook of discourse analysis*, 2nd ed. Edited by Deborah Tannen, Heidi E. Hamilton, and Deborah Schiffrin. UK: John Wiley & Sons, Inc. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118584194.ch22>
- Van Leeuwen, T. (2008). *Discourse and practice: News Tools for Critical Discourse Analysis*. New York: Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195323306.001.0001>
- Weiss, G. & Wodak, R. (2003). *Critical Discourse Analysis: theory and interdisciplinarity*, Basingstoke: Palgrave. <https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230514560>
- Wodak, R. (2006). *Critical Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publication. <https://doi.org/10.1075/hop.10.cri1>
- Wodak, R. (2001). What CDA is about _a summary of its history, important concepts and its developments. In Wodak, R. & Meyer M. (2001). *Method of critical discourse analysis*. London: SAGE Publication. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9780857028020>
- Wodak, R., & Meyer, M. (2009). *Methods of critical discourse analysis* (2nd editions). London: Sage Publication.
- Wodak, R., & Meyer, M. (2001) *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*. London: Sage. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9780857028020>
- Wodak, R., de Cillia, R., Reisigl, M., & Liebhart, K. (2009). *The Discursive Construction of National Identity* (2nd ed.). Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Ya Ylaci, G. & Karakus, M. (2015). Perceptions and newspaper coverage of Syrian refugees in Turkey. *Article history* 12 (3), 238-250. <https://doi.org/10.33182/ml.v12i3.277>
- Yanar, M. & Tütüniş, B. (2016). The impact of mass media tools on EFL student's speaking skills case. *International Online Journal of Education and Teaching (IOJET)*. 3(1), 2-24.
- Žižková, O. (2012). *New racism in the British press*. Czechs: Masaryk University.