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**ARAB MEDIA REPRESENTATIONS OF THE SYRIAN REFUGEE CRISIS: A
TEXTUAL ANALYSIS OF JORDANIAN, EGYPTIAN, EMIRATI, AND KUWAITI
PRESS**

A Thesis in
Media Studies
by
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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the ways in which online media from Arab host and non-host countries represent the Syrian refugee crisis. Using textual analysis, news stories published between July 2015 and July 2016 by two newspapers from Jordan (*Al Ghad* and *Jordan Times*), Egypt (*Al Ahrām* and *Daily News Egypt*), Kuwait (*Al Rai* and *Arab Times*), and the United Arab Emirates (*Al Khaleej* and *Khaleej Times*) respectively were comparatively analyzed. Emergent themes regarding portrayals of their own countries, other countries, and of the Syrian refugees were examined, as well as the levels of direct quotes credited to Syrians, sources used, characterizations of the Syrian refugees, and the valence of the news stories collected. Although many differences were found in the news coverage, findings indicate that the most common ways both host and non-host countries portrayed themselves were highlighting their roles in their response towards the Syrian refugee crisis and calling for more international support. Regarding their representations of other countries, the most common emergent themes were acknowledging host countries, acknowledging donor countries, and focusing on the rising tensions in Europe. Regarding portrayals of the Syrian refugees, common findings among host and non-host countries were portraying the refugees as a burden, victims, and as a security threat. As for the levels of direct quotes directed to Syrians, both host and non-host countries were less likely to include direct quotes by Syrian refugees in their news stories and more likely to quote public officials. Concerning the characterization of Syrians, the most common term used was “refugees”, followed by “migrants”, and then “asylum-seekers”. Both host and non-host countries included the neutral valence in their news stories, followed by the negative, and then the positive (with the exception of *Al Khaleej* from the UAE). This thesis illustrates the complexities regarding news coverage of a refugee crisis. Finally, when comparing Arabic and English-language newspapers, differences were found between the two regarding levels of direct quotes and the valences of the news stories. English published more news stories that included direct quotes credited to Syrians, and Arabic newspapers published more stories including the positive valence.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Since 2011, over 5.6 million Syrians have fled the country, seeking refuge in Lebanon, Jordan, Turkey, and beyond (UNHCR 2018). According to statistical reports published by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), Turkey currently holds the highest number of Syrian refugees (3,577,752). Other major host countries of Syrian refugees that are mentioned in the report include Lebanon (976,002), Jordan (671,919), Iraq (250,184), and Egypt (131,504) (UNHCR 2018), and this is not including the rest of the Syrian refugees who are residing in these countries but are still not officially registered. Syrians have also fled to countries beyond this region including Greece, Germany, Holland, Canada, and others (UNHCR 2018). That being said, poorer countries are the ones currently hosting most of these forcibly displaced people (UNHCR 2018). By 2017, UNHCR stated that there were 1 million asylum applications for Syrian refugees in the European Union, and as of March of this year, there are 5.6 million counted registered Syrian refugees worldwide (UNHCR 2018). Because of the rising number of people arriving in the EU who were travelling across the Mediterranean Sea, the term European Migrant Crisis was given to this phenomena, although many people, including some media outlets such as *The Independent*, have criticized this term and have chosen to use European *Refugee* Crisis instead (Baxter, 2015), as it better described the situation that these people were in and emphasized the fact that these were people who had been forced from their home and did not have a choice.

With the significant numbers of Syrians entering countries all over the world, these refugees have become a heavily salient topic in the news media worldwide, although it is worth

mentioning that news regarding Syrian refugees have considerably declined in the last couple of years. Learning about the crisis from various television channels and newspapers, it is clear to see the diverse ways and the various frames, tone, visuals, and word choice used by news reporters and journalists to depict a particular image of these refugees. This has in turn attracted many researchers who have focused on media representations of Syrian refugees and the refugee crisis, and the relationships that might exist between such portrayals and public opinion.

Although there are a large number of studies that have focused on the role of the media in the refugee crisis, most seem to have been done from a western lens, specifically looking at how various western media outlets in the European region and North America have approached portraying Syrian refugees throughout this period. However, there still seems to be a lack of research regarding media representations of Syrian refugees and the refugee crisis in Arab news outlets and how such portrayals might be similar or different from other countries within the region and also from other regions as well. It would be worth doing so giving that a significant number of Syrian refugees are residing in Arab countries, and so in order to fully understand how these people are portrayed, researchers need to more seriously consider representations beyond western news media. How are countries in the Arab world covering the topic of Syrian refugees and the crisis? How do such representations compare and contrast within Arab host and non-host countries? Are the Syrian refugees given a voice or are they being spoken for in local Arab media? What are Arab news outlets covering and what are they *not* covering? Are there any differences in the ways in which the Arabic and English language newspapers are covering this topic?

Therefore, the purpose of this thesis was to address such questions and answer them through focusing on the topic of Arab media representations of Syrian refugees crisis, and

analyzing the similarities and differences that exist between media outlets in two selected Arab host countries and two Arab non-host countries. Specifically, I am interested in examining how news organizations from Arab host and non-host countries were not only portraying the Syrian refugees but the entire crisis itself, including representations of each news organization's respective countries, portrayals of other countries (whether Arab or non-Arab) and other international actors, calls to action, urges for policy changes, and other representations and how each of the host and non-host countries were choosing to contextualize their stories. Details regarding how exactly I went about researching this topic will be presented later on.

In this thesis, I began by looking at how previous scholars and researchers have approached the topic of media representations of refugees. I organized the literature review according to the emerging themes that I found regarding how these scholars have studied these media portrayals. This section includes an analysis of prior literature that has been published over the last decade. After that, I stated the research questions for my thesis research topic that guided me throughout my study. In the next section, I provided a detailed explanation of the methodological approach that I took towards this project. After the methodology section I presented the results and analysis of the study, and ended with the discussion and conclusion sections.

Chapter 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Most of the prior studies focusing on news media representations of refugees have looked primarily at Western countries and perspectives. After looking through past studies on this topic, a number of themes emerged regarding the angles that scholars have taken in their research towards media portrayals of refugees. The two most common ways found were that they either focused on one specific western country (Bhatia & Jenks, 2018; Blinder & Allen, 2015; Lawlor & Tolley, 2017; Holmes & Castaneda, 2016; Esses & Medianu & Lawson, 2013; Holzberg & Kolbe & Zaborowski, 2018; Plascencia, 2017; Tyyska & Deboer & Kawai & Walcott, 2018; Wallace, 2018), or took a comparative approach, though these comparisons were also focused on countries in the western region. By western I mean countries either in Europe, Britain, or North America. These studies included comparisons made within a specific western region (Baker & Khosravini & Krzyzanowski & Mcenery & Wodak, 2008; Chouliaraki & Stolic, 2017; Dimitrova & Ozdora-Aksak & Connolly-Ahern, 2018), or across western regions (Arcimaviciene & Baglama, 2018; Jaber, 2016; Parker, 2015; Kosho, 2016; Fotopoulos & Kaimaklioti, 2016; Abid & Manan & Rahman, 2017).

Some researchers have also taken a gender approach, specifically looking at how Syrian refugee women and men have been comparatively portrayed in the media (Rettberg & Gajjala, 2015; Alhayek, 2014). Others have focused exclusively on the visual representations of Syrian refugees by the news media (Binder, & Jaworsky, 2018; Lenette & Cleland, 2016; Lenette & Miskovic, 2016). A couple of studies focused on global media representations (including CNN and Al Jazeera) of Syrian refugees (Elsamni, 2016; Kyriakides, 2016).

Out of all the articles mentioned above, only two studies focused on media representations of these refugees in local Arab news media (Abid & Manan & Rahman, 2017; Kyriakides, 2016). This illustrates the gap in research that is evident regarding this particular topic, and proves that there is still a lot of room for future research that examines the coverage of refugee crises by Arab media. The section that follows is a breakdown of the themes (in the order stated above) that emerged from the literature on media representations of refugees.

Focuses on a Specific Western Country

A common approach that has been taken in studying media representations of refugees is through focusing on one specific western country (Bhatia & Jenks, 2018; Blinder & Allen, 2015; Elsamni, 2016; Lawlor & Tolley, 2017; Holmes & Castaneda, 2016; Holzberg & Kolbe & Zaborowski, 2018; Plascencia, 2017; Tyyska & Deboer & Kawai & Walcott, 2018; Wallace, 2018).

Bhatia and Jenks (2018) examined the discursive portrayal of Syrian refugees following Donald Trump's inauguration as president and specifically looked at two particular narratives in the context of the American dream. The authors analyzed news articles, editorials, opinion pieces, from both liberal perspective (*New York Times*, *CNN* and *The Washington Post*) and conservative perspectives (*Fox News*, *Breitbart* and *National Review*), all of which revolved around the topic of Syrian refugees (Bhatia & Jenks, 2018). They found that either the Syrian refugees were portrayed as victims escaping their homeland or as a burden on national resources and chasing the American Dream. Liberal media focused largely on portraying Syrian refugees within the victim narrative, focusing on their traumatic experiences and escape from the brutalities of their country (Bhatia & Jenks, 2018). These stories are more personalized and the

authors argue that in doing so the stories humanize the Syrian refugees and allow the readers to become “sympathetic consumers of political news reporting” (p. 226). The authors also argue that the readers use the notion of the American Dream as a framework to understand the situation of Syrian refugees and how responsible the country should be in assisting with their resettlement. Syrian refugees have also been portrayed as a threat in American media and as a dangerous Other (Bhatia & Jenks, 2018). This narrative of Syrian refugees as a threat was used more in conservative media in which Syrian refugees are depicted as a threat to the American way of life (Bhatia & Jenks, 2018). The authors conclude that these narratives reflect the arbitrary nature of news media and draws attention to the question of the authenticity of news since it is ultimately made up of competing discourses in attempt to persuade their audiences that the stories they are releasing is the correct or the objective version (Bhatia & Jenks, 2018).

Other researchers (Lawlor & Tolley, 2017) have focused on media representations of Syrian refugees through looking at the idea of deservingness. Lawlor and Tolley (2017) focused specifically on Canadian news media and examine the extent to which refugees have been considered as “legitimate”. Through their longitudinal study of framing in Canadian news media of refugees and immigrants, they found that refugees are portrayed much more negatively, and are shown as those who are “unwanted” and “undeserving” (Lawlor & Tolley, 2017). This is unlike the way in which immigrants have been portrayed in Canadian media, as they have been shown as those who are more “legitimate” or “deserving” (Lawlor & Tolley, 2017). They also found that the tone of coverage was more negative than it was for immigration, however, negative refugee coverage did not increase even though policies towards refugees had become more strict (Lawlor & Tolley, 2017). The authors also found that coverage regarding refugees was more episodic whilst coverage revolving around immigrants was more thematic and durable.

Furthermore, stories about refugees tended to be focused on their backgrounds, regardless of where they had come from, and was more likely to be negatively framed (Lawlore & Tolley, 2017). This study showed the juxtaposition between immigrants and refugees and highlighted the complexities of the links between perceptions of immigrants and refugees and ethnicity.

Wallace (2018) also studied the representations of Syrian refugees in Canadian news media. Through analyzing the news frames used to portray the Syrian refugee crisis from 2012 until 2016, she found that there was a shift in the way Syrian refugees were represented following the release of the photo of Alan Kurdi's body, who was a three-year-old who drowned in the Mediterranean Sea when he and his family tried to reach Europe in 2015, and the federal election, which occurred in the same year. Using a content analysis, the author uncovered six frames that were used to represent the refugee crisis, including conflict, family, citizenship, services, religion, and human rights (Wallace, 2018). The author conveyed how the release of the photo of Alan Kurdi changed the representations of Syrian people from conflict-dominant representations to more humanizing portrayals of the Syrian refugees' families and services that were being provided for them (Wallace, 2018). Furthermore, a shift in focus occurred in the news stories from portrayals of Syrian refugees as outsiders to portrayals of these people's integration in Canada (Wallace, 2018). This study showed how pivotal events led to the clear shift in tone and framing of Syrian refugees from negative to positive and how such events also led to changes in both the sentiment towards Syrian refugees (Wallace, 2018).

Esses et al. (2013) examined media portrayals of immigrants and refugees in Canadian media and the role it plays in promoting the dehumanization of these people. They specifically analyzed the effects of media representations of immigrants and refugees on dehumanization and its consequences. Three themes emerged regarding how the immigrants and refugees were being

portrayed: immigrants are associated with infectious diseases, refugee claimants are often false, and that terrorists are disguising themselves as refugees to enter western nations (Esses & Medianu & Lawson, 2013). The authors found that the media are much more likely to focus on negative stories rather than positive news stories and argue that the dehumanization of these people this can lead to highly negative consequences in terms of how the public reacts to immigrants and refugees due to the fact that they are being highlighted as threats to the host society (Esses & Medianu & Lawson, 2013). The authors also argued that new policies should be established by the government to offset the effects of dehumanizing portrayals and improve the way in which it communicates with media outlets in order to reduce such representations (Esses & Medianu & Lawson, 2013).

Holmes and Castaneda (2016), and Holzberg and Kolbe and Zaborowski (2018) are examples of studies focusing specifically on German media representations of refugees. Furthermore, and similarly to Lawlor and Tolley's (2017) study, these two are focused on the idea of deservingness/un-deservingness of Syrian refugees (Holmes & Castaneda, 2016; Holzberg & Kolbe & Zaborowski, 2018). Holmes and Castaneda (2016) examined the concept of deservingness and find that journalists will use the term "refugee" when presenting the Syrians as deserving of protection and will use the term "migrant" when depicting them in a more unflattering and "undeserving" manner. Additionally, using the term "migrant crisis" delegitimizes the Syrian refugees' right to be protecting, whereas using the term "refugee crisis" reinforces these same people's call for protection (Holmes & Castaneda).

Holzberg et al. (2018) also examined representations of the refugee crisis and look at how such portrayals have discursively reproduced borders. Using a content analysis, the authors found that there were three main themes regarding how these refugees were being portrayed:

economy, state security, and gender relations (Holzberg & Kolbe & Zaborowski, 2018). They showed how there was a shift in the way the Syrians were being represented, with the first phase being one that is focused on the reasons for the refugees' displacement and the geopolitical context of the crisis to one that focused on the potential burdens or benefits that the refugees could have to the country hosting them (Holzberg & Kolbe & Zaborowski, 2018). Additionally, through the three themes of economy, state security, and gender relations, the Syrian refugees are framed as either costly/useful, destabilizing/assimilable, and misogynist/victimized (p. 547). The authors concluded that these constructions of Syrian refugees as either deserving or undeserving allow the continuation of them being defined as racialized others that have to prove that they deserve to be protected (Holzberg & Kolbe & Zaborowski, 2018).

Tyyska et al. (2018) also studied media portrayals of Syrian refugees specifically in Canada. The authors examined media content from *The Globe and Mail*, *Toronto Star*, *National Post*, *Huffington Post*, *CBC*, and *CTV* from September 2015 until April 2016 that revolved around the Canadian resettlement efforts of Syrian refugees. The authors used theories of orientalism, neocolonialism, neoliberalism, and feminism as a framework for their analysis and found three main themes regarding the coverage of the Syrians: Canadian values (showing the Canadian government as humanitarian and generous), lacking agency (conveying Syrian refugees vulnerable and needy), and security threats (gendered representations of Syrian males as threats and the absence of women's voices) (Tyyska & Deboer & Kawai & Walcott, 2018). The authors illustrated how the representations of the Syrian refugees included the process of "othering" Syrian refugees, and how this was in line with Said's orientalism theory. Furthermore, the authors talked about the concept of the "savior complex" that all of the media sources included, which praised Canadians for their generosity and humanity (Tyyska & Deboer &

Kawai & Walcott, 2018). The use of this “savior complex” was the common ground for all of the media outlets, regardless of their political slants. Additionally, the authors showed how men were shown as less deserving of refugee status in Canada than the women because of the fact that they were conveyed as less vulnerable than women and men are more likely to be associated with terrorism. The authors also discussed how the acceptance of Syrian refugees in Canada largely relied on the way the media was portraying the resettlement plan to the public, thus reflecting the vital role that media coverage plays in shaping public understands of reality (Tyyska & Deboer & Kawai & Walcott, 2018).

Comparative Studies

Another popular approach in the literature surrounding the topic of media coverage of refugees seems to be those that are comparative, whether the studies cover countries of a specific region (Baker & Khosravini & Krzyzanowski & Mcenery & Wodak, 2008; Chouliaraki & Stolic, 2017; Dimitrova & Ozdora-Aksak & Connolly-Ahern, 2018), or countries across western regions (Arcimaviciene & Baglama, 2018; Jaber, 2016; Parker, 2015; Kosho, 2016; Fotopoulos & Kaimaklioti, 2016; Abid & Manan & Rahman, 2017).

One study examined the media portrayals of Syrian refugees in Turkey and Bulgaria (Dimitrova & Ozdora-Aksak & Connolly-Ahern, 2018). Using a content analysis and framing theory, the authors analyzed the various frames utilized by both of these countries, both of which were significantly impacted by the refugee crisis. The authors found that the Turkish media covered the Syrian refugees in a significantly more personalized way than the Bulgarian media did (Dimitrova & Ozdora-Aksak & Connolly-Ahern, 2018). Furthermore, Turkey made more use of the victim frame and the humanitarian frame, while Bulgaria mostly used the administrative

frame and the threat frame (Dimitrova & Ozdora-Aksak & Connolly-Ahern, 2018). The authors argue that the differences between the two might have been because of the fact that Turkey had significantly more contact with the Syrians than the Bulgarians did and it might have been because of the fact that Syria and Turkey share more cultural similarities (such as religion) than Syria and Bulgaria do (Dimitrova & Ozdora-Aksak & Connolly-Ahern, 2018). Furthermore, Turkey is a lot more experienced in dealing with refugees while Bulgaria has had less experience and were less financially and administratively prepared for the Syrian crisis, however more research is needed to identify the exact reasons for such differences. This study highlighted the importance of examining news media portrayals of refugees, especially since these representations influence the publics' perceptions and attitudes towards them (Dimitrova & Ozdora-Aksak & Connolly-Ahern, 2018).

Arcimaviciene and Baglama's (2018) study is one example of a comparative study of two countries across western regions. This study focused on the analysis of the US and the European Union media's response to the refugee crisis. Countries from the EU included England and Germany. The study was informed by the conceptual metaphor theory, and using a critical metaphor analysis, the authors examined the discursive construction of the media narratives regarding this topic and how it contributed to the bias of binary opposition between "them" and "us". The authors found that the metaphors used to describe the refugees and migration was consistent across the various media sources and that the representation of these people was largely negative and was done through two kinds of "mythical narratives". The first was dehumanization, which was done using two metaphorical situations, either "Migrants as Objects" and "Migrants as Commodities", or "Crime and Terrorism" (p. 5). The authors argued that the consequences of these metaphors' strong emotional charge, which is the result of the suppression

of positive emotions towards refugees such as empathy or compassion. The authors also conveyed how through using these metaphors, it delegitimizes “them” and legitimizes “us”, and argued that this fuels stereotypical and xenophobic attitudes. This study highlighted the significant role that metaphors play in the development of dominant views towards the Other (which, in this case are refugees), and drew attention to the need for the media to reinterpret the refugee crisis and migration policies in a more positive light (Arcimaviciene & Baglama, 2018).

Jaber (2016) also conducted a comparative study of media representations of Syrian refugees, and did so through analyzing *The New York Times* and *The Guardian's* UK edition. The author drew from Edward Said's theory of representation, Mona Baker's narrative theory, as well as media responsibility and translation ethics as a framework for his study. Through examining articles published within 2011 to 2014, Jaber (2018) attempted to develop the understanding of the responsibility of the media in representing the Other. This study showed that Syrian people and refugees were portrayed as victims of the Syrian crisis in the translated narratives while the Syrian regime and security forces were depicted much more negatively (Jaber, 2018). The author also examined whether or not the representations of Syrian victims and refugees were fairly represented in the chosen translated narratives and quotations and found that *The Guardian* frequently used translated quotes to convey Syrian sufferings, including casualties and victims of the Syrian security forces (Jaber, 2018). Furthermore, this media outlet frequently included quotations that highlighted religious stereotypes (Jaber, 2018). The author also argued that the *The New York Times* also presented the translated narratives fairly and contained quotations that portrayed the violence and brutalities that the Syrian refugees experienced from the Syrian security forces (Jaber, 2018). This study demonstrated that media responsibility as well as translation ethical practices are two important factors that are interconnected, especially

when it comes to covering international events. The author conveyed how both media outlets were able to ethically represent the Syrian refugee crisis through narrating the brutalities that the Syrians experienced and connecting it to the regime's attacks against Syrian civilians as well as serving principles of media responsibility and translation ethics including public interest, fairness, truth, and reporting and translating events in knowledgeable portrayals (Jaber, 2018).

Another example of a comparative study is Parker's (2015) analysis of British and Australian media regarding their representations of refugees and asylum seekers. Interestingly, the time frame did not include the Syrian refugee crisis as it only included articles published between 2001 and 2010. The author found that the primary repertoire used to describe the refugees was that of the "unwanted invader", which was achieved through using water and criminal metaphors (Parker, 2015). However, the way that these metaphors were being used differed between the two countries. Specifically, Australian media focused more on topics of border protection and keeping the refugees out of the country, and this was done through repeatedly using the term "boatpeople" to refer to the refugees and associating them with illegality. On the other hand, the repertoire used by the British media was primarily about persuading the readers that refugees and asylum seekers need to be removed from the region, through using the term "failed asylum seekers" frequently (Parker, 2015). Overall, both these countries portrayed the refugees as invaders and tragic figures (Parker, 2015).

Kosho (2016) conducted a comparative study on media representations of the migration crisis and looked at the influence that the media had on public opinion and attitudes towards the refugee crisis as a whole. The author reviewed prior studies analyzing the press, as well as surveys of public opinion and examined the relationship between the two. She found that the UK was highly negative regarding the representation of immigrants and that this corresponded to

how most of British society was requiring the reduction of immigrants and how this also reflected the opposition towards immigration in that region (Kosho, 2016). This was unlike other European countries as well as the US, where attitudes towards immigration were more balanced. For example, Germans and Americans seemed to have more positive attitudes regarding immigrants, while Greeks and Italians had the most negative views (Kosho, 2016). The author of this study showed that a connection exists between media portrayals of immigration and public opinion and attitudes towards the migration crisis, highlighting the role of the mainstream media in influencing the public discourse of this particular topic (Kosho, 2016).

Fotopoulos and Kaimaklioti (2016) conducted a study that specifically looked at how Greek, German, and British press covered the refugee crisis in Europe. This study used both corpus linguistics and discourse analysis to look at online articles published in March until May of 2016. The most common finding was that all six selected media outlets mostly represented the refugee crisis in terms of numbers and not words, conveying that online media were more concerned with the perspective of quantity (Fotopoulos & Kaimaklioti, 2016). Furthermore, all of the online newspapers examined paid a lot of attention towards the EU-Turkey refugee deal in which Turkey agreed to take refugees who had entered Greece and send the legal refugees to the EU, and in return the EU would give Turkey 6 billion Euros as well as allow visa-free travel for Turkish citizens if the country had met the required conditions (Fotopoulos & Kaimaklioti, 2016). An interesting finding was that neither the Greek nor the German press associated Syrian refugees with terrorism (the percentage was not even worth mentioning in the study), while 17 percent of the British articles made reference to the Syrians using words including “terrorists”, “terrorism”, “ISIL”, “IS”, or “ISIS” (Fotopoulos & Kaimaklioti, 2016). The authors argued that this could have been due to the fact that both Greece and Germany were involved in large efforts

to fight the significant increase in hate crimes that were occurring in both these countries (Fotopoulos & Kaimaklioti, 2016). Furthermore, all newspapers paid significant attention to the tragedies of the crisis, particularly focusing on child refugees and the inhumane living conditions and sufferings that they had experienced. The authors concluded that this study conveyed the contrast between the media portrayals of the crisis and the views of Europe's leaders (Fotopoulos & Kaimaklioti, 2016).

Abid et al. (2017) was the only study found that included Arab media representations of Syrian refugees as well as western portrayals. The authors used Lakoff and Jonson's conceptual metaphor theory to compare and contrast the portrayals of Syrian refugees in online media discourse in host countries and non-host countries. Host countries included Lebanon, Jordan, Egypt, and Turkey, and non-host countries included the United Arab Emirates, the United States, the United Kingdom, and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. They found that the most common metaphors being used in host countries were those that represented the large number of Syrian refugees entering host countries, and these metaphors were associated with water (Abid & Manan & Rahman, 2017). Such metaphors included "wave", "tide", "flood", "trickle". These water metaphors also emphasized the burden that the host countries were facing. For example "Ankara struggles to accommodate the tide of Syrian refugees still entering Turkey" and "neighboring Lebanon and Jordan are both struggling to cope with the flood of refugees," (p. 138). Furthermore, the authors conveyed that the use of water metaphors to describe human beings reduces them to dehumanized entities (Abid & Manan & Rahman, 2017). The second most common use of metaphors represented refugees as a pressuring force, the third most common were metaphors that compared countries to buildings, and the fourth category of metaphors conveyed the need for international aid (Abid & Manan & Rahman, 2017). In non-

host countries, where the most common category of metaphors also represented the massive exodus of refugees, the second most frequent category of metaphors also portrayed countries as buildings (using expressions such as “keep an open door” and “open door policy”), and the third most common represented the challenges that the Syrian refugees are placing on host countries, and the fourth most common category of metaphors depicted aid as a significant aspect for host countries (Abid & Manan & Rahman, 2017). Furthermore, although both used water metaphors, significantly more water metaphors were used by host countries than by non-host countries, and how the water metaphors signified that these Syrian refugees were an “unwelcome disaster” (p. 138). Also, host countries also depicted the Syrian refugees as more of a burden than non-host countries did (Abid & Manan & Rahman, 2017). This article highlights the many similarities yet important differences that distinguish the way host countries and non-host countries have covered the Syrian refugee crisis in both Arab and Western media outlets (Abid & Manan & Rahman, 2017).

Gendered Representations

A third way that researchers have examined the portrayals of refugees was taking a gender perspective by examining the differences in the ways that male and female refugees were being represented (Rettberg & Gajjala, 2015; Alhayek, 2014).

Although not focused on news media representations as the majority of researchers seem to have done when looking at portrayals of Syrian refugees, Rettberg and Gajjala (2015) analyzed the way in which male Syrian refugees were being portrayed on social media, specifically Twitter. The authors studied the words and images that were shared on this platform that used the hashtag #refugeesNOTwelcome and paid particular attention to how Syrian men

were being depicted in this post 9/11 context, where Middle-Eastern men seem to be primarily shown as potential terrorists (Rettberg & Gajjala, 2015). They combined theories from Paul Amar, a Middle Eastern scholar, and Jasbir Puar, a queer theorist to use as a framework for their analyses and found that posts using this hashtag claimed that Syrian refugees were mostly male. Furthermore, the posts were absent of images and mentions of women and children (Rettberg & Gajjala, 2015). The authors argued that this lack of images and mentions of female Syrian refugees on Twitter functions similarly to the way that mainstream media coverage of the Iraq and Afghanistan war have depicted Middle Eastern women as those who are oppressed and are in need of being rescued (Rettberg & Gajjala, 2015). Furthermore, the authors found that the discourse regarding Syrian male refugees was highly negative and stereotypical, highlighting these men as rapists and terrorists, threatening the security of the west. The authors also showed that if Syrian men weren't shown as threatening and as demonized rapists or terrorists, they were shown as cowards who left behind their women and children rather than fighting in their country (Rettberg & Gajjala, 2015). This article ultimately highlights how specific contradictory themes regarding the masculinity of Middle Eastern men and Syrian male refugees fueled the portrayals of male Syrian refugees on Twitter (Rettberg & Gajjala, 2015).

Alhayek (2014) examined the portrayal of Syrian refugees in global media and mainstream online activism from a feminist perspective. The author analyzed the discourse on "Refugees Not Captives", a Facebook campaign regarding Syrian refugees, which aimed to raise awareness among Syrian girls' families about the risks of forced marriage for money and communicate with Arab youth and organizations about women's and human rights. The author showed how the campaign's messages were related to how mainstream global media were covering the Syrian refugee crisis. She used Edward's Said's (1978) orientalism theory as well as

Ong's (1999) "self-orientalization" and incorporated that with feminist theories to examine the gendered aspects of the campaign's self-orientalizing portrayals and the mainstream global media's orientalist portrayals of Syrian refugee women. She found that the campaign directly 'othered' Arab men, specifically those from the Gulf region, describing them as "sexist sick teenagers who are obsessed with sex" (p. 697). Such portrayals show that the campaign was imitating aspects of western hegemonic and orientalist discourses and how global media (both western and Arabic media) was similarly focusing their representations on blaming Muslim culture for forced marriages and primarily portraying Syrian refugee women as a homogenous group of women who were oppressed by their fathers who would treat their daughters as commodities for rich men from the Arabian-Gulf (Alhayek, 2014). Alhayek also found that there was a difference between the way that the Syrian women were being represented online in comparison to the realities that the Syrian refugee women who were living in Jordan were facing. She also argued that global media portrayals of Syrian refugee women were generalized and ignored the context of the power relations that exist for these women in both their home as well as the host countries they were in (Alhayek, 2014). This study showed that both online and global media marginalized, undermined, and failed to show the complexities and diversities that exist among the experiences of Syrian refugee women (Alhayek, 2014).

Visual Representations

Another theme that emerged from studies about the representation of refugees is focused exclusively on the visual representations of refugees in the news media (Binder, & Jaworsky, 2018; Lenette & Cleland, 2016; Lenette & Miskovic, 2016).

Lenette and Cleland (2016) studied the visual depictions of Syrian refugees through focusing on four key images that emerged from the news media in 2015. These four images include the photograph of Alan Kurdi, a photograph of Laith Majid and his children's arrival in Greece, and two photographs of refugee children who were tear-gassed by Hungarian border officials. They specifically focused on how these visual representations shifted and were different from prior images representing refugees and argued that the effectiveness of these four images are due to the fact that they contrast greatly with the usual stereotypical images used to portray asylum seekers and refugees (Lenette & Cleland, 2016). All of these photos portrayed the Syrian refugees as vulnerable, unthreatening and all showed the sufferings they had experienced. Furthermore, all four photographs showed refugees who were visually identifiable, which differed from the usual visual portrayals of refugees as one massive group of unidentifiable people (Lenette & Miskovic, 2016). The authors argue that in doing so, these photographs humanized the refugees, thus allowing the audiences to feel compassion towards them and how the fact that these photographs received intense attention from the media influenced public discourse regarding the refugee crisis and even led to policy changes in countries such as Australia, which resettled 12,000 Syrian refugees in the country just days following the photograph of Alan Kurdi (Lenette & Miskovic, 2016). This article highlights the power of images in shifting public discourse as well as policy decisions (Lenette & Miskovic, 2016).

In their study, Lenette and Miskovic (2016) examined the visual representations of Syrian refugees through focusing specifically on the iconic photograph of Alan Kurdi, a 3-year-old who drowned while crossing borders in 2015 and analyzed how visual portrayals of refugee deaths have influenced public opinions and even policies. They analyzed three particular images of Syrian refugee deaths and illustrated how portraying refugees alone has more of an impact on

audiences and is more likely to evoke feelings of sympathy or outrage than portraying refugees in groups, and how showing the refugees in groups actually decreases the audiences' ability to connect with the tragic events (Lenette & Miskovic, 2016). The authors also showed how these photographs had significant implications for policymaking since political leaders felt they had to respond to the outrage that was caused through Alan Kurdi's photographs, with Canada, Australia, and the UK resettling more Syrian refugees than they had granted asylums to earlier (Lenette & Miskovic, 2016). The authors argued that through highlighting the deaths that occur at border crossings, visual representations can challenge the imbalance in rhetoric and prevent future similar deaths through impacting policymaking and political leadership (Lenette & Miskovic, 2016).

Global Media Portrayals

Two studies focused on global media representations of Syrian refugees (Elsamni, 2016; Kyriakides, 2016). Elsamni (2016), specifically focused on online news article published by CNN and uses framing theory in combination with a content analysis to identify the frames being used in the coverage of Arab refugees and asylum seekers. The author found that the most salient news frame used in these portrayals was the attribution of responsibility frame, which basically referred to the arguments whether or not various levels of European governments could end the Syrian refugee crisis (Elsamni, 2016). After that, the human interest frame was used most commonly, and was primarily used not to provoke positive feelings towards refugees, but to evoke feelings of anger and outrage as well (Elsamni, 2016). Other common frames included the conflict frame, which focused the stories on the disagreements between different entities or parties regarding the crisis; the economic frame, which situated the refugees in terms of their

expenses and costs and the economic burdens of the crisis; and episodic frames, which were articles that included more personalized and individualized stories about the Syrian refugees (Elsamni, 2016). This study showed that in the coverage by CNN, the overall representation of refugees and asylum seekers seemed to be balanced between positive and negative portrayals of these people, although a lack of voices of the refugees was evident (Elsamni, 2016).

In Kyriakide's (2016) article, the author analyzed articles published by Al Jazeera, a global news organization with 80 bureaus globally. The author examined articles after the editorial decision that was made to substitute the word "refugee" for "economic migrant" throughout its coverage of the "Mediterranean Migration Crisis", and did this through analyzing the publicly announced rationale for this decision by an Al Jazeera broadcaster and connected it with European public policy (Kyriakides, 2016). The author used postcolonial and orientalist theories as a framework for the study and looked at how refugees need to justify themselves as "non-threatening victims" in order to be recognized and gain inclusion in, what the author called the European "securitized culture of (mis)trust" (p. 937). The author argued how the editorial decision made by Al Jazeera illustrated an interventionist challenge that Al Jazeera took towards western media portrayals of immigration, and illustrated how this editorial decision allowed refugees to be seen as victims that were in this situation by force rather than as "autonomous agents" (p. 934). Moreover, the author argued that this attempt by Al Jazeera to reframe the crisis illustrated that while it might seem to rhetorically challenge the European migrant-refugee policy at face value, the distancing of the negatively viewed economic migrant from the positively viewed non-economic refugee actually does not remove the European political consensus regarding asylum and immigration and their power to define what should be regarded as what constitutes legitimate migrant status (Kyriakides, 2016). In other words, the editorial decision

essentially demonstrated how interventions done by the media in attempts to contest dominant representations through restructuring the discursive qualities remain within the consensual and legitimate terms of that racialized history (Kyriakides, 2016).

Summary of Similar Findings

As seen above, researchers have approached studying news coverage of Syrian refugees and the refugee crisis in a variety of ways. Regardless of their methodological approaches and focuses, some similar findings were found among the above described studies.

One common finding was the concept of “undeserving refugees”. This was found in a few of the studies described above, including Holmes and Castaneda’s 2016 study, Lawlor and Tolley’s 2017 study, and Tyyska et al.s 2018 study. Holmes and Castaneda’s study showed how Syrians were referred to as “refugees” in German media when portrayed as more “deserving” of protection, whereas they were labelled as “migrants” when representing these people in a negative light and in a more “undeserving” way (Holmes & Castaneda, 2016). Lawlor and Tolley’s longitudinal study of Canadian news media conveyed that immigrants are portrayed as more “deserving” or “legitimate” whereas refugees were portrayed negatively as “unwanted” and “undeserving” groups of people (Lawlor & Tolley, 2017). Tyyska et al.’s study also focused on Canadian media and the results showed that refugee men were portrayed as less deserving of protection and refugee status than the women because the men were shown in a more stereotypical way and were more likely to be associated with terrorism (Tyyska & Deboer & Kawai & Walcott, 2018).

Conveying Syrian refugees in a dehumanized way, particularly through using metaphors, was another common finding found in a couple of the studies mentioned above (Abid & Manan

& Rahman, 2017; Arcimaviciene & Baglama, 2018). Both these studies employed Lakoff and Janson's conceptual metaphor theory and showed how the overuse of metaphors to describe Syrian refugees reduces them to objects and water and dehumanizes them and delegitimizes their struggles, and also portrays them in a more negative light.

Another common finding was that news media covering Syrian refugees are more likely to publish stories that negatively portray these people (Arcimaviciene & Baglama, 2018; Alhayek, 2014; Dimitrova & Ozdora-Aksak & Connolly-Ahern, 2018; Esses & Medianu & Lawson, 2013). Both Esses et al.'s 2013 study and Dimitrova et al.'s 2018 study share these results. As mentioned earlier, the former study focused on Canadian news media representations of Syrian refugees, and the latter was a comparative study of one host (Turkey) and non-host (Bulgaria) country. Both Canada and Bulgaria were shown to publish more negative than positive news articles revolving around this topic. Arcimaviciene and Baglama's study of western news media also showed that the large majority of news stories published portrayed the Syrian refugees in a negative manner.

Conveying Syrian refugees as a threat to a community's security was another common finding found in a number of the studies mentioned above (Dimitrova & Ozdora-Aksak & Connolly-Ahern, 2018; Fotopoulos & Kaimaklioti, 2016; Parker, 2015; Rettberg & Gajjala, 2015; Tyyska & Deboer & Kawai & Walcott, 2018). Dimitrova et al.'s study showed that one of the common frames used in Bulgarian media was the threat frame (Dimitrova & Ozdora-Aksak & Connolly-Ahern, 2018). Fotopoulos and Kaimaklioti's findings showed that British media repeatedly made use of the words "terrorists", "ISIS", "terrorism" etc. when referring to the Syrian refugees (Fotopoulos & Kaimaklioti, 2016). Parker's study of British media also showed that Syrian refugees were primarily conveyed as "unwanted invaders", and Tyyska et al.'s study

conveyed that Syrian refugee men were associated with terrorism in western news media (yyska & Deboer & Kawai & Walcott, 2018).

From the perspective of gender, a common finding in a couple of the above studies was that refugee men tended to be stereotyped and associated with terrorism (Rettberg & Gajjala, 2015; Alhayek, 2014). Both Rettberg and Gajjala's study and Alhayek's study conveyed that Syrian male refugees were more likely to portrayed as threatening, sexist, while their female counterparts were more victimized.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH QUESTIONS & METHODOLOGY

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

After examining how prior studies have approached media representations of refugees, I formulated a number of research questions. I identified the themes that emerged from Jordanian (host country), Egyptian (host country), Emirati (non-host country), and Kuwaiti (non-host country) online media coverage of the Syrian refugee crisis. The following questions guided my investigation:

RQ1: How did online media in Jordan (host), Egypt (host), the UAE (non-host), and Kuwait (non-host) represent their respective countries' responses to the Syrian refugee crisis?

- A. How did these representations compare within the host countries?
- B. How did these representations compare within the non-host countries?
- C. How did these representations compare within host and non-host countries?
- D. How did these representations compare within Arabic and English newspapers?

RQ2: How did online media in Jordan (host), Egypt (host), the UAE (non-host), and Kuwait (non-host) represent "other" (both Arab and non-Arab) countries and their responses to the Syrian refugee crisis?

- A. How did these representations compare within the host countries?
- B. How did these representations compare within the non-host countries?
- C. How did these representations compare within host and non-host countries?
- D. How did these representations compare within Arabic and English newspapers?

RQ3: How did online media in Jordan (host), Egypt (host), the UAE (non-host), and Kuwait (non-host) represent the Syrian refugees?

- A. How did these representations compare within the host countries?
- B. How did these representations compare within the non-host countries?
- C. How did these representations compare within host and non-host countries?
- D. How did these representations compare within Arabic and English newspapers?

RQ4: Which host countries and non-host countries included more direct quotes credited to the Syrian refugees?

- A. How did these representations compare within the host countries?
- B. How did these representations compare within the non-host countries?
- C. How did these representations compare within host and non-host countries?
- D. How did these representations compare within Arabic and English newspapers?

RQ5: How did the host and non-host countries' online media characterize the Syrian refugees? How did they label the Syrian refugees (e.g. asylum seekers vs. migrants vs. refugees, etc.)?

- A. How did these representations compare within the host countries?
- B. How did these representations compare within the non-host countries?
- C. How did these representations compare within host and non-host countries?
- D. How did these representations compare within Arabic and English newspapers?

RQ6: To what extent did online media from the host and non-host countries portray the Syrian refugee crisis in a positive, negative, and/or neutral way?

- A. How did these valences compare within the host countries?
- B. How did these valences compare within the non-host countries?
- C. How did these valences compare within host and non-host countries?

D. How do these representations compare within Arabic and English newspapers?

METHODOLOGY

The methodology for this thesis is a textual analysis of a selection of online news articles focusing on the topic of Syrian refugees. I selected two news outlets from each of the chosen Arab host and non-host countries: Jordan (host country), Egypt (host country), UAE (non-host country), and Kuwait (non-host country). My rationale for choosing the UAE and Kuwait as the Arab non-host countries is that they are both considered among the top Gulf State donors towards the Syrian refugee crisis (UNHCR, 2018a). According to UNHCR reports, Kuwait donated a total of \$38,489,745 and the UAE donated \$37,029,956 as of September, 2018 (UNHCR, 2018a), and both are considered as non-host countries. I selected Jordan and Egypt as the Arab host countries because they both are in the top four Arab countries when it comes to the number of Syrian refugees they currently host, with Jordan officially hosting 673,414 registered Syrian refugees and Egypt officially hosting 131,504 registered Syrian refugees (UNHCR 2018).

Given that one goal of this thesis was to demonstrate how online media represented the Syrian refugees and the Syrian refugee crisis, I focused on the national press in each country. Specifically, I selected two daily newspapers per country, one of which was the English newspaper with the highest readership and the other was the Arabic newspaper with the highest readership, and I specifically looked at articles published on the selected newspapers' online websites. I chose one Arabic and one English language newspapers from each of the selected host and non-host countries. The main justification for doing so was to offer a more comprehensive and well-rounded outlook on how local media in these countries were covering the Syrian refugee crisis, and in the process find out whether or not there are nuances that

differentiate news published in the two languages regarding their respective coverage of the Syrian refugee crisis.

Sample

I selected *Al Ghad* and *The Jordan Times* as the two newspaper selected for analysis regarding Jordanian media coverage. *Al Ghad* is a privately owned daily newspaper published in the Arabic language. It is the first privately owned and independent newspaper in the country and was founded in 2004. Its website was the most visited website in the MENA region in 2010, and according to a report conducted by USAID, *Al Ghad* is the Arabic newspaper in the country with the highest readership (USAID 2008). Although *Al Rai* has a high circulation number that is a little bit higher than *Al Ghad*, I decided to choose *Al Ghad* instead since *Al Rai* is the sister newspaper for *The Jordan Times*, which is the English newspaper selected from this country. *The Jordan Times* is an independent English news daily that was established in 1975. This newspaper is owned by the Jordan Press Foundation, of which the majority is government-owned. *The Jordan Times* is the only English-language daily newspaper in the country.

I selected *Al Khaleej* and *Khaleej Times* as the two daily newspapers selected for analysis from the UAE. *Al Khaleej* is an Arabic daily newspaper that was launched in 1970 and is considered as one of the most important publications in the Arabian Gulf. It has an estimated circulation of 60,000 (Rugh, 2004) and is published by a private company called *Dar Al Khaleej for Press, Printing and Publishing*. *Khaleej Times* is the oldest and most popular English-language daily in the country. It is owned through a partnership between the UAE government, and a media company called the Galadari Brothers.

In Kuwait, I selected *Al Rai* and *Arab Times*. *Al Rai* is an Arabic daily newspaper and is the most widely circulated Arabic newspaper in the country, with an estimated number of 87,000 (Press Reference, n.d.). It was founded in 1961 and is privately owned by Alrai Media Group and is known for supporting the Kuwaiti government and ruling family. *Arab Times* is the most popular English daily newspaper in the country, and was founded in 1977 and an estimated circulation of 48,000 (Press Reference, n.d.).

In Egypt, the two newspapers I selected are *Al Ahram* and *Daily News Egypt*. *Al Ahram* is an Arabic daily newspaper and the most widely circulating Egyptian daily newspaper. It is owned by the Egyptian government and has an estimated circulation of 900,000 (Rugh, 2004). *Daily News Egypt* is an English-language daily newspaper that was founded in 2005; however was closed and then relaunched again in 2010. It is independently owned and published by Business News for Press, Publishing and Distribution Company, with a circulation of 40,000.

Sampling Method

I used purposive sampling in selecting my articles and given my desire to include a period that would offer a multiyear perspective, I focused on the news stories posted from July 2015 until July 2016. This time-frame included the peak of the European migrant crisis, when the photograph of 3-year-old Aylan Kurdi was released, tensions in Europe were on the rise because of the pressures of hosting refugees, and huge numbers of Syrian refugees were entering Arab countries as well as European countries throughout this period.

I collected the articles by typing in the key words “Syrian” and “refugee” into the newspaper website search tools and only included articles that are primarily focused (70 percent or more) on the Syrian refugee crisis and ignored all other stories that only mention the crisis or

Syrian refugees in passing. Furthermore, I only included full news stories in my sample and excluded any news briefs that contain only 1-3 sentences. Through careful and critical readings of the online news articles, I examined how the two selected host countries, Jordan and Egypt, and the two chosen non-host countries, Kuwait and the UAE, shaped their accounts of the Syrian refugee crisis.

Multistep Purposive Sampling

After collecting all of the articles published between July 2015 until July 2016 for each of the 8 news outlets, I realized that two of the four selected countries – Jordan (host country) and the UAE (non-host country) – had posted too many articles within the selected period. Therefore, I designed a constructed-week sampling for these two countries (which will be explained in more detail shortly). Below is the initial breakdown of each of these countries, corresponding news outlets, and total number of articles posted within the selected time-frame (**before** the constructed-week sampling step):

HOST COUNTRIES:

Jordan (July 2015- July 2016) (**before** constructed week sampling)

Al Ghad: 188

Jordan Times: 325

Total: 513

Egypt (July 2015- July 2016) (without constructed week sampling)

Al Ahram: 24

Daily News Egypt: 46

Total: 70

Total Host: 583

NON-HOST COUNTRIES:

Kuwait (July 2015-July 2016) (without constructed week sampling)

Al Rai: 21

Arab Times: 34

Total: 55

UAE (July 2016-July 2016) (**before** constructed week sampling)

Al Khaleej: 67

Khaleej Times: 181

Total: 248

Total Non-Host: 303

Clearly, the number of articles posted by Jordan and the UAE were comparably large, given the time constraints of completing this thesis. Therefore, I decided to take another step to make the sample manageable. Through process of constructed week sampling, I reduced the number so that it more closely resembled the total number of articles posted by the other two selected countries (Egypt and Kuwait). I started from July 1, 2015 and ended at July 31, 2016. I selected the news stories published on Wednesday of Week 1 (July 1), Friday of Week 2, Monday of Week 3, and so on. If a particular week did not have any article published on the selected day, I went *back* one day and selected the article from that day instead. If there were no articles published on that day either, I went *forward* one day instead. If there were still no articles published on either of these days, I left such a week blank. Below is the **final sample** collected:

HOST COUNTRIES:

Jordan (July 2015- July 2016) (**after** constructed week sampling)

Al Ghad: 44

Jordan Times: 70

Total: 114

Egypt (July 2015- July 2016) (without constructed week sampling)

Al Ahram: 24

Daily News Egypt: 46

Total: 70

Total Host: 184

NON-HOST COUNTRIES:**Kuwait** (July 2015-July 2016) (without constructed week sampling)

Al Rai: 21

Arab Times: 33

Total: 54**UAE** (July 2016-July 2016) (**after** constructed week sampling)

Al Khaleej: 21

Khaleej Times: 51

Total: 72**Total Non-Host: 126**TOTAL # OF HOST AND NON-HOST ARTICLES: 310

As shown above, the sample from one of the countries from each of the host category (Egypt) and the non-host category (Kuwait) was left at 100% of the articles posted from July 2015-2016, while the other country from each of the host (Jordan) and non-host (UAE) categories went through the constructed week sampling process.

Textual Analysis

To address the research questions posed above, I conducted the analysis in several stages. First, I selected one of the countries and one of its corresponding news outlets and I read through each story carefully. The unit of analysis was the full news story, rather than the first few paragraphs or the nutgraph of the story. Although it can be argued that narrowing my examination to the first portion of the story might be enough, and although the majority of the news stories followed the inverted pyramid style (where the information is prioritized and

presented in descending order from most to least important), including the entirety of the news articles was worthwhile because some of the stories were structured differently and I did not want to exclude the content of such articles.

I worked inductively. After going through each article a number of times, I identified the emergent themes regarding what each of the articles focused on. I also looked at how they portrayed the crisis. This included representations of the Syrian refugees, the news outlet's country, other Arab countries (host and non-host), international actors, calls to action, urges for policy changes, and how it chose to contextualize the stories. After identifying the emergent themes, I manually tallied how many times each of these themes occurred in the articles for each of the news outlets. I also created codes and definitions that corresponded with each of these themes in order to facilitate in-depth analyses.

I repeated these steps for the other news outlet for that country and then repeated the steps for each of the other chosen countries and their two corresponding newspapers. Thereafter, I added the total of each of the emergent themes in each of the countries, and then grouped these totals into one host and one non-host category (which will also be separated by its corresponding countries and its news outlets) and calculated the percentages of the themes as well.

Second, I manually tagged the valences that existed in each of the articles as positive, negative or neutral. Rather than categorizing the entire news story as either positive, negative, or neutral, I assigned a tally to every portion of a full story that was positive, negative, and/or neutral. The largest number of tallies that any story produced was three tag lines (positive, negative, neutral). Therefore, sometimes the portion was a paragraph, and sometimes it was longer. For example, if three consecutive paragraphs of a news story were positive, I tallied it one time.

I categorized portions of an article as positive if it favored Syrian refugees, conveyed how refugees have benefited from certain policies/aid, revolved around some type of a success story, and/or focused on how a country assisted the displaced Syrians.

For portions of an article to be considered negative the article would be more focused on discussing the various burdens these refugees have brought to a country, the security threats that they might impose/ have imposed, the sufferings and traumas that they had experienced, or the failure of the international community to respond quickly and efficiently enough to the refugee crisis.

Portions of the articles were considered as neutral if they were more objective in the sense that they present a more balanced picture and are more focused on facts, numbers, and statistics etc. rather than leaning towards either the positive or negative biases.

I then added the totals of these and grouped the totals into one host and one non-host category (which was also separated by its corresponding countries and its news outlets) and calculated the percentages of the occurrence of positive, negative, and neutral articles.

I further examined the sources included in the news articles and tagged each of these articles as inclusive of direct quotes credited to Syrians or not. By sources, I meant the quotes included in the news stories attributed to public officials, Syrian refugees, and/or any others quoted in the articles. I also added the totals of news stories that included direct quotes credited to Syrians and grouped them into one host and one non-host category (which was also separated by corresponding countries and news outlets) and calculated the percentages of the occurrence of quotes included in the news stories by Syrian refugees. In doing so, I was able to examine the extent to which the various news outlets gave voice to the Syrian refugees that they were

covering and/or if they were spoken for instead, whether by public officials, and/or whether or not their comments were paraphrased by the reporters.

Finally, I examined the ways in which the selected countries and news outlets were characterizing the Syrian refugees in their news stories. That is, the terms used to label and describe the Syrians, such as refugees, and/or migrants, and/or asylum seekers, etc. When it comes to displaced peoples, many terms have been used to describe them including migrants (whether legal or illegal), refugees, asylum seekers, displaced persons, and others. I was particularly interested in examining the extent to which the host and non-host countries were referring to the Syrians as refugees, migrants, and/or both. According to the UNHCR, a refugee is defined as “someone who has been forced to flee his or her country because of persecution, war or violence.... Most likely, they cannot return home or are afraid to do so.” (UNHCR, n.d.). Although there is no formal legal definition, a migrant, on the other hand, is understood as “any person who moves, usually across an international border, to join family members already abroad, to search for a livelihood, to escape a natural disaster, or for a range of other purposes.” (UNHCR, n.d.).

Asylum seekers, on the other hand, are defined as people who have formally applied for asylum in another country but whose requests are still under process (UNHCR, n.d.). An asylum seeker may be a refugee, but not an economic migrant (Refugee Council 2019). In other words, an asylum seeker is someone who might claim to be a refugee but has yet to be formally recognized as one by the country that he or she is seeking asylum in. Therefore, according to these definitions, although refugees and migrants might leave their homes using similar routes and transportation methods, a refugee is fundamentally different from a migrant in that refugees are those who are forced to flee their country in the attempt to save their lives due to persecution,

while migrants often consciously choose to leave their country for a better life somewhere else, usually for economic advantage. So, it would be safe to presume that the more accurate term to describe the Syrians would be “refugees” given that they are a group of people who fled the civil war occurring in Syria.

After I examined the terms being used to label the Syrian refugees I also calculated the occurrence of each of those terms and calculated the percentages of each. It is also important to note that overlapping situations where Syrians were characterized as refugees and migrants in the same story did occur at times, which is why the percentages added up to more than 100% for each of the selected news outlets.

In completing the above steps, I was able to compare and contrast between the Arab host and non-host countries. I did not only examine *what* was reported in the news coverage but also *how* these host and non-host countries chose to write about the Syrian refugee crisis, what they chose to focus on, and subsequently what they chose *not* to cover. Below is the coding scheme that I used to analyze the emergent themes.

Table 1: Coding Scheme

Theme	Description	Example
Acknowledgment of Host (Arab)	Article talks about how a given Arab host country is benefitting and servicing the Syrian refugees residing in that country and/or the high numbers of Syrian refugees that country is hosting.	<i>“Another 1.17 million Syrian refugees have sought safety in neighboring Lebanon, and now account for a quarter of inhabitants in that country. Jordan meanwhile is hosting more than 629,000 Syrian refugees, Iraq counts nearly 250,000, Egypt has taken in nearly 132,500 and more than 34,000 others have sought refuge elsewhere in North Africa...”</i>

<p>Acknowledgment of Host (non-Arab)</p>	<p>Article talks about how a given non-Arab host country is benefitting and servicing the Syrian refugees residing in that country and/or the high numbers of Syrian refugees that country is hosting..</p>	<p><i>“In addition to the role of the Turkish authorities in providing suitable conditions for the reception of these refugees, civil society activities have played a major role in this regard, in the provision of social, medical and educational services.”</i> (Translated)</p>
<p>Acknowledgment of Donor (Arab)</p>	<p>Article discusses how much an Arab country is donating towards the Syrian refugee crisis and/or how these refugees are benefitting from such aid.</p>	<p><i>“Kuwait hosted three donor conferences for Syria which collected \$7.7 billion for the refugees. Kuwait also donate \$1.3 billion, adding that Kuwaiti non-governmental organizations had contributed some \$88 million to help the Syrians.”</i> <i>“The number one contribution towards this cause comes from Saudi Arabia, with a whooping 36 percent...”</i></p>
<p>Acknowledgment of Donor (non-Arab)</p>	<p>Article discusses how much a non-Arab country is donating towards the Syrian refugee crisis and/or how these refugees are benefitting from such aid.</p>	<p><i>“In total, the United States – through the USAID’s Office of Food for Peace – has now contributed more than \$1.2 billion to WFP for its Syrian operations... The US is “the single largest donor” of humanitarian assistance for the Syrian crisis...”</i></p>
<p>Syrian Refugees as a Burden</p>	<p>Article conveys the toll that the Syrian refugees are taking on a host community and the negative impacts that they may be having on that given country/area.</p>	<p><i>“The “desperate” situation of these refugees facing severe conditions a few hundred metres north of the border exposes the international community’s helplessness as well as the immense burdens shouldered by Jordan, whose resources have been stretched too thin by the refugee crisis, according to analysts.”</i></p>

Syrian Refugees as Victims	Article conveys Syrian refugees as victims of suffering, and focuses on the hardships, adversities, and/or injustices that the refugees have faced/are facing.	<i>“The World Food Programme (WFP) in December 2014 had to suspend the food voucher programme for the 1.7 million refugees in Jordan, Lebanon, Turkey, Iraq and Egypt, because they couldn’t get the \$64m needed to support Syrian refugees. The effect on Iftar – or on any meal in any month – has been heartbreaking. Think of rumbling tummies of blameless kids in refugees camps. The image is heartbreaking, but the truth is harder still.”</i>
Exposure of Non-Host (Arab)	Article discusses how a given Arab non-host country has closed its borders towards the Syrian refugees and/or how these refugees have been disadvantaged because they have not been able to enter that given country.	<i>“After a Facebook user posted a now widespread famous comment “We will tell our children that Syrian migrants fled their country to come to Europe when Mecca and Muslim lands were closer to them”, Arab countries such as Egypt and the Gulf states were blamed for their passive stance.”</i>
Exposure of Non-Host (non-Arab)	Article discusses how a given non-Arab non-host country has closed its borders towards the Syrian refugees and/or how these refugees have been disadvantaged because they have not been able to enter that given country.	<i>“The government has also held firm despite being in the middle of a tight three- way fight in a very long election campaign and witnessing an international outcry for humanitarian action, galvanized by a drowning that Canada perhaps could have prevented.”</i>
Syrian Refugees as a Security Threat	Article conveys Syrian refugees as criminals/terrorists/those who are harming and/or might potentially harm the safety of a given community.	<i>“A 21-year-old Syrian refugee was arrested after killing a woman with a machete and injuring two other people in the southern German city of Reutlingen on Sunday...”</i>

		<i>“Three Syrian men have been arrested in Germany over an alleged plan to launch a suicide attack there for the Islamic State jihadist group, federal prosecutors said Thursday.”</i>
Tension in Europe	Article focuses on the disputes and clashes between European Union countries regarding how to address the Syrian refugee crisis.	<i>“Opinion across Europe has been increasingly polarized: German soccer fans have unveiled “refugees welcome” banners at matches, while a popular British newspaper columnist called migrants “cockroaches”.”</i>
Exposure of Failure of International Community	Article conveys the lack of solidarity and/or support and/or proactive efforts made towards solving the Syrian refugee crisis, specifically from western regions.	<i>“German MP in the European Parliament, Annette Groth, praised the efforts of Jordan, Turkey and Lebanon towards Syrian refugees, saying that “these countries opened their doors generously to refugees,” putting Europe in a shameful position.”</i>
Highlight Role of Relative Country	Article focuses on how the corresponding country of that given news outlet is benefitting, servicing, and assisting Syrian refugees and making efforts towards solving the Syrian refugee crisis.	<i>“Abu Zeid said that Egypt is home to large numbers of Syrians, who “live like any Egyptian citizen” with access to housing, healthcare and education.”</i>
Exposure of Relative Country	Article discusses how on how the corresponding country of that given news outlet might have discriminated against Syrian refugees or treated them in an exploitative and unjust manner.	<i>“Over the past two years the situation in Egypt has become increasingly precarious and refugees from Syria have faced discrimination and human rights violations,” wrote Amnesty International Egypt researcher Mohamed ElMessiry in an August report. “They have been subjected to verbal attacks and threats in the media and by public figures, to arbitrary</i>

		<i>arrests and detention and, in some case to forcible deportation to Syria or other neighbouring countries in the region.”</i>
Call for International Support	Article conveys given countries who are calling for further support from the international community in order to aid Syrian refugee as well as aid host communities.	<i>“Her Majesty Queen Rania has urged greater support for countries hosting Syrian refugees, warning that failure to extend help will have repercussions on the region’s stability, especially as UN agencies are running out of funds.”</i>
Exposure of Host (non-Arab)	Article discusses how a given non-Arab host country might have discriminated against Syrian refugees or treated them in an exploitative and unjust manner.	<i>“Amnesty International on Thursday accused Turkish authorities of illegally forcing dozens of Syrian refugees to return to their war-ravaged country, condemning the negative repercussions of the EU-Turkey last agreement on migrants.”</i>
Exposure of Host (Arab)	Article discusses how a given Arab host country might have discriminated against Syrian refugees or treated them in an exploitative and unjust manner.	<i>“Unlike other countries, like Lebanon and Turkey, Syrians are welcomed by Egyptians, had rights of ownership of residencies and commercial facilities, and were supported by organizations, like Misr Foundation for Health and Sustainable Development.”</i>
Syrian Refugees as Good/Noble People	Article conveys Syrian refugees as good, decent people who are concerned for the well-being of others.	<i>“A Syrian refugee family that fled to Jordan was able to revive the famed Syrian hospitality, hosting European and American diplomats for a recent iftar at their home.” “Syrian refugee Abbas Taha returned 6 gold bracelets to a Turkish family after he found them in clothes that were offered to him by the family in the city of Maltia in central</i>

		<i>Turkey. The Turkish family decided to sell them and give the money to the Taha family.”</i>
Syrian Refugees as Added Value to Community	Article focuses on how Syrian refugees are not negatively impacting a society, but are actually a positive contribution to a given community.	<i>“Turkish exports to Syria dipped in 2011 and 2012, but have recovered significantly. In the first 10 months of 2015, Turkey exported \$1.3 billion in goods and services there, according to the Turkish Statistical Institute, compared to less than half a billion in 2012.”</i>
Success Story	Article conveys how a Syrian refugee(s) were able to overcome their hardships and become successes.	<i>“A Syrian refugee who had a part of a leg amputated after a bombing will be one of the torchbearers for the Greek leg of Rio de Janeiro Olympic flame relay.” “The Syrian refugee Anas Madmani took a picture with the German chancellor, Angela Merkel, which changed his whole life and allowed him to achieve his dream of settling with his family in Germany.” (Translated)</i>

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS I

In this section, I organized my findings into two main sections: emergent themes and direct quotes and sources. I broke down each of these sections into the relevant countries and their news outlets in order to be able to make comparisons within the host and non-host categories as well as across the host and non-host categories.

Emergent Themes

After reading the news stories published by all eight of the selected news outlets, a number of similar patterns of emerging themes for all four of the chosen countries became apparent. The discourse surrounding the Syrian refugee crisis in these news outlets were similar in that the majority of the themes that emerged were touched on by all of the selected outlets. The difference, however, was in how much each of these news outlets focused on each of these emergent themes.

Regarding how the newspapers portrayed other countries, themes included acknowledging a host country (both Arab and non-Arab), acknowledging a donor country (both Arab and non-Arab), exposing a non-host country (both Arab and non-Arab), exposing a host country (Arab and non-Arab), exposing the failure of the international community, and conveying the tensions in Europe (due to the polarizing views towards the Syrian refugee crisis):

**Table 2: Emergent Themes:
Portrayals of Other Countries**

	Host				Non-Host			
	EGYPT		JORDAN		KUWAIT		UAE	
	<i>Al Ahram</i>	<i>Daily News Egypt</i>	<i>Al Ghad</i>	<i>Jordan Times</i>	<i>Al Rai</i>	<i>Arab Times</i>	<i>Al Khaleej</i>	<i>Khaleej Times</i>
Acknowledgment of Host (Arab)	13%	4%	0	1%	5%	3%	5%	14%
Acknowledgment of Host (non-Arab)	21%	28%	14%	10%	38%	12%	33%	14%
Acknowledgment of Donor (Arab)	0	0	5%	4%	0	3%	0	4%
Acknowledgment of Donor (non-Arab)	8%	0	16%	30%	0	6%	5%	0
Exposure of non-host (Arab)	0	7%	2%	1%	0	0	0	0
Exposure of non-host (non-Arab)	8%	11%	0	4%	0	12%	0	4%
Tension in Europe	13%	4%	2%	6%	5%	15%	10%	4%
Exposure of Failure of international community	8%	15%	11%	11%	0	6%	10%	8%
Exposure of host (Arab)	4%	7%	2%	1%	5%	0	5%	2%
Exposure of host (non-Arab)	0	15%	2%	1%	10%	0	5%	2%

Themes that emerged regarding how the Syrian refugees were represented included portraying them as victims, as burdens, as good/noble people, as security threats, and as added values to the host communities:

**Table 3: Emergent Themes:
Representations of Syrian Refugees**

	Host				Non-Host			
	EGYPT		JORDAN		KUWAIT		UAE	
	<i>Al Ahrām</i>	<i>Daily News Egypt</i>	<i>Al Ghad</i>	<i>Jordan Times</i>	<i>Al Rai</i>	<i>Arab Times</i>	<i>Al Khaleej</i>	<i>Khaleej Times</i>
Syrian refugees as a burden	17%	24%	39%	31%	19%	12%	14%	14%
Syrian refugees as victims	33%	61%	36%	29%	14%	45%	43%	49%
Syrian refugees as a security threat	17%	4%	7%	7%	33%	36%	5%	8%
Syrian refugees as good/noble people	0	4%	2%	3%	5%	0	5%	4%
Syrian refugees as added value	0	0	0	3%	0	0	0	0
Success story	0	4%	7%	1%	5%	0	0	6%

As for how these outlets portrayed their respective countries, the emergent themes were highlighting the role that each of the corresponding countries was playing in the refugee crisis, calling for support from the international community, and exposing the country.

**Table 4: Emergent Themes:
Portrayals of Respective Countries**

	Host				Non-Host			
	EGYPT		JORDAN		KUWAIT		UAE	
	<i>Al Ahrām</i>	<i>Daily News Egypt</i>	<i>Al Ghad</i>	<i>Jordan Times</i>	<i>Al Rai</i>	<i>Arab Times</i>	<i>Al Khaleej</i>	<i>Khaleej Times</i>
Highlight role of relative country	13%	11%	39%	31%	5%	15%	29%	14%
Call for International support	8%	2%	18%	24%	0	6%	14%	6%
Exposure of relative country	0	7%	2%	0	0	0	0	0

Before moving forward, it is also important to note that many of these news stories did not include just one of the themes noted above, but were made up of two or more of these themes. This is because some of these news article sometimes touched on more than one topic, and/or conveyed multiple sides to one story or particular issue being addressed in that news story.

Emergent Themes: Host Countries

Jordan:

In *Al Ghad*, the most common themes in order from most to least, and based on frequency of occurrence (see Tables 2, 3, and 4) were representing Syrian refugees as a burden, highlighting the role of Jordan in the refugee crisis, portraying Syrian refugees as victims, calling for more international support, acknowledging a non-Arab donor country, acknowledging a non-Arab host country, exposing the failure of the international community towards the refugee crisis, focusing on success stories, portraying Syrian refugees as a threat to security, acknowledging an Arab donor country, exposing an Arab non-host country, conveying the tension in Europe due to the refugee crisis, exposing an Arab host country, exposing a non-Arab host country, portraying Syrian refugees as good and noble people, and exposing Jordan.

In *Jordan Times*, the most common themes in order from most to least, and based on frequency of occurrence (see Tables, 2, 3, and 4) were portraying Syrian refugees as a burden, highlighting the role of Jordan in the refugee crisis, acknowledging a non-Arab donor country, representing Syrian refugees as victims, calling for more support from the international community, exposing the failure of the international community regarding its response towards the crisis, acknowledging a non-Arab host country, portraying Syrian refugees as a threat to

security, conveying the increasing tensions in Europe due to the refugee crisis, exposing a non-Arab non-host country, acknowledging an Arab donor country, portraying Syrian refugees as good and noble people, portraying Syrian refugees as an added value to the host communities in which they reside, acknowledging an Arab host country, exposing an Arab non-host country, exposing a host country (both Arab and non-Arab), and focusing on success stories.

Although there were some differences in what *Al Ghad* and *Jordan Times* focused on in their news stories and how much they were focusing on each of the themes noted, the themes were mostly the same regarding both the order of these themes as well as what themes were being touched on by both of the Jordanian newspapers. For example, both of these news outlets focused mostly on the same five themes. These included representing Syrian refugees as a burden, highlighting the role of Jordan in the Syrian refugee crisis, acknowledging non-Arab host countries, portraying Syrian refugees as victims, and calling for more international support. Below is an example of an excerpt from *Al Ghad* that represented Syrian refugees as a burden to the host community:

“Al-Hadid said during the meeting yesterday that the negative effects of the Syrian crisis affected all facilities and vital sectors in the Kingdom and directly affected the level of educational, health and service services provided to citizens.” (Translated)

- *Al Ghad, November 16, 2015*

Jordan Times also represented the Syrian refugees in this way:

“The “desperate” situation of these refugees facing severe conditions a few hundred metres north of the border exposes the international community’s helplessness as well as the immense burdens shouldered by Jordan, whose resources have been stretched too thin by the refugee crisis, according to analysts.”

- *Jordan Times, January 21, 2016*

Another main theme of both Jordanian news outlets was highlighting the role of Jordan in the Syrian refugee crisis:

“The Syrian refugees expressed their deep thanks and appreciation to His Majesty King Abdullah II for his great role in meeting their needs, their assistance and continuous guidance to the government, in addition to their thanks to the Jordanian government and people who welcomed them and shared with them a summit.” (Translated)

- *Al Ghad, May 16, 2016*

Jordan Times also highlighted the Jordanian government’s efforts in the Syrian refugee crisis:

“Cousin spoke of Jordan’s generosity in hosting almost half-a-million Syrian refugees, and praised the government’s initiatives to encourage social cohesion among local and refugee communities.”

- *Jordan Times, August 12, 2015*

Another of the top five themes for both of the newspapers was acknowledging non-Arab host countries:

“Germany, which is prepared to take by far the greatest number of refugees, has begun accepting asylum claims from Syrians regardless of where they entered the EU, even though undocumented migrants are barred from travel across the bloc.”

- *Jordan Times, September 2, 2015*

Portraying Syrian refugees as victims was yet another main theme that *Al Ghad* focused on:

“Rasha Ahmed al-Husain, 13, was a middle school student when she first heard of the Syrian revolution in 2011. She never imagined that she would leave the country for asylum. She arrived there with only pictures of her house and the laughter of her schoolmates.” (Translated)

- *Al Ghad, July 15, 2016*

This theme was also heavily focused on by *Jordan Times*:

“Then a missile struck their apartment building. As the walls crumbled around them, they flung their children under the bed and prayed. They escaped with their lives, and little else.”

- *Jordan Times, November 25, 2015*

The final of the top five themes was calling for more support from the international community:

“He pointed out that the continued cooperation of Jordanians with this situation requires the support of the international community and concerned organizations in all services provided to them.” (Translated)

- *Al Ghad, November 16, 2015*

Calling for more international support was also a main theme for *Jordan Times*:

“But unfortunately, the international community’s intervention is “far from being enough”, according to the UN relief worker, who called for considerable support by the world community for Jordanian efforts.”

- *Jordan Times*, January 21, 2016

Although these themes were amongst the top five for both of the Jordanian newspapers, there were also some differences in what these outlets were discussing. Firstly, *Jordan Times* covered a wider variety of topics in comparison to *Al Ghad*. For example, *Jordan Times* included articles that portrayed the Syrian refugees as being an added value to the host community they were residing in. This was done in 3 percent of the sample (see Table 3), while *Al Ghad* did not focus on this theme at all:

“Turkish exports to Syria dipped in 2011 and 2012, but have recovered significantly. In the first 10 months of 2015, Turkey exported \$1.3 billion in goods and services there, according to the Turkish Statistical Institute, compared to less than half a billion in 2012.”

– *Jordan Times*, January 7 2016

The excerpt above shows how the Syrian refugees living in Turkey were economically benefitting host communities at the borderlands, and how exports to Syria and other neighboring countries were helping Turkey’s exports to Syria return to their pre-war levels.

Jordan Times also touched on other themes that *Al Ghad* did not, such as acknowledging an Arab host country (see Table 2):

“Sheikh Humaid said the UAE is doing its humanitarian duty by alleviating the suffering of Syrian refugees and host communities... Hospital director Khaldun Hashimi presented a briefing on the hospital, which opened in August 2012, with a donation from Sheikh Humaid, noting that 17,000 patients visit the hospital monthly.”

- *Jordan Times*, April 25, 2016

Al Ghad also focused on a theme that was not mentioned by *Jordan Times*, which was exposing Jordan (see Table 4) in a story that conveyed that Syrian refugees were suffering in a Jordanian refugee camp because of the lack of adequate electricity programming:

“ Al-Sibsi said that whoever has a refrigerator has to keep it closed throughout the day to keep the water as cool as possible. He called on UNHCR to reconsider the program to send the electric current to the camp caravans during the hot season as life became "like hell" as he described it.

He pointed out that he was forced to fill his children's clothes with water in order to make them cold, due to high temperatures and their inability to tolerate the harsh weather conditions, especially in the absence of air conditioning in the daytime, due to the current electricity programming that stopped electricity from reaching the camp during the daytime.” (Translated)

- *Al Ghad, August 2, 2015*

The excerpt above illustrates how one particular Syrian refugee is struggling to adapt to the lack of electricity at the refugee camp in Jordan and is suffering due to the extreme temperatures at that location.

Another news story by *Al Ghad* and headlined “Turkey is a destination for Syrian refugees leaving Jordan” conveyed how some Syrian refugees were trying to leave Jordan and travel to Turkey since they did not want to live in Jordan anymore:

“The official Syrian refugee camps in Jordan have been experiencing an increase in the numbers of refugees who are heading to Turkey and who are informing the international organizations working with them that they intend to leave the camp because they want to travel to Turkey.” (Translated)

- *Al Ghad, September 14, 2015*

It is worth noting that although this particular news story conveyed that some of the refugees living in Jordan were unhappy with the standard of living in the country, it was neutralized with those who stated that they were happy to continue living in this country, and defended Jordan's role in the assistance of Syrian refugees:

“He pointed out that the media did not highlight the role played by Jordan in providing shelter for the Syrian refugees and their embrace. He explained that the reception accorded to the Syrian refugee upon his arrival in Jordan by the Arab Army is about fraternal and humanitarian treatment.” (Translated)

“Al-Sibsi said he was "proud of the moment when a Jordanian soldier embraced his child upon his arrival in Jordan," praising the great role played by the Kingdom in serving the Syrian refugees. (Translated)

- *Al Ghad, September 14, 2015*

Both excerpts above come from Syrian refugees residing in the country and, according to the article, were more on the defensive stance towards Jordan and felt that the country was doing an adequate job in helping them adjust to their new environment.

Egypt:

In *Al Ahram*, the most common themes in order from most to least, and based on frequency of occurrence (see Tables 2, 3, and 4), were portraying Syrian refugee as victims, acknowledging a non-Arab host country, representing Syrian refugees as a burden, portraying Syrian refugees as a security threat, highlighting the role of Egypt in the crisis, conveying the tension in Europe due to the rise of refugees, and acknowledging an Arab host country. This was followed by acknowledging a non-Arab donor country, exposing a non-Arab non-host country,

exposing the failure of the international community regarding its response to the refugee crisis, calling for more international support, and exposing an Arab host country.

In *Daily News Egypt*, the most common themes in order from most to least, and based on frequency of occurrence (see Tables, 2, 3, and 4), were portraying Syrian refugees as victims, acknowledging a non-Arab host country, portraying Syrian refugees as a burden, exposing a non-Arab host country, exposing the failure of the international community regarding its response towards the refugee crisis, exposing a non-Arab non-host country, highlighting the role of Egypt in the Syrian refugee crisis, exposing an Arab host country, exposing Egypt, acknowledging an Arab host country, conveying the tension in Europe due to the refugee crisis, portraying Syrian refugees as a threat to security, portraying Syrian refugees as good and noble people, focusing on success stories, and calling for more international support.

Similarly to Jordan's news outlets *Jordan Times* and *Al Ghad*, Egypt's *Al Ahram* and *Daily News Egypt* focused on the same top few themes, including portraying Syrian refugees as victims, acknowledging a non-Arab host country, and portraying Syrian refugees as a burden. Portraying Syrian refugees as victims was the main theme in both newspapers;

“Ever since the start of the civil war in Syria five years ago, the lives of Syrian refugees have been a chain of suffering and misery.”

- *Daily News Egypt, July 27, 2016*

This theme was also evident in the Arabic-language *Al Ahram*:

“The next Syrian youth, although the majority of them have gone through painful experiences and came from terrorist intimidation, might become easy prey to the extremism of another kind found in Germany, the Salafist groups, which are closely monitored by the German authorities, and are involved in the recruitment of young Muslims and sending them to Syria to fight!” (Translated)

- *Al Ahram, September 24, 2015*

Acknowledging a non-Arab host country was another main theme found in both Egyptian newspapers:

“However, Germany, which has been receiving thousands of refugees daily, has led the way in providing support for refugees.”

- *Daily News Egypt, September 8, 2015*

This theme was also focused on in *Al Ahram*:

“Austria provides health insurance for refugees from the moment they arrive on their territory and provide them with language courses.” (Translated)

- *Al Ahram, September 2, 2015*

The third main theme that emerged in both newspapers was portraying Syrian refugees as a burden:

“Turkey has already spent \$6bn on Syrian refugees and is now experiencing severe problems due to the impact of its deteriorating economy and general political uncertainty.”

- *Daily News Egypt, August 19, 2015*

This theme was also found in *Al Ahram*:

“...the Turkish Prime Minister stressed that Ankara does not ask for money from anyone, but what it wants is for the burden of the Syrian refugees to be shared fairly” (Translated)

- *Al Ahram, March 9, 2016*

Furthermore, other than the top three themes focused on by these news outlets, both *Al Ahram* and *Daily News Egypt* touched on mostly the same themes with a few differences. The first main difference between the two is that *Daily News Egypt* covered more themes and topics than *Al Ahram*. For example, some of the news stories published by *Daily News Egypt* portrayed Syrian refugees as good and noble people (see Table 3), while none of the *Al Ahram* news stories from the sample did so:

“The wildfire in Canada has destroyed the homes of thousands of people in Fort McMurray. Many have been evacuated to Calgary, where Syrian refugees are stepping up to support the victims of the wildfire... the two Syrians see it as their duty to help the evacuees because the Canadians helped them get a new life in Calgary when they first came.”

- *Egypt Daily News, May 9 2016*

The passage above shows how a news story published by *Egypt Daily News* and focused on how Syrian refugees were giving back to the host community and doing their part to help Canadian victims of the wildfire.

Other themes covered by *Daily News Egypt* but not *Al Ahram* was exposing Egypt (see Table 4), and focusing on success stories (see Table 3):

“The father recounts that the family lived in Egypt for almost three years, but says they have found “life here in Egypt is unbearable” owing to no employment and limited access to education and health care.”

- *Daily News Egypt, September 5, 2015*

The excerpt above comes from an article by *Daily News Egypt* that describes discrimination and poor living conditions that Syrian refugees have faced in Egypt. It would make sense that *Al Ahram* did not include any articles exposing and/or are critical of the Egypt

since the majority of this paper is owned by the Egyptian government, and therefore it would be unlikely to find such articles since it might place the Egyptian government in a negative light.

Furthermore, although *Al Ahram* covered less of the emergent themes than *Daily News Egypt* (see Tables 2, 3, and 4), this news outlet did cover one theme that was not focused on by the English-language *Daily News Egypt*; acknowledging a non-Arab donor country (see Table 2):

“The US Embassy in Amman announced that the United States will provide an additional assistance of 419 million US dollars to contribute to the resolution of the Syrian humanitarian crisis... the United States is the largest donor of the humanitarian assistance to the Syrian crisis...” (Translated from Arabic)

- Al Ahram, September 23, 2015

As shown in the excerpt above, the news story was focused on showing how the United States assisted the Syrian refugees through relief funding, and highlighting the scale to which this country was doing so through labelling it as the largest donor of the Syrian crisis.

Jordan vs. Egypt

After examining the ways in which Jordan and Egypt covered the Syrian refugee crisis and in terms of the emergent themes in both of these countries, similarities can also be found between the way in which both of these host countries covered the crisis. The most prominent similarity between the two is that both of these countries – and so all four of their news outlets – mostly portrayed the Syrian refugees as victims and as a burden to the host communities that they resided in. Furthermore, similarities can also be seen in how these countries portrayed other countries, with the most common being the acknowledgment of non-Arab host countries.

Regarding the ways in which these countries are representing themselves, all of these countries

are similar in that they all highlighted the roles that each have played in the Syrian refugee crisis and in alleviating the suffering of the Syrian refugees.

On the other hand, there are also some differences in the ways that these two countries approached covering this crisis. These include that Jordan published significantly more stories that acknowledged donor countries (both Arab and non-Arab), while Egypt rarely acknowledged non-Arab donor countries and did not make mention of any Arab donor countries at all. Another noticeable difference between the two host countries is that Jordan focused significantly more on calling for more support from the international community while Egypt published less regarding this theme. Although there were also other differences evident in how much Egypt and Jordan were focusing on the other themes, they were more balanced than the two explained above.

Emergent Themes: Non-Host Countries

Kuwait:

In *Al Rai*, the most common themes in order from most to least, and based on frequency of occurrence (see Tables 2, 3, and 4), were acknowledging a non-Arab host country, portraying Syrian refugees as a threat to security, portraying Syrian refugees as a burden, portraying Syrian refugees as victims, exposing a non-Arab host country, acknowledging an Arab host country, conveying the tension in Europe due to the refugee crisis, exposing an Arab host country, portraying Syrian refugees as good and noble people, highlighting the role of Kuwait in the Syrian refugee crisis, and focusing on success stories.

In *Arab Times*, the most common themes in order from most to least, and based on frequency of occurrence (see Tables 2, 3, and 4), were portraying Syrian refugees as victims, portraying Syrian refugees as a threat to security, conveying the tension in Europe due to the

refugee crisis, highlighting the role of Kuwait in the Syrian refugee crisis, acknowledging a non-Arab host country, exposing a non-Arab non-host country, portraying Syrian refugees as a burden, acknowledging a non-Arab donor country, exposing the failure of the international community regarding its response to the crisis, calling for more international support, acknowledging an Arab host country, and acknowledging an Arab donor country.

Unlike the Jordanian and Egyptian news outlets, we can see that the chosen Kuwaiti news outlets did not share many similarities regarding the top themes covered in their news stories, except for two. These were portraying Syrian refugees as a security threat, and portraying Syrian refugees as victims, both of which were among the top four emergent themes for both *Al Rai* and *Arab Times*:

“The series of attacks on Germany, occurred yesterday, when a suicide bombing organized by ISIS and carried out by a Syrian refugee occurred in the city of Ansbach in the south of the country, causing his death and wounding 12 others.” (Translated)

- *Al Rai, July 26, 2016*

Arab Times also focused on this theme of Syrian refugees as a security threat, and one article discussed the issue of ISIS sending Algerian men disguised as Syrian refugees to European countries:

“Islamic State militants have slipped into Europe disguised as refugees, the head of Germany’s domestic intelligence agency (BfV) said on Friday, a day after security forces thwarted a potential IS attack in Berlin.”

- *Arab Times, February 6, 2016*

Both excerpts above are two examples of how both Kuwaiti newspapers portrayed the Syrian refugees as a threat to the security of a given community. Other than this noticeable similarity, there were also differences between the two Kuwaiti newspapers covered the crisis. For instance, there were numerous themes that *Arab Times* covered that *Al Rai* did not, and vice versa. For example, themes that emerged in the news stories by *Arab Times* and not *Al Rai* included exposing a non-Arab non-host country (12%), exposing the failure of the international community towards its response towards the refugee crisis (6%), calling for more support from the international community (6%), acknowledging a non-Arab donor country, and acknowledging an Arab donor country (3%).

One example of that was published by *Arab Times* and included the theme of exposing a non-Arab non-host country is a news story that focused on Hungary's harsher response towards the refugee crisis:

"Hungary has shut down its border with Serbia and is considering closing down its frontier with Croatia, building a razor wire fence to keep out tens of thousands of people on the move."

- *Arab Times, October 2, 2015*

Although the excerpt above does not specify whether or not these refugees are coming from Syria or elsewhere, the article does go on to mention that "most [of the refugees] are those fleeing the Syrian civil war". Below is another example of an article that was insinuated that the police were responding too harshly to the refugees who were attempting to cross the borders into the region:

“The youths, many wearing hoods and balaclavas, hurled rocks at police who responded with tear gas and stun grenades.”

- *Arab Times, November 2, 2015*

An example of *Arab Times* being critical of the international community’s response towards the Syrian refugee crisis is an article that revolved around Pope Francis’ visit to Lesbos, Greece:

“Pope Francis gave Europe a concrete lesson Saturday on how to treat refugees by bringing 12 Syrian Muslims to Italy aboard his charter plane after an emotional visit to the hard-hit Greek island of Lesbos.”

- *Arab Times, April 17, 2016*

Another example of this theme is an article that conveyed how Greek government officials were disappointed with Europe’s response towards the refugees even though these people were risking and losing their lives to get to the region:

“Greek Prime Minister Alexis Tsipras said Friday that the drownings were a humanitarian tragedy and a shame for Europe.”

- *Arab Times, November 2, 2015*

Calling for more international support is another theme that emerged in *Arab Times* but not *Al Rai*. For example:

“The increasing number of refugees worldwide, namely Syrians, is an “alarming” factor that requires serious attention from the world...”

- *Arab Times, November 22, 2015*

Another example of this theme is an article that focused on the need for the international community to help Syrian refugees, particularly those residing in poorer neighboring countries such as Lebanon and Jordan:

“Kuwait called on the international community here on Tuesday for enhancing the humanitarian relief to Syrian refugees and to exert more efforts in supporting Syria’s neighboring countries in assisting Syrians who took up refuge on their lands.”

- *Arab Times, October 14, 2015*

Acknowledging an Arab donor country was yet another theme that *Arab Times* focused on and was not found in *Al Rai*. For example, one article conveyed the efforts that the Gulf countries were exerting towards assisting Syrian refugees:

“Reflecting the scale of the issue, the G7 group of leading economies and Gulf States pledged \$1.8 billion in funding Tuesday for UN aid agencies helping Syrian refugees.”

- *Arab Times, October 1, 2015*

On the other hand, themes also emerged in the news stories by *Al Rai* and not by *Arab Times*. These included exposing a non-Arab host country (10%), exposing an Arab host country (5%), portraying Syrian refugees as good and noble people (5%), and focusing on success stories (5%).

One example of the theme of exposing a non-Arab host country in *Al Rai* is an article that showed how four German men attacked a Syrian refugee:

“Four men beat a Syrian refugee in front of a ballroom in Stralsund, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, northern Germany... The 27-year-old Syrian refugee, who was in the dance hall before being beaten with punches, suffered bruises and abrasions from the attack Sunday night...” (Translated)

- *Al Rai, November 16, 2015*

The article above was interesting to find especially that other news outlets usually showed Germany in a positive light.

Exposing an Arab host was another interesting theme found in *Al Rai* but not *Arab Times*. For example, one article published was critical of the way that Lebanon was handling the Syrian refugee crisis:

“By the end of 2011, the first signs of Syria’s long-term crisis emerged. However, the Lebanese government has turned a blind eye to the fact that thousands of Syrians are resorting to legitimate and illegitimate ways to Lebanon, considering that the problems in Syria will not last long.” (Translated)

- *Al Rai, December 14, 2015*

Portraying Syrian refugees as good people was another theme that emerged in *Al Rai* but not in *Arab Times*. One news story, for example, focused on how one Syrian refugee and six of his other Syrian friends “saved” an American tourist from sexual harassment during a New Year’s Eve event in Germany:

“27-year-old Kaitlyn Duncan found herself trapped by drunk revelers outside the Cologne train station in Germany on New Year’s Eve, but her fate was to be saved by a Syrian refugee...The neuroscientist student asked that the young men surround her in a circle so they could move through the crowd. They managed to find her boyfriend inside the train station. “I felt a huge relief” she said as she shed tears.” (Translated)

- *Al Rai, January 22, 2016*

The final theme that was found in *Al Rai* but not in *Arab Times* was focusing on a success story. For example:

“Despite the amputation of one of his feet, Syrian refugee Ibrahim Al-Hussein (27 years), will achieve one of his greatest dreams by carrying the Olympic flame Tuesday in the refugee camp of Ilonas in the Greek capital of Athens.”

- *Al Rai, April 23, 2016*

UAE:

In *Al Khaleej*, the most common themes in order from most to least, and based on frequency of occurrence (see Tables 2, 3, and 4), were portraying Syrian refugees as victims, acknowledging a non-Arab host country, highlighting the role of the UAE, portraying Syrian refugees as a burden, calling for more international support, conveying the tension in Europe due to the refugee crisis, exposing the failure of the international community regarding its response towards the crisis, acknowledging an Arab host country. Others include acknowledging a non-Arab donor country, exposing an Arab host country, exposing a non-Arab host country, portraying Syrian refugees as a threat to security, and portraying Syrian refugees as good and noble people.

In *Khaleej Times*, the most common themes in order from most to least, and based on frequency of occurrence (see Tables 2, 3, and 4), were portraying Syrian refugees as victims, highlighting the role of the UAE towards the Syrian refugee crisis, acknowledging a non-Arab host country, acknowledging an Arab host country, portraying Syrian refugees as a burden, portraying Syrian refugees as a threat to security, focusing on success stories. Others include calling for more support from the international community, acknowledging an Arab donor

country, exposing a non-Arab non-host country, conveying the tension in Europe due to the refugee crisis, portraying Syrian refugees as good and noble people, exposing an Arab host country, and exposing a non-Arab host country.

Al Khaleej and *Khaleej Time*'s coverage of the Syrian refugee crisis were similar in that both had the same top four main themes. These included portraying Syrian refugees as victims, highlighting the role of the UAE toward the Syrian refugee crisis, acknowledging a non-Arab host country, and portraying Syrian refugees as a burden (although – as seen in the first two paragraphs of this section – the order of these themes slightly differed between the two).

Below is an example of portraying Syrian refugees as victims in *Khaleej Times*:

“The World Food Programme (WFP) in December 2014 had to suspend the food voucher programme for the 1.7 million refugees in Jordan, Lebanon, Turkey, Iraq and Egypt, because they couldn't get the \$64m needed to Support Syrian refugees. The effect on Iftar – or on any meal in any month – has been heartbreaking. Think of the rumbling tummies of blameless kids in refugee camps. The image is heartbreaking, but the truth is harder still.”

- *Khaleej Times, July 9, 2015*

Al Khaleej also focused on this theme in an article that conveyed the adversities that the Syrian refugees were facing after their arrival in Turkey:

“Some [Syrian refugees] who cannot pay the hotel fare sleep in boxes of cardboard or on the city's public parks, and eat leftover food leftovers from tourist restaurants”
(Translated)

- *Al Khaleej, September 11, 2015*

Another theme touched on by both Emirati news outlets was highlighting the role of the UAE in the Syrian refugee crisis. For example:

“He [Assistant Foreign Minister for Political Affairs] also referred to the UAE as one of the world’s top countries in providing development and humanitarian aid to the developing countries and the affected countries in both material and kind... Since the onset of the crisis in 2011, the UAE has welcomed more than 250,000 Syrian nationals who enjoy full rights to free healthcare, education and work in accordance with the residency system in the country.”

- *Khaleej Times, October 2, 2015*

This theme was also found in articles published by *Al Khaleej*:

“The UAE has affirmed its commitment and contribution through reaching meaningful solutions to the issue of Syrian refugees... Dr Mitha stressed the UAE's strong commitment to support the Syrian people. In 2012, the UAE was one of the first countries to provide humanitarian assistance to Syrian refugees and displaced persons. As the war continued, our support continued. Over the past five years, the UAE has provided more than \$ 600 million and promised \$ 137 million during the last conference in London in February. The UAE's humanitarian assistance to Syrian refugees extends to those in Jordan, Lebanon, Iraq and Egypt, as well as internally displaced persons in Syria.”(Translated)

- *Al Khaleej, April 1 2016*

Acknowledging a non-Arab host country was yet another theme focused on by both news outlets. One example is an article published by *Khaleej Times* that focused on Canada’s plan to resettle Syrian refugees:

“Prime Minister Justin Trudeau will announce on Tuesday his plan to resettle 25,000 Syrian refugees and he says all of 10 Canada’s provincial premiers support bringing that many in. Canada has long prided itself on opening its doors wider than any nation to asylum seekers.”

- *Khaleej Times, November 24, 2015*

Another example of this theme comes from an article published by *Al Khaleej*. This particular news story revolved around a disabled Syrian refugee living in Lebanon who has quadriplegia, and was suffering due to the electricity shortages in the country:

“The British public is participating in the campaign to help Khaldoun Sinjab and it has reached Prime Minister David Cameron, as his wife hopes to move her creative husband to a country that does not cut off electricity and honors its creative people.” (Translated)

- *Al Khaleej, September 11, 2015*

Portraying Syrian refugees as a burden to the host communities was the final theme that both Emirati newspapers touched on. For example, one article published by *Khaleej Times* discussed the financial burdens of the Syrian refugees residing in neighboring Arab countries:

“Turkey, Lebanon, Jordan and Iraq have borne the brunt of the economic impact of the war. Already in fragile situations, many of them are facing tremendous budgetary pressure.”

- *Khaleej Times, March 12, 2016*

This theme was also found in articles published by *Al Khaleej*. For example:

“Jordan has borne the brunt of refugees in the early stages of the crisis. It has received more than 150,000 Syrian refugees in the Za’atari refugee camp, which has rapidly expanded to become the fifth largest city in Jordan.” (Translated)

- *Al Khaleej, October 6, 2015*

Most of the other themes touched on by both of these news outlets were similar with the exception of a couple of themes. For example, *Khaleej Times* published a number stories focusing on success stories (6%), while *Al Khaleej* did not. For example:

“A Syrian refugee who had a part of a leg amputated after a bombing will be one of the torchbearers for the Greek leg of Rio de Janeiro Olympic flame relay... Despite having part of his leg amputated, he trains regularly in the swimming pools and plays basketball, in a wheelchair, with an Athens club.”

- *Khaleej Times, April 22 2016*

The passage above illustrates how one particular Syrian refugee was able to take part in the Olympics, despite suffering through a bombing that resulted in the amputation of his leg. Other themes that emerged in the news stories published by *Khaleej Times* and not *Al Khaleej* included acknowledging an Arab donor country (4%). One article, for example, took a more defensive stance regarding the Gulf countries’ response towards the Syrian refugee crisis through insinuating that the United States did not contribute enough towards the crisis:

“The number one contribution towards this cause comes from Saudi Arabia, with a whooping 36 per cent; and the United States of America comes in only at number three, with 4 per cent of the total collected funds.”

- *Khaleej Times, October 14, 2015*

Exposing a non-Arab non-host country was another theme that emerged in the sample collected from *Khaleej Times* (4%) and was not found in *Al Khaleej*. For example, one article conveyed the harsh treatment the Syrian refugees received from Macedonian police at the border:

“Most of them Syrian refugees, the crowd of several thousand shouted “Help us!” at lines of riot police behind razor wire... Thousands of rain-soaked migrants, including many women and children, remained trapped in a no man’s land between Greece and Macedonia as Macedonian police continued to block the frontier on Saturday, preventing them from heading north to the European Union.”

- *Khaleej Times, August 22, 2015*

Finally, exposing an Arab host country was another theme that was found in *Khaleej Times* (2%)

but not *Al Khaleej*. For example:

“The case, which involves 75 female victims, is considered the worst sex trafficking scandal in Lebanon in decades and has raised questions about who might have shielded and enabled such a vast network... Back in Syria, the young women were told they would get well-paid jobs at restaurants and hotels in Lebanon. But when they arrived, their belongings and mobile phones were taken away, and the women were locked up in two hotels north of Beirut and forced into prostitution.”

- *Khaleej Times, April 13, 2016*

The above quote is excerpted from an article revolved around the sex trafficking issue and the severe abuse of Syrian refugee women that was occurring in Lebanon.

Kuwait vs. UAE

As with the emergent themes and host countries described above, we can also find general comparisons and contrasts regarding how these two non-host countries covered the Syrian refugee crisis. The main similarity between the Kuwaiti and Emirati news outlets is that both of these countries focused heavily on portraying the Syrian refugees as victims. Another similarity between the two countries is that both non-host countries also focused on portraying

Syrian refugees as a burden to other countries that they were fleeing to, including Turkey, Jordan, Lebanon and others. Furthermore, both non-host countries acknowledged non-Arab host countries, although the Arabic-language papers from both Kuwait and UAE did so more than the English-language newspapers.

Although both Kuwait and the UAE focused on the theme of refugees as a threat to security, Kuwait did so significantly more, which is a difference in how these two non-host countries approached covering the Syrian refugee crisis.

Emergent Themes: Host Countries vs. Non-Host Countries

Similarities and differences can also be found in the emergent themes across the host countries (Jordan and Egypt) and the non-host countries (Kuwait and the UAE). Many of the identified emergent themes were touched on by all of the newspapers, regardless of whether or not they are considered host or non-host countries. The extent of their focus on the emergent themes differed at times. The most noticeable similarities between all four selected countries were that they all portrayed Syrian refugees as victims, acknowledged non-Arab host countries, exposed the failure of the international community (except for *Al Rai* of Kuwait), highlighted the role that each of these countries were playing in assisting the Syrian refugees, and conveyed the increasing tensions occurring in Europe due to the refugee crisis.

There were also a number of differences between the themes that the host and non-host countries were focusing on. One difference is that the host countries published – although it was not that many – stories that exposed Arab non-host countries, while the non-host countries did not publish any news stories focusing on this theme. The only exception is *Al Ahram* of Egypt, which did not post any stories exposing Arab non-host countries either. This finding is not

surprising since it would make sense that the Arab non-host countries would avoid posting stories that portrayed them in a more negative manner.

Another difference found between the host and non-host countries regarding the emergent themes in their news stories was that one of the newspapers from each of the host countries – Jordan (*Al Ghad*) and Egypt (*Daily News Egypt*) – did publish a small number of articles that exposed each of its relative countries and conveyed the negative experiences and treatment that the Syrian refugees were facing in these countries:

““The father recounts that the family lived in Egypt for almost three years, but says they have found “life here in Egypt is unbearable” owing to no employment and limited access to education and health care.”

- Egypt Daily News, 5 September 2015

We can see in the excerpt above that *Daily News Egypt* is conveying how a Syrian refugee residing in Egypt is unhappy with the quality of living in the country. On the other hand, none of the non-host countries touched on this theme.

Although I stated earlier that all of the host and non-host countries published stories portraying Syrian refugees as victims, another difference found was that other than one of the news outlets from Egypt (*Daily News Egypt*), the non-host countries published a noticeably higher percentage of news stories that portrayed Syrian refugees as victims than the host countries. Host countries, especially Jordan, published a higher percentage of news stories portraying Syrian refugees as a burden to the country’s already limited resources.

Direct Quotes & Sources

Table 5: Direct Quotes

	Host				Non-Host			
	EGYPT		JORDAN		KUWAIT		UAE	
	<i>Al Ahram</i>	<i>Daily News Egypt</i>	<i>Al Ghad</i>	<i>Jordan Times</i>	<i>Al Rai</i>	<i>Arab Times</i>	<i>Al Khaleej</i>	<i>Khaleej Times</i>
Direct Quotes	8%	26%	14%	14%	5%	24%	10%	30%

Direct Quotes & Sources: Host Countries

Jordan

Other than the emergent themes in the news stories published by the selected newspapers, I examined the extent to which each of the selected outlets included direct quotes credited to Syrian refugees in the news stories. When it came to the host countries, both Jordanian newspapers published a higher percentage of news stories that did not include direct quotes. The results from the selected news outlets from Jordan – *Al Ghad* and *Jordan Times* – showed that only 14 percent of the stories published included direct quotes. Quotes were included by Syrian refugees to give context to a situation, and illustrate certain points made throughout the articles. For example, multiple quotes conveyed the hardships that the Syrian refugees were facing:

“We came here to find that we have to start our lives from scratch.”

- *Jordan Times, March 23, 2016*

The above quote comes from an article that discussed the challenges and struggles with poverty that the Syrian refugees were facing throughout starting their new lives in Jordan.

Below is another example of this:

“I know I’m luckier than a lot of other Syrians who live in tents or beg in the street but that’s not enough to make me happy here,” she says, her voice cracking.”

- *Jordan Times, July 5, 2016*

The first quote above was credited to a Syrian woman during Queen Rania’s visit to a nonprofit center in Egypt. The woman expressed her struggles with poverty and displacement, and was concerned about her family’s future and wellbeing in the country.

Other quotes were included to emphasize the way in which the lack of international funding would exacerbate the living situations of the Syrian refugees:

“It is going to have a huge impact on my family, who live on aid from the good people and the organizations.” (Translated)

- *Al Ghad, July 30, 2015*

The above quote comes from an article published by *Al Ghad*, and shows how one Syrian father was concerned with the fact that the lack of aid meant a reduction in the monthly coupons given by the United Nations to Syrian refugees living outside the refugee camps in Jordanian host communities.

Other quotes were included to convey against the notion that some might associate Syrian refugees with terrorism. For example:

“I would give my life to them just to prove that those millions of Syrians are innocent and have nothing to do with terrorism.”

- *Jordan Times, November 25, 2015*

Other sources included in the news stories published by the Jordanian news outlets were public officials, such as government actors of various countries. Other sources included UN staff, staff from nonprofit organizations, citizens of countries that were affected by the Syrian refugee crisis, military officials, and others.

Jordan Times included many quotes credited to the country's Minister of Planning and International Cooperation, Imad Fakhoury, for example. Such quotes tended to either call on the international community for more support, to portray the burden that Syrian refugees are placing on the kingdom, or to highlight Jordan's efforts in assisting the Syrian refugees. For example:

“This new reality presents a challenge on a whole new scale for development and humanitarian agencies as well as the international community; one that requires a paradigm shift in perspective and mindset,” he said... “For decades, my country has always done the right thing for those who sought its borders for refuge,” the minister said, explaining that Jordan finds itself currently “in the throes of a protracted crisis that has pushed our absorptive capacity to its limits” due to the Syrian crisis, which is now in its sixth year and is by far the most tragic humanitarian crisis of our time.”

- *Jordan Times, May 25, 2016*

The above quote is excerpted from an article that as largely focused on calling for “fair sharing of responsibility” towards the Syrian refugees. *Jordan Times* also included quotes credited to members of the Jordanian royal family including the King Abdullah and Queen Rania. Quotes by Queen Rania were often used to show the human side of the Syrian crisis:

“This is a tremendous crisis; we cannot fail these people,” Queen Rania said, adding: “What is our message to them if we don’t help them? That although you have risked everything to reject an extreme ideology of hatred and division, we are sending you right back to it?”... “Each one of us has to try to do something, because at the end of the day

we are human beings. A little empathy would lead to compassion, and compassion will compel us to act.”

- *Jordan Times, September 11, 2015*

The above was taken from an article that focused on Queen Rania’s interview with CNN. Queen Rania was also quoted in a similar manner in another article that revolved around her call for collective global response during her visit to Lesbos, Greece:

“Refugees are not numbers. They are human beings like you and I, except they have seen unspeakable horror and have experienced unthinkable tragedy and hardship. They risked everything, their families, their possessions just to make it to safety,” she said.

- *Jordan Times, April 25, 2016*

Quotes credited to public officials made up the large majority of the sources mentioned in the news stories by the Jordanian news outlets, and the Syrian refugees were largely spoken for rather than given a voice of their own in these articles.

Egypt

The news stories published by the Egyptian news outlets were also less likely to include direct quotes credited to Syrian refugees. In *Daily News Egypt*, 26 percent of the news stories included direct quotes credited to Syrian refugees while only 8 percent of *Al Ahram*’s news articles included direct quotes. All of the quotes credited to Syrian refugees in *Al Ahram* were mainly included in the news stories to illustrate the Syrian refugees’ sufferings:

“I held my wife’s hand, but it slipped from my hand.”

- *Al Ahram, September 5, 2015*

The quote above was stated by the father of Aylan Kurdi, a 3-year-old child Syrian Kurdish child who drowned in the Mediterranean Sea as he and his family were trying to reach Europe in September 2015.

Similarly to *Al Ahram*, *Daily News Egypt* also made use of direct quotes to convey the adversities that the Syrian refugees were facing. For example, one news story illustrated that the struggles some Syrian refugees were facing who were stuck at the Spanish border:

“It’s very difficult here, there are lots of people and lots of problems,” says a 60-year-old Syrian man who has been staying in the center with his wife and two children since crossing from Morocco two weeks earlier and who does not want to give his name. Despite having a heart condition, he has adamant that coming to Melilla was the right thing to do.

- *Daily News Egypt, November 11, 2015*

Daily News Egypt also used quotes to illustrate certain success stories. For example, one story published by *Daily News Egypt* revolved around a Syrian refugee who sold pens on the streets of Lebanon in efforts to make money for his daughters, and after someone tweeted a photo of him, a crowd-funding campaign managed to raise a large amount of money for him and family:

“The crowd-funding campaign that ensued blew away all expectations. Within four days, people from 89 countries had pledged over \$155,000, and the campaign is set to continue for the next 10 days. “I still cannot fathom how much happiness this gave me.””

- *Daily News Egypt, August 31, 2015*

As with the Jordanian newspapers, the large majority of sources included in the sample of news articles from both Egyptian newspapers were made by public officials, nonprofit workers, UN workers, etc. Egyptian government officials were often quoted to either call for more international support or to highlight the role of the country in assisting the Syrian refugees. For example:

“Despite the ongoing economic difficulties Egypt is facing, it continues to offer help to “brothers from Syria, Iraq, Yemen, Sudan, South Sudan, Ethiopia, and Eritrea”, and there are five million refugees living in the country, said President Abdel Fattah Al-Sisi...”The refugees are treated as if they were Egyptians,” the president said during a speech in celebration of Egyptian Universities Youth Week at Suez Canal University.”

- *Daily News Egypt, September 13, 2015*

The quote above was excerpted from an article published by *Daily News Egypt* and focused on the positive role that Egypt was playing towards hosting Syrian refugees as well as refugees from other nationalities.

Sources by government officials from other countries – specifically those in Europe – that were impacted by the Syrian refugee crisis were often used to reflect the challenges and concerns of these countries. For example, one article published by *Al Ahram* focused on Hungary and Croatia’s response to the large number of Syrian refugees as well as refugees from other countries by closing “the doors of hope to refugees”, and interpreted the tensions between the refugees and border police as a terrorism:

“Hungarian police said they had detained about 500 refugees after trying to enter southern Hungary from Croatia, days after a clash of refugees with Hungarian police when they tried to cross the border from Serbia. "This is an armed attack against Hungary and the Hungarian police from Serbian territory," the Hungarian Prime Minister said in response to the incident. "Serbia did not prevent this attack, which was launched from Serbian territory in any way ... Serbian police were watching their Hungarian counterpart being attacked from Serbia," he said. "What happened was not a migration problem but a threat, a threat and terrorism." (Translated)

- *Al Ahram, September 19, 2015*

Other articles using quotes credited to government officials were shown to convey how western countries were welcoming of Syrian refugees. For example:

“This is a wonderful night, where we get to show not just a planeload of new Canadians what Canada is all about, we get to show the world how to open our hearts and welcome in people who are fleeing extraordinarily difficult situations,” Trudeau told others, including airport workers and volunteers, as they waited to meet the refugees.”

- *Daily News Egypt, December 11, 2015*

The excerpt above was taken from a news story published by *Daily News Egypt* and focused on Canada’s welcome of the first planeload of Syrian refugees in the country.

Jordan vs. Egypt

When comparing the host countries with one another regarding the level of direct quotes credited to Syrians used in their news stories, I found more similarities than differences. The main similarity between Jordan and Egypt is that both of these countries only included direct quotes by Syrian refugees in less than half of the articles published in the sample by all four of the selected news outlets. Concerning the order of how many news stories included direct quotes

credited to Syrians, *Daily News Egypt* published the most news stories that included direct quotes, followed by both *Al Ghad* and *Jordan Times*, and then *Al Ahram* (see Table 5). Most of the sources and quotes included were those credited to public officials.

Direct Quotes & Sources: Non-Host Countries

Kuwait

The non-host countries also published more news stories that did not include direct quotes credited to Syrians. In Kuwait's Arabic-language newspaper, *Al Rai*, only 5 percent of the news stories included direct quotes, while 24 percent of the stories published by *Arab Times* included direct quotes. Although I saw a significant jump in the number of news stories that included direct quotes between Kuwait's selected news outlets, both *Al Rai* and *Arab Times* included quotes made by Syrian refugees in less than half of their news stories. In the one time that *Al Rai* did include a direct quote by a Syrian refugee, it was done to convey how the refugees should not be generalized as an "all good" or "all bad" group of people:

"Ahmed and his friends pointed out that they feared that the Germans and the rest of the Europeans would reach conclusions that would make it very difficult for the new refugees, saying that he and his friends spend most of the day listening to news about the refugees and how "they are bad people who need to go back to their countries." He added that "Just as there are bad people, there are good people as well, but unfortunately no one mentions them." (Translated)

- *Al Rai, January 22 2016*

This quote was given by the previously mentioned Syrian refugee called Ahmad who "saved an American woman" from sexual harassment during a News Year's event in Germany. In this quote, Ahmad was referring to how the media tends to be biased towards portraying

Syrian refugees as bad people, and avoid focusing on the positive aspects that Syrian refugees may bring to a host community.

The English-language *Arab Times* included more direct quotes credited to Syrians in its stories than its Arabic-language counterpart. Most of the quotes in this newspaper were used to convey the hardships of the Syrian refugees. For example, one quote was included credited to a Syrian who was thinking of leaving Turkey for another European country:

“Zafer, 43, fled his country three years ago for Istanbul and is now contemplating Europe, encouraged by a friend who made the illegal crossing to Greece and is now in Germany. “I don’t have a future here, it is very hard. I had a budget but it is running out.”

- *Arab Times, October 5, 2015*

Another example is a quote used by a Syrian woman who was being tried at a Hungarian court for entering illegally:

“The robed prosecutor said the young Syrian’s crime was not coming to Hungary, but choosing a criminal mode of entry. Sara explained she fled her hometown after IS jihadists occupied it. “I saw beheadings, they killed both my parents in-law.”

- *Arab Times, October 11, 2015*

A third example is a quote included that was stated by a Syrian man who was struggling with the living conditions in Berlin:

“At a sprawling camp in the German town of Celle, refugees wearing thick sweaters sit around a heater smoking cigarettes as rain beats down on the camped white tent that has become their home. Some of them are ill and worried it will snow. “The weather is so cold that I can’t leave the tent,” said Taher, a 25-year-old Syrian farmer.”

- *Arab Times, October 19, 2015*

The minority of the articles published by both Kuwait newspapers included direct quotes credited to Syrians, whereas most of the news stories included sources and quotes credited to public officials, local citizens of various countries, and non-profit workers instead.

UAE

The UAE is similar in that less than half of the news stories published by both of the news outlets included direct quotes credited to Syrian refugees (see Table 5). Altogether, 10 percent of the news stories yielded by *Al Khaleej* included direct quotes by Syrian refugees, while 30 percent of the stories published by *Khaleej Times* included direct quotes credited to Syrians. In *Al Khaleej*, only two news stories out of the sample included direct quotes by Syrian refugees. Both stories used these quotes to convey the Syrian refugees as victims. *Khaleej Times* published more news stories that included direct quotes by Syrians, and most of them were also used to convey the adversities faced by Syrian refugees as well as to show how some did not approve Europe's response to the refugee crisis. One example of this is an article that specifically talked about Macedonia and the ill treatment that the Macedonian police apparently gave the refugees at the border:

“Those who could not cross spent the rainy and chilly night in the open with little food and water. They massed close to a razor wire separating them from machine-gun toting Macedonian policemen. Some raised their babies above their heads to try to persuade the policemen to let them through. “These men are heartless,” said Yousef, a Syrian refugee who gave only his first name, as he held a little wide-eyed girl with curly hair in his arms and pointed toward the policemen. “They don’t care about our tragedy.”

- *Khaleej Times, August 22, 2015*

Another example of this comes from an article that focused on Syrian refugees that were struggling to reach Greece from Turkey:

"We are told that Europe will welcome us, but the door is closed in our face," said Abdul, 23, from Damascus. "We will try again every day to reach Greece."

- *Khaleej Times, August 12, 2015*

Both of the quotes displayed above portray the Syrian refugees in a victimized way and both were referring to Europe's response towards the large number of refugees fleeing to the region.

Other quotes were conveyed how Syrian refugees are appreciative of some of the host countries' efforts to help them settle in their countries:

"I like Turkey because in Syria there was a war. Here, I feel safe, but I've never been to school. I'd love to go to school!"

- *Khaleej Times, October 2, 2015*

This quote was by a Syrian child living in Turkey, and although the child expressed his appreciation towards being able to reside in Turkey, he still was hoping that he would be able to eventually attend school and return to his education.

Other news articles made use of direct quotes to convey how Syrian refugees were doing their part in efforts to assimilate within their new communities, particularly those who fled to Europe:

“Their way of thinking, the way of life is different here, but we need to adapt and learn to go with it.

“In Germany there are many rules, but in the end rules help people.”

- *Khaleej Times, January 29, 2016*

Although *Khaleej Times* posted significantly more articles than *Al Khaleej*, the majority of sources used were still those credited to public officials and workers from non-profit and non-governmental organizations, rather than the Syrian refugees themselves.

Kuwait vs. UAE

Concerning the similarities and differences between the two non-host countries’ level of direct quotes used in the published news stories, I found more similarities than differences were found. First, all four newspapers published less stories that included direct quotes by Syrian refugees and mostly included sources and quotes by public officials. *Khaleej Times* published the highest percentage of news stories that included direct quotes credited to Syrians, closely followed by *Arab Times*, then *Al Khaleej*, and *Al Rai* (see Table 5).

Direct Quotes & Sources: Host Countries vs. Non-Host Countries

The news outlet out of both host and non-host countries with the most direct quotes used in the news articles was *Khaleej Times* from the UAE; a non-host country. After *Al Khaleej*,

Daily News Egypt (host country) was the next news outlet with the most news stories that included direct quotes, followed by *Arab Times* (non-host country), then *Al Ghad* and *Jordan Times* (host country), *Al Ahram* (host country), and finally *Al Rai* (non-host country) (see Table 5).

All four countries were similar in that they were more likely to include sources by public officials than by Syrian refugees, even though the stories revolve around these people. Furthermore, direct quotes were used for similar reasons by both non-host and host countries, with the most common reason being to illustrate the adversities that the Syrian refugees had faced throughout their difficult journeys. Therefore, across the board of news stories published by both host and non-host countries, the Syrian refugees were more likely to be spoken for rather than to be given a voice of their own.

Direct Quotes & Sources: Arabic vs. English Newspapers

Another way to compare the results is to look at the similarities and differences between the Arabic and English-language newspapers across the countries. In the case of direct quotes credited to Syrian refugees, the English-language newspapers from both host and non-host countries (*Daily News Egypt*, *Arab Times*, and *Khaleej Times*) were significantly more likely to include direct quotes in their stories than the Arabic news outlets, with the exception of Jordan's *Al Ghad* and *Jordan Times* (see Table 5). In the host countries, 26 percent of the news stories published by the English-language *Daily News Egypt* included direct quotes, while 8 percent of the Arabic-language *Al Ahram*'s news articles did so. As for Jordan, both *Al Ghad* (Arabic) and *Jordan Times* (English) included direct quotes by Syrian refugees in 14 percent of their news articles.

Among the non-host countries, the Kuwaiti English-language *Arab Times* posted 24 percent of its news stories in the direct quotes category, while 5 percent of the articles published by the Arabic-language *Al Rai* included direct quotes credited to Syrians. In the UAE, 30 percent of the English-language *Khaleej Times*' news stories included direct quotes credited to Syrians, and 10 percent of the Arabic-language *Al Khaleej*'s published news articles included direct quotes credited to Syrians.

CHAPTER 5

RESULTS II

In this section, I organized my findings into two main sections: characterization and valence. I broke down each of these sections into the relevant countries and their news outlets in order to be able to make comparisons within the host and non-host categories as well as across the host and non-host categories.

Characterization

*Table 6: Characterization of Syrian Refugees**

	Host				Non-Host			
	EGYPT		JORDAN		KUWAIT		UAE	
	<i>Al Ahram</i>	<i>Daily News Egypt</i>	<i>Al Ghad</i>	<i>Jordan Times</i>	<i>Al Rai</i>	<i>Arab Times</i>	<i>Al Khaleej</i>	<i>Khaleej Times</i>
Refugees	100%	100%	100%	97%	90%	91%	100%	92%
Migrants	21%	15%	7%	9%	14%	52%	34%	25%
Asylum Seekers	8%	11%	0	4%	14%	6%	10%	4%

**Numbers for each of the news outlets add up to more than 100% because of overlapping situations where Syrians were labelled using more than one of the listed terms in the same news story.*

Characterization: Host Countries

Jordan

I analyzed the ways in which the selected news outlets characterized the Syrian refugees in their stories. My analysis of the Jordanian newspapers (*Al Ghad* and *Jordan Times*) showed that both of the news outlets referred to the Syrians as “refugees”. The Arabic-language *Al Ghad* used this term in 100 percent of its articles. The English-language *Jordan Times*, on the other

hand, referred to the Syrians as refugees in most – but not all– of the news stories published (97%).

When it came to other labels used to characterize the Syrians fleeing their country to other regions such as the Middle East, Europe, Britain, and North America, both news outlets in this host country also used terms such as “migrants” and/or “asylum seekers” in their stories. *Al Ghad* used the term “migrants” to refer to the Syrians in 7 percent of its news stories in the selected sample, and *Jordan Times* used this label in 9 percent of its articles. As for the term “asylum seekers”, *Jordan Times* used this term in 4 percent of the sample of articles collected, while *Al Ghad*, on the other hand, did not use this term in any of the selected news stories to characterize the Syrian refugees.

Regardless of the fact that both host countries were more likely to label the Syrians as refugees, there were numerous articles in which these newspapers used both terms “refugee” and “migrants” to refer to the Syrians, and used these terms interchangeably. One example is a news story published by *Jordan Times* in 2015, which used both terms when discussing the Syrians settling in Jordan:

“A reduction in resources and financial aid for the UN World Food Programme (WFP) regarding Syrian refugees in Jordan has meant worsening conditions and decreasing opportunities for the migrants settling in the Kingdom, Executive Director of the WFP Ertharin Cousin has said.”

- *Jordan Times, August 12, 2015*

As shown above, the news story referred to the Syrians settling in Jordan as “refugees” in the lead, and then later on in that same sentence used the term “migrants” instead. Although a number of articles used these terms interchangeably, *Jordan Times* did manage to explicitly state the difference between them:

“Hundreds of thousands of refugees fleeing wars, as well as economic migrants escaping poverty, have arrived in the European Union, confounding EU leaders and feeding the rise of right wing populists.”

- *Jordan Times, September 2 2015*

Furthermore, another article by *Jordan Times* showed how the two terms should not be confused with one another:

“The Queen also underlined the importance of not confusing “refugees” with “migrants”; refugees are not leaving their homes by choice, she said.

- *Jordan Times, September 11, 2015*

Egypt

In Egypt’s news outlets, both *Al Ahram* and *Daily News Egypt* used the same three terms; refugees, migrants, and asylum seekers. The most commonly used term to refer to the Syrians was “refugees”. Both *Al Ahram* and *Daily News Egypt* used the term refugees in 100 percent of the news articles collected. As for the other two terms, migrants was the next most used term. *Al Ahram* referred to the Syrian people as migrants in 21 percent of the selected news stories, and *Daily News Egypt* did so 15 percent of the time. “Asylum seekers” was the third and least used term. *Daily News Egypt* used this term in 11 percent of its news stories, while *Al Ahram* did so in 8 percent of its news stories. Although both newspapers used terms other than refugees to label the Syrians suffering from the repercussions of the Syrian civil war, and did at times use terms interchangeably, *Al Ahram* touched on this issue in one of its articles:

“The division of Europe over the migrant crisis of migrants and refugee expresses itself in several questions: How do we reduce the numbers of migrants from the source? How

can we reduce the number of deaths and drownings or suffocations from these images that are no longer acceptable? Is it an economic refugee crisis? Or an illegal immigrant crisis? Or a people-smuggling mafia crisis? Or a legitimate political refugee crisis?"
(Translated)

- *Al Ahram, September 8, 2015*

The above excerpt conveys the tensions that were occurring in Europe due to the different viewpoints that existed regarding how to deal with such huge numbers of people from not only Syria but other countries as well.

Although Syrians made up the large majority of those fleeing to other countries, they were not the only nationality fleeing to the during this period of time, as those from other nationalities were traveling across international borders including Afghanis, Iraqis, Sudanese, Somalians, and others. Therefore, it is important to note that although these news stories were focused on Syrian refugees, some of the articles published by both of the host countries also made reference to the people of other nationalities as well. In this case, some of the news outlets differentiated the Syrians from other nationalities by using the term “refugee” for those fleeing Syria, and “migrants” for others:

“...The irregular flows of primarily Syrian and Afghani refugees has attracted migrants from other countries and particularly Iran, Morocco and Algeria, yet in late November, Slovenia and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM) shut their borders to all those not from Syria, Iraq or Afghanistan, stranding the rest in Greece.”

- *Daily News Egypt*

As shown above, the news story was distinguishing between those people fleeing from Syria from those leaving from other countries. They consider the Syrians and Afghanis as refugees while those from Iran and the North African countries of Morocco and Algerians are considered as migrants.

Jordan vs. Egypt

The most noticeable way in which Jordan and Egypt were similar concerning their characterization of the Syrian refugees, is that most news outlets from both host countries used the term “refugee” in all of the news stories (with the exception of *Jordan Times*, which used this term 97 percent of the time). This was followed by the term “migrants”, which was the second most used term, and then “asylum seekers”. Another similarity between the host countries is that both used the terms “refugee” and “migrants” as synonyms in some of the articles published. Furthermore, at times, both countries also distinguished the Syrians from other refugees and migrants by labelling the Syrians as exclusively “refugees”, but the entire group of people on the move as migrants. The main difference between Jordan and Egypt is that Egypt used the term “migrants” significantly more than the Jordanian news outlets did (see Table 6).

Characterization: Non-Host Countries

Kuwait

Similarly to the host countries, Kuwaiti news outlets mostly referred to the Syrians in their news stories as “refugees”. In *Al Rai*, 90 percent of the news stories referred to the Syrians as refugees, and *Arab Times* referred to them as refugees in 91 percent of the news stories selected. After that, the next most common label used was “migrants”, with *Arab Times* using this term in over half of their news stories (52 %), and *Al Rai* using this term 14 percent of the time. “Asylum seekers” was the other term used. *Al Rai* used this term in 14 percent of the sample, and *Arab Times* did so in 6 percent of the news stories published.

Although “refugee” was the term most commonly used by both Kuwaiti news outlets, the terms “refugee” and “migrant” were also used interchangeably at times. Sometimes, the headline would label the Syrians as refugees but would refer to the same group of people as migrants (or vice versa). One example of this is a news story published by the Kuwaiti English-language newspaper *Arab Times*, with the headline “13 including 6 children drown off Greece – protestors target border fence after refugee deaths” :

“At least 13 migrants, six of them children, drowned as two boats making the hazardous crossing from Turkey capsized in the Aegean Sea off Greece on Sunday, the coastguard said. The first tragedy occurred off the island of Samos when a boat overturned just 20 metres from shore. Ten bodies – including six children, four of them babies – were found in the vessel’s cabin while that of a girl was washed up on the island, where dozens of refugees have perished trying to reach Europe in recent days.”

- *Arab Times, November 2, 2015*

The above passage shows that not only did the term used in the headline not fit the first sentence of the lead, but the two terms were also used interchangeably. In other words, the term “refugee” was used in the headline, whereas the term “migrants” was used in the first sentence instead. Furthermore, by the end of that same paragraph, the term “refugees” was used to refer to the same group of people that were labelled as “migrants” earlier on. The article did not specify the nationalities of these people but later on it does mention that most were “believed to be from Syria”.

There were also instances where the terms “migrants” and “refugees” were used interchangeably within the same news article. First, the man was referred to as a migrant:

“Bavarian Interior Minister Joachim Hermann said earlier that a 27-year-old Syrian migrant who was scheduled to be deported to Bulgaria for the past two weeks had been “sponsored” by ISIS before carrying out the attack.” (Translated)

- *Al Rai, July 26, 2016*

However, later on in the same article, *Al Rai* used the term “refugee” to label that same man:

“A spokesman for the Federal Ministry of the Interior in Berlin said that the Syrian refugee responsible for the Ansbach bombing was supposed to be deported to Bulgaria.” (Translated)

- *Al Rai, July 26, 2016*

Both excerpts above were taken from a news article revolving around the bombing that occurred in Germany by a Syrian refugee. There were also times where the Kuwaiti news outlets referred to the Syrians as “migrants” exclusively. One example of this is in a news article published by *Arab Times* in October, 2015. This article was referring to the entire group of people fleeing to Europe, which included Syrians as well as those from other areas.

UAE

As for the Emirati news outlets, 100 percent of the news stories published by *Al Khaleej* used the term “refugees” to refer to Syrians, and 92 percent of the news stories published by the English-language *Khaleej Times* did so. After “refugees”, “migrants” was the next most commonly used description. *Al Khaleej* made use of this in 34 percent of the articles published and *Khaleej Times* did so in 25 percent of the news stories. “Asylum seekers” was the least used

term when referring to the Syrians. *Al Khaleej* characterized the Syrians as “asylum seekers” in 10 percent of the news stories, and 4 percent of the *Khaleej Times* selected news stories used this term.

Although both of the Emirati newspapers mostly used the term “refugees” when discussing Syrians, they also used this term interchangeably with “migrants”. Furthermore, the term “migrants” was also used exclusively at times when referring to Syrians; rather than using the terms “refugee” and “migrants” interchangeably. For example, a story published by *Khaleej Times* used the term “migrants” to refer to the displaced Syrians:

“It said a boat carrying 16 Syrian migrants had sunk after leaving the Akyarlar area of the Bodrum peninsula, and seven people had died...”

- *Al Khaleej, September 2 2015*

As seen above, *Al Khaleej* specifically used the term “Syrian migrants” rather than “Syrian refugees”, and continued using the term migrants when discussing Syrians as well as other nationalities throughout the rest of that news story. Another article published by *Khaleej Times* also used the term “migrants” in a contradictory manner:

“At an emergency summit that finished on Tuesday, EU and Turkish leaders agreed to take “bold moves” to resolve a crisis that is tearing at the EU, where an initial welcome for migrants fleeing war in Syria, Iraq, and Afghanistan – has turned increasingly toward rejection.”

- *Khaleej Times, March 12 2016*

The above, shows how the phrase “migrants fleeing war” was used to refer to Syrians, as well as people from other nationalities, who were running from the wars in their countries, and

therefore fit the definition of “refugee”. In this case, however, these peoples were characterized as “migrants”. The article did go on to label these people as refugees. This might be an indication of the confusion and misperceptions that might exist regarding the distinctions between such terms.

Kuwait vs. UAE

After comparing Kuwait with the UAE regarding the ways in which their respective news outlets characterized the Syrians, I found more similarities than differences. First, both non-host countries mostly used the term “refugees”, followed by “migrants”, and then “asylum seekers”. Another similarity between the two is that both countries tended to use “refugees” and “migrants” interchangeably. Furthermore, there were times – although this did not happen often – when both Kuwait and UAE referred to the Syrians as exclusively “migrants”, rather than using it as a synonym with “refugee”.

The main difference between Kuwait and the UAE in this category is that the Kuwaiti news outlets yielded a higher percentage of news stories that referred to the Syrians as “migrants” than did the Emirati newspapers, and the Emirati newspapers had a higher percentage of news articles that labelled the Syrians as “refugees” than the Kuwaiti news outlets (see Table 6).

Characterization: Host Countries vs. Non-Host Countries

When comparing host countries with non-host countries regarding the terms they used to label the Syrians fleeing from civil war, I found more similarities and differences. As shown in

Table 6, all eight of the chosen news outlets used the term “refugee” to refer to the Syrians the majority of the time (over 90%).

Another interesting factor and similarity between the host and non-host countries regarding the characterization of the Syrian refugees was that all of the news outlets, host and non-host countries referred to the Syrians as both refugees *and* migrants and used these terms interchangeably throughout many of the news stories that were published within the selected period. Furthermore, all of the news outlets in my sample also made use of the term “asylum seekers”, although all of them did so sparingly.

The main difference between the ways in which host and non-host countries characterized the Syrian refugees was that, the non-host countries published more articles that used the term migrants to refer to the Syrians than the host countries did. The exceptions were Egypt’s (host) *Al Ahram* and Kuwait’s (non-host) *Al Rai*.

Valence

Table 7: Valence

	Host				Non-Host			
	EGYPT		JORDAN		KUWAIT		UAE	
	<i>Al Ahram</i>	<i>Daily News Egypt</i>	<i>Al Ghad</i>	<i>Jordan Times</i>	<i>Al Rai</i>	<i>Arab Times</i>	<i>Al Khaleej</i>	<i>Khaleej Times</i>
Positive	20%	15%	25%	24%	15%	11%	25%	15%
Negative	36%	42%	26%	27%	33%	43%	22%	34%
Neutral	44%	43%	49%	49%	52%	46%	53%	51%

Other than examining the emergent themes in the news stories published, I was curious to know whether or not host or non-host countries were more likely to publish positive, negative, or neutral stories regarding the Syrian refugee crisis. Rather than labelling entire news stories as exclusively positive, negative, or neutral, I took apart each story and tallied whenever instances when parts included positive, negative, and/or neutral valences. As done above in the Emergent Themes section, I broke down the results in each of the host countries and compared and contrasted them with one another. I did the same for the non-host countries and after that I compared and contrasted across the host and non-host countries. I also looked at the as well as differences between the Arabic and English newspapers.

Valence: Host Countries

Jordan:

In Jordan, selected news outlets had similar results regarding their coverage of the Syrian refugee crisis. Both *Al Ghad* and *Jordan Times* published stories that included mostly the neutral valence (49% in *Al Ghad*, and 49% in *Jordan Times*). This was followed by news stories with the negative valence in both *Al Ghad* (26%) and *Jordan Times* (27%), and then articles that included positive valences (25% in *Al Ghad* and 24% in *Jordan Times*). Although the news stories published largely focused on the neutral valence, we can see that there was also a balance between the percentages of the negative and positive tones of the news stories that were published. Regardless, both Jordanian news outlets made use of the negative valence more often than the positive. Such stories usually revolved around portraying Syrian refugees as a burden, and/or focusing on the adversities and the plight of the Syrian refugees and their journeys:

““The “desperate” situation of these refugees facing severe conditions a few hundred metres north of the border exposes the international community’s helplessness as well as the immense burdens shouldered by Jordan, whose resources have been stretched too thin by the refugee crisis, according to analysts.”

- *Jordan Times, January 21 2016*

Another article published by *Jordan Times* also illustrate the burdens faced by Jordan as a result of hosting large numbers of Syrian refugees:

“Elaborating on the burden shouldered by Jordan and its impact, Fakhoury said the Kingdom has been facing over the past five years a “slow-motion Tsunami”, which resulted in growing needs, regressing hard- earned development gains, increased public debt and is impacting the country’s sustainable development path.”

- *Jordan Times, May 25 2016*

Both of the excerpts above are examples of paragraphs from two news stories published by *Jordan Times* and illustrate how the focus on the negative effects and burden that Syrian refugees have placed on Jordan’s resources transformed the valence of these passages into negative. Stories with a more positive valence, on the other hand, tended to revolve around other topics, such as success stories, highlighting the role that Jordan was playing in helping to alleviate the challenges faced by the Syrian refugees, and/or acknowledging how other countries have assisted the Syrians:

“The Syrian refugee Anas Madmani took a picture with the German chancellor, Angela Merkel, which changed his whole life and allowed him to achieve his dream of settling with his family in Germany.” (Translated)

- *Al Ghad, March 12, 2016*

The passage above comes from an article that focuses on how one selfie that went viral allowed for a 19-year-old Syrian to reunite with his family in Germany after a difficult journey to Germany from Syria, to Greece, and then to Germany.

Egypt:

Egypt's *Al Ahram* (44%) and *Daily News Egypt* (43%) published stories that were mostly neutral, followed by stories that included the negative valence (36% in *Al Ahram*, and 42% in *Daily News Egypt*), and then stories that included the positive valence (20% in *Al Ahram*, and 15% in *Daily News Egypt*). Both *Al Ahram* and *Daily News Egypt* also focused mostly on portraying Syrian refugees as victims, which affected the valence of the news stories and made it more negative:

"The child's father told Turkish news agency Dogan how his sons and mother died with nine other Syrian refugees when their boat sank overnight as they tried to reach the Greek island of Kos, which is a gateway to the European Union. "I held my wife's hand, but I slipped from my hand," he said. During the funeral, Kurdi said his family members were victims with many dead others in Syria. "I hope that a solution to the Syrian crisis will be found."" (Translated)

- *Al Ahram, September 5 2015*

Another example of this is a news story published by *Egypt Daily News*:

"The image has a heartbreaking effect. Abdul Halim Atar, visibly exhausted on a crowded street in the Lebanese capital, selling his blue pens. This was his daily routine, and he would take his four-year-old daughter along with him. When this picture was taken, Reem had fallen asleep, her head resting on her father's shoulder."

- *Egypt Daily News, 31 August 2015*

The first excerpt above comes from an article that focuses on the photograph of three-year-old Aylan Kurdi washed up on shore. The second passage I excerpted taken from a story that described how a Syrian refugee father in Lebanon resorted to selling pens on the streets to make a living so that he could care for his daughters. Although the majority of the news articles published by both Egyptian newspapers included more of the negative valence, a number of stories did also include a more positive tone. Such articles revolved mostly around success stories, and highlighting Egypt's role in the Syrian refugee crisis, and/or acknowledging other countries for their part in assisting refugees:

“In a TV interview with CTV News Saima Jamal says seeing the Syrian families taking initiative was a proud moment for her. “Mind you, these refugees have very little, everything in their own household is a donated item,” she said “[...]they saw in the last five months how much the Canadians have done for them [...], they were waiting for an opportunity to give back. Many users are applauding the Syrian refugees for their efforts on social media.”

- *Daily News Egypt, May 9, 2016*

The above excerpt from *Egypt Daily News* comes from a news story that describes how Syrian refugees stepped up to help victims from the wildfire in Canada that destroyed the homes of thousands. The article serves as one example of a positive valence through not only acknowledging Canada in its efforts to host Syrian refugees, but also through portraying Syrian refugees as good and noble people.

Jordan vs. Egypt

The main similarity between Jordan and Egypt is generally in the way that they covered the Syrian refugee crisis, and both of these host countries published the highest percentage of

news stories that included neutral aspects, followed by negative aspects, and then positive. The difference lay, however, in the fact that both of the chosen news outlets in Jordan were more likely to include neutral features to their stories than Egypt, both of the news outlets in Egypt were more likely to include negative features in the stories published than Jordan, and both outlets in Jordan published more news stories that included positive aspects in their stories than Egypt. Furthermore, although there were fluctuations between the percentages of positive and negative news stories published by both of these countries, Jordan's were generally more balanced than Egypt's.

Valence: Non-Host Countries

Kuwait:

In Kuwait, both *Al Rai* (52%) and *Arab Times* (46%) published news stories that were mostly neutral. This was followed by negative stories for both *Al Rai* (33%) and *Arab Times* (43%), and so news stories that included a positive tone regarding this topic were the least (15% in *Al Rai* and 11% in *Arab Times*). This also shows that there was less balance between these three types of stories, especially in *Arab Times*, where a significant jump can be found between the positive and negative valences found in the news stories. The percentages of news stories with neutral features (46%) and negative features (43%) were very close to one another. Furthermore, in *Arab Times*, over three quarters of the news stories published were leaning to the negative side (43%), and although this percentage was higher than that of the stories that included negative aspects in *Al Rai* (33%), both of these news outlets published notably more stories leaning more towards the negative than the positive valences:

“The series of attacks on Germany, occurred yesterday, when a suicide bombing adopted by ISIS and carried out by a Syrian refugee in the city of Ansbach in the south of the country, causing his death and wounding 12 others.” (Translated)

- *Al Rai, July 26 2016*

Another example is a news story published by *Arab Times*:

“The Lebanese army commander says camps that are home to refugees from neighbouring Syria represent a growing security risk as potential hideouts for militants who have been preventing from using other areas to launch attacks and rig care bombs.”

- *Arab Times, 28 November 2015*

Both passages above are focused on the ways in which Syrian refugees have been a threat to the security of a host community, and therefore had a negative valence. Additionally, as mentioned earlier, both news outlets from Kuwait also focused a lot on publishing stories that conveyed Syrian refugees as victims. For example, one article published by *Al Rai* focused on how one particular Syrian refugee spent seven hours swimming from Turkey to Greece, and then walked for another seven or more hours to reach his destination:

“Amir Mukhtar said he was not the only one who passed 8 kilometers from Turkey to the Greek island of Samos. Amir had to walk after that exhausting trip for more than seven hours to reach the port and spend another month on the road to reach his final destination in Sweden.” (Translated)

- *Al Rai, December 22 2015*

Another example is an article published by *Arab Times* that focused on the issue of child labor among Syrian refugees living in Lebanon who are forced to make a living for their families:

“Some, like 15-year-old Mohannad al-Ashram, are forced to become breadwinners for their families. His father died two years ago in Syria from an illness, and since arriving in Lebanon two and a half years ago, he has worked at a small supermarket to pay the rent for the tiny apartment where he and his mother and three sisters live.”

- Arab Times, June 7 2016

The heavier negative valences found can be explained by the fact that both Kuwaiti newspapers heavily portrayed Syrian refugees as victims, as shown in the excerpts above.

UAE:

News outlets from the UAE mostly included the neutral valence in the news stories published regarding the Syrian refugee crisis (53% for *Al Khaleej* and 51% for *Khaleej Times*). Unlike the previous countries, after the neutral valence, the UAE news outlets differ in that *Al Khaleej* published news stories that were mostly positive (25%), and then negative (22%), whereas *Khaleej Times*, published mostly negative news articles (34%), followed by positive (15%). One example of a story including the positive valence is presented below:

“Ali, 31, wants to cross the Aegean Sea to EU member Greece in the hope of reaching Britain or Germany, especially as Berlin has decided to welcome more refugees ... “I know that from now on, we will get more respect in Europe because at least we have a chance. I was touched when some people in Europe offered us their homes.” (Translated)

- Al Khaleej, September 11 2015

Another example of the positive valence is from a news story published by *Al Khaleej*:

“The UAE has affirmed its commitment and contribution through reaching meaningful solutions to the issue of Syrian refugees...Dr Mitha stressed the UAE's strong commitment to support the Syrian people. In 2012, the UAE was one of the first countries to provide humanitarian assistance to Syrian refugees and displaced persons. As the war

continued, our support continued. Pointing out that over the past five years, the UAE has provided more than \$ 600 million and promised \$ 137 million during the last conference in London in February. The UAE's humanitarian assistance to Syrian refugees extends to those in Jordan, Lebanon, Iraq and Egypt, as well as internally displaced persons in Syria.” (Translated)

- *Al Khaleej, April 1 2016*

The first excerpt is an example of a news story that acknowledged a non-Arab host country (in this case it was Germany and Britain) that decided to receive more Syrian refugees, and the second quote is an example of a new story published by *Al Khaleej* that highlighted the role that the UAE was playing in the Syrian refugee crisis. As for *Khaleej Times*, most of the news stories published were negative:

“Syrians are so desperate to escape the nightmare conditions in their country that they made up a third of the 137,000 people who flooded across the Mediterranean to Europe during the first half of 2015 – many in rickety boats and at the mercy of human traffickers...”

- *Al Khaleej, July 9 2015*

Another example of a negative valence found in *Al Khaleej*:

“Families fathers around open fires in fields soaked by rain overnight. They had no access to shelter and little food or water.”

- *Al Khaleej, August 22 2015*

As shown above, these excerpted quotes portrayed the Syrian as victims, and because they focused on describing the challenges and miseries that these displaced people faced, the stories lean more to the negative side.

Kuwait vs. UAE:

When comparing these non-host countries with one another, two main similarities can be found. First, all four of the news outlets for both Kuwait and the UAE published stories that included mostly neutral aspects. The second main similarity is that, after that, most of the news outlets – other than *Al Khaleej* – published mostly negative news stories, and then was followed by positive stories. Interestingly, *Al Khaleej*'s news stories are flipped in that after the neutral valence, most of the news stories published were mostly leaning to the positive side, and then negative. Another difference is that the percentages between the positive (25%) and negative (22%) news stories published by *Al Khaleej* were relatively balanced, whereas there were more dramatic differences between the percentages of the positive and negative tones in the stories published by the other three selected non-host country news outlets.

Valence: Host Countries vs. Non-Host Countries

As shown above, the main similarity between all of the news outlets, host and non-host countries published news stories that were mostly on the neutral side. *Jordan Times* (host) was the news outlet that yielded the highest percentage of news stories that included the neutral tone, which was followed closely by both news outlets from the UAE (non-host), then *Al Ghad* (host), followed by *Arab Times* (non-host), *Daily News Egypt* (host), *Al Ahram* (host), and finally *Al Rai* (non-host). It is difficult to determine whether or not a host or a non-host country is more likely to publish stories that are more likely to lean towards the neutral side since the order is random and I did not find a significant pattern.

After that, another main similarity between the host and non-host countries is that all of the new outlets – except for *Al Khaleej* from UAE – were more likely to publish news stories that

included negative tones regarding the Syrian refugee crisis. *Arab Times* (non-host) published the highest percentage of negative stories, followed by *Daily News Egypt* (host), *Khaleej Times* (non-host), *Al Ahram* (host), *Jordan Times* (host), *Al Ghad* (host), *Al Khaleej* (non-host), and then *Al Rai* (non-host). Here, there is no notable pattern regarding whether or not a host or a non-host country is more likely to publish news stories with a more negative tone, since the order of these news outlets are more random.

As for the news stories leaning towards a more positive tone, *Jordan Times* (host) published the highest percentage of positive stories, and this was followed by *Al Ghad* (host), *Al Khaleej* (non-host) and *Al Ghad* (host), *Al Ahram* (host), *Khaleej Times* (non-host), *Daily News Egypt* (host), *Arab Times* (non-host), and *Al Rai* (non-host) (see Table 7). In this case, a pattern can be found in that the host countries were more like to post stories with a more positive tone, particularly Jordan, and non-host countries were least likely to post news stories in this tone, especially Kuwait.

Valence: Arabic vs. English Newspapers

I observed some patterns when I reviewed the valence of the news stories from the perspective of Arabic and English-language newspapers. First, the most prominent valence across all of the Arabic and English newspapers in both host and non-host countries was neutral, followed by negative, and then positive, as seen previously (See Table 7).

A noticeable difference between the Arabic and English news outlets was when comparing the levels of the negative valence found in the news stories published. For instance, all English-language newspapers of all countries (both host and non-host) published significantly more news articles that had the negative valence than the Arabic newspapers. The only exception

of this was Jordan, where even though the English-language *Jordan Times* did publish slightly more news articles with negative aspects (27%) than *Al Ghad* (26%), the difference in percentages between the two was not as dramatic as the others. In Egypt, the negative valence was found in 42 percent of *Daily News Egypt's* news stories, while 36 percent of *Al Ahram's* stories included the negative valence. In Kuwait, 43 percent of the English-language *Arab Times'* articles had the negative valence, and 33 percent of *Al Rai's* did so. As for the UAE, 34 percent of *Khaleej Times'* stories included the negative valence, while 22 percent of the articles published by the Arabic-language *Al Khaleej* included this valence.

As for the differences and similarities found regarding the level of the positive valence found in the news stories, the percentages were mostly relatively balanced between the Arabic and English-language newspapers. The only dramatic difference that I found was that the Arabic language *Al Khaleej* from the UAE published a higher percentage of news stories with the positive tone (25%), compared to its English-language counterpart *Khaleej Times* (15%).

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION & CONCLUSION

In the previous chapter I presented results that answered each of the six research questions that I posed at the beginning of this study. This chapter is focused on my interpretations of the findings and will offer well-considered reasons and explanations for the results presented. As I did with Chapters 4 and 5, this chapter will be broken down into four main sections that correspond to each of the research questions: emergent themes, direct quotes and sources, characterization, and valence. I will end the chapter with my conclusions, limitations, and recommendations for future studies.

Emergent Themes

Although Egypt and Jordan shared numerous similarities regarding how they covered the Syrian refugee crisis, specifically concerning the themes that they focused on, Jordan focused more on acknowledging Arab and non-Arab donor countries than Egypt did. Whereas this theme was rarely focused on and in the case of Arab donor countries, both Egyptian news outlets didn't acknowledge any at all in the selected sample of news stories. An explanation for this difference could be simply that Jordan received more international aid than Egypt did. It is public information that Jordan hosts a larger number of Syrian refugees in the country; according to UNHCR figures, Jordan officially hosts 673,414 registered Syrian refugees while Egypt officially hosts 131,504 Syrian refugees (UNHCR 2018). Therefore, it would be logical to assume that more stories were published to acknowledge their countries' assistance and express

gratitude for such assistance, as well as to convey to not only the general public but also donor countries the ways in which the refugees were benefitting from their aid.

Another difference between the themes focused on by Jordanian and Egyptian newspapers was that Jordan published a significantly higher percentage of news stories that focused on calling for more support from the international community. This might be for the same reason that Jordan hosted a larger number of Syrian refugees than Egypt did. In addition, the government as well as the general public might have felt a greater burden and strain on its already limited resources due to these large numbers in comparison to Egypt. It is therefore conceivable that Jordanian journalists might have felt the need to publish more stories that culminated in this theme.

As with the host countries, the non-host countries in my sample also shared some similarities and differences regarding the themes focused on in their news stories. The main similarity between the Kuwaiti and Emirati news outlets was that all four focused heavily on portraying the Syrian refugees as victims. This was interesting – particularly in the case of Kuwait – given that this country also simultaneously focused on portraying the Syrian refugees a security threat, and did so at a significantly higher level than the UAE did. It was interesting to note that Kuwait would also heavily focus on portraying the Syrian refugees as victims and at the same time also focus on portraying them as a threat to a host community's security since these two themes are quite contradictory. On the one hand, Syrian refugees were portrayed as innocent groups of people who suffered due to the civil war and the challenging journeys they faced. On the other hand they were portrayed as people associated with terrorism and/or those who are harming local residents of other host countries (Arab and non-Arab). Perhaps this should only be said for Kuwait's English-language *Arab Times*, where the percentages of both themes were

more or less balanced. In the Arabic-language *Al Rai*, however, the newspaper did focus more heavily on the security threat theme in comparison to the victimization theme.

The association of Syrian refugees with terrorism are also echoed in the findings of prior studies that focused on non-Arab media. For example, Dimitrova et al.'s (2018) study showed that the Bulgarian media, which was categorized as a non-host country – heavily used the security threat frame portray the Syrian refugees. This can also be seen in the findings of this thesis, especially in the case of Kuwait. Additionally, Fotopoulos and Kaimaklioti's (2016) findings conveyed that British media were likely to use words such as “terrorists”, “ISIS”, and “terrorism”, when referring to the Syrian refugees. Furthermore, Tyyska et al.'s (2018) study also showed that western media focused on associating Syrian refugee men with terrorism.

After comparing across the host and non-host countries, I found a few interesting results regarding the emergent themes. Firstly, it was interesting to find that all of these countries published significantly more news stories that acknowledged non-Arab host countries rather than Arab host countries. This can be said for all of the news outlets except for *Al Khaleej* of the UAE, which published the same number of stories acknowledging both Arab and non-Arab host countries. The fact that more news stories were published that acknowledged non-Arab host countries in comparison to those that acknowledged Arab host countries was thought-provoking, especially considering that the majority of the Syrian refugees had fled to and were living in Arab countries neighboring Syria (over 2 million registered Syrian refugees, according to UNHCR). A reason that might explain this difference might be that the newspapers from both Arab host and non-host countries made a conscious effort to recognize and encourage the humanitarian efforts made by western countries to assist these Arab refugees.

Furthermore, although a generous amount of aid was given by the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) Arab states, more monetary contributions were made by western countries (UNHCR 2018a). According to UNHCR's 2018 Donor Ranking fact sheet, the top ten donors were all western countries, with the United States ranking as the highest donor (\$1,291,774,188) (UNHCR 2018a). The first GCC country to appear on the list was Saudi Arabia and this country ranked at number 12 on that list (UNHCR 2018a). The UAE came in at 17 and Kuwait at 15 (UNHCR 2018a). This could also help explain why more stories acknowledged non-Arab donor countries more than the Arab donor countries. Furthermore, the heavy focus on acknowledging donor countries was a theme that I was unable to find in prior studies that have examined non-Arab media representations of the Syrian refugee crisis. Therefore, this is one example of how Arab news coverage is different from coverage by non-Arab news media.

Another notable finding was that the non-host countries published a noticeably higher level of news stories that portrayed the Syrian refugees as victims in comparison to the host-countries; except for *Daily News Egypt* from Egypt and *Al Rai* from Kuwait. The Egyptian *Al Ahram* (host) focused on this theme in 33 percent of the news story, *Al Ghad* (host) from Jordan did so in 36 percent of the news stories, and *Jordan Times* focused on this theme in 29 percent of the news stories from the selected sample. As for the non-host countries, the Kuwaiti *Arab Times* focused on this theme in 45 percent of the news stories collected, the Emirati *Al Khaleej* did so in 43 percent of the news stories, and *Khaleej Times* focused on this theme in 49 percent of the stories collected. Host countries, especially Jordan, published a higher percentage of news articles that portrayed Syrian refugees as a burden to their communities (39 percent in *Al Ghad* and 31 percent in *Jordan Times*). This could potentially explain the difference between the host and non-host countries' level of news stories portraying Syrian refugees as victims. It is likely

that host countries – particularly Jordan – focused more on victimizing *themselves* and the repercussions of hosting many refugees rather than just focusing on victimizing the Syrian refugees. The finding that host countries portrayed Syrian refugees as a burden more than non-host countries was also echoed in Abid et al.'s 2017 study, which conveyed that host countries including Lebanon, Jordan, Egypt, and Turkey, portrayed Syrians as a burden more than non-host countries including the United States, the United Kingdom, and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia did.

Furthermore, this finding is similar to prior studies that focused on non-Arab media in the sense that both Arab and non-Arab media tended to portray the Syrian refugees in a victimized way. For example, Bhatia and Jenks (2018) found that American liberal media portray Syrian refugees as victims who endured traumatic experiences and are escaping the brutalities that exist in their country. Other studies focusing on non-Arab media such as Jaber's (2016) examination of American and British media also showed that Syrian refugees were largely portrayed in a victimized manner. According to Steimel's 2010 study, this is comparable to how refugees are typically portrayed since she found that the existing research conveyed that refugees and asylum seekers in international news are depicted in two primary ways: frauds or victims (p. 222). However, I also found a difference between Arab and non-Arab media concerning the portrayal of Syrian refugees as victims. For instance, the findings of this thesis showed that most newspapers from non-host countries were more likely to portray Syrian refugees as victims. On the other hand, Dimitrova et al.'s (2018) study that showed that Turkey, which they categorized as a host country, was more likely to portray Syrian refugees through the victimization frame than its non-host counterpart, Bulgaria.

When it came to the theme of acknowledging non-Arab donor and host countries, both host and non-host countries seemed to focus more on the countries that they had stronger relations with. For example, both Jordanian news outlets published a larger number of stories that focused on how the United States aids' was benefiting Syrian refugees in Jordan and the number of refugees taken in the US, while the UAE newspapers focused more on acknowledging the United Kingdom's efforts in assisting Syrian refugees and hosting them in this region. This was especially interesting, given especially that others have criticized Britain for closing its doors on the Syrian refugees and has been shamed for not hosting enough. The first example can be explained by the fact that, according to a US Congressional Research Service (CRS) report published by the Federation of American Scientists (FAS), Jordan and the United States have enjoyed a history of close relations and have maintained strong diplomatic relations (Aftergood, 2019). The second example could be explained by the fact that British expatriates make up the largest western community in the UAE, and therefore, it would be logical to assume that they would also represent an important portion of the readership of English-language newspapers in the country.

Direct Quotes & Sources

After examining the levels direct quotes used in the news articles amongst the selected host countries, I noted that newspapers out of Egypt and Jordan included direct quotes by Syrian refugees in only 26 percent or less of the samples collected. This was surprising because Egypt and Jordan are host countries and therefore it would be logical to assume that they would have easier access to the Syrian refugees because they are so much closer in proximity than non-host countries. Furthermore, I found it interesting that it was an Egyptian newspaper (*Daily News*

Egypt) that published the highest percentage of stories that included direct quotes, and not any of the Jordanian news outlets. This was also surprising because Jordan is a significantly smaller country than Egypt, yet hosts a larger number of Syrian refugees. The population of Jordan is 10 million and Egypt's population is over 100 million. Therefore, Jordan had even easier access to the Syrian refugees, yet the percentage of stories that included direct quotes in both Jordanian newspapers was lower when compared to *Daily News Egypt*. Although these newspapers were not unsympathetic towards the plight of the Syrian refugees, their focus was more on policy than on conveying the issue from the perspective of the refugee.

Regarding the level of direct quotes used in the newspapers of the selected non-host countries, I expected to find lower percentages of news stories that included direct quotes credited to Syrians. However, it was interesting to find that *Khaleej Times* from the UAE (which has a population of approximately 9.5 million) published the highest percentage of stories that included direct quotes out of both host and non-host countries, especially given that the UAE is considered a non-host country and therefore it would be expected that it would have had less news stories with direct quotes than a host country given that it would be more challenging to have access to the Syrian refugees. In addition, I was surprised to find that out of the selected countries, Jordan – which hosts the highest number of Syrian refugees in comparison to the other three countries – was among the countries to produce the least stories that included direct quotes by Syrian refugees (both Jordanian news outlets only included direct quotes credited to Syrian refugees in 14 percent of the samples collected). In some cases, both news outlets from Jordan published significantly lower percentages of news stories that included direct quotes in comparison to the selected non-host newspapers. For example, 24 percent of the news stories collected from the Kuwaiti *Arab Times* included direct quotes and 30 percent of the news stories

from the Emirati *Khaleej Times* included direct quotes. Both these numbers are considerably higher than the 14 percent of news stories with direct quotes published by both Jordanian newspapers. This was interesting to find given that it would arguably be easier for Jordan to produce more stories with direct quotes credited to Syrians due to the large number of Syrian refugees residing in the country, and therefore would have had easier access to the refugees, especially in comparison to the non-host countries.

Furthermore, my findings differ from prior studies focusing on the levels of direct quotes used in news stories in non-Arab media focusing on Syrian refugees, in that my results illustrated how a non-host country is more likely to include direct quotes, while a host country is less likely to do so, while prior studies have shown the opposite. For example Dimitrova, Ozdora-Aksak, and Ahern's 2018 study conveyed that Turkey, which their study categorized as a host country, published more stories that included direct quotes than Bulgaria did, which is considered a non-host country (Dimitrova & Ozdora-Aksak & Connolly-Ahern, 2018).

All four selected countries were similar in that they were more likely to include sources by public officials than by Syrian refugees, even though the stories revolve around Syrian refugees. This, however, is not so surprising given that other studies focusing on this topic have shown that in news coverage of refugee crises, public officials are more likely to be quoted than by the refugees. For example, a report launched by the *Finnish Institute in London* and the *Finnish Cultural Institute for the Benelux* in 2016 which examined press coverage of refugees and asylum seekers in European and British newspapers conveyed that the voices of authorities, politicians, and experts were more likely to be included in the news articles than those of the refugees and asylum seekers themselves. In this case, this can also be said for newspapers in the Arab region as well.

Characterization

All news outlets from all countries – both host and non-host – used the term “refugee” to characterize the Syrians in the majority of the news stories published. All news outlets also used the terms “refugee” and “migrant” at times. As stated in the methodology section of this thesis, there is an important legal distinction between these two terms, and conflating them together could be problematic. According to human rights organization *Amnesty International*, most organizations that deal with refugee-related issues agree that although migrants are those who are outside of their country of origin, these people do not fit the definition of asylum-seeker or refugee. Although all people who are on the move are entitled to their human rights, the difference between the two lies in the motivation for leaving their country of origin. Regardless of whether some confusion and misperceptions exist when it comes to distinguishing the two terms, using the word “migrants” could arguably belittle the experiences of the Syrian refugees, who did not choose to leave their home countries but were forced to leave in attempts to stay alive.

Although the term “refugee” and “migrant” were used interchangeably by both host and non-host countries, the news stories would also distinguish between the Syrians and those fleeing from other countries by labelling those from other nationalities as “migrants”, and the Syrians as “refugees”. Sometimes, only the term “migrant” was used when referring to the entire group of people, which often included Syrians. This might be because the term “migrant” is also understood as an umbrella term that covers both “migrants” who are on the move for economic reasons, “refugees” who are fleeing persecution, and “asylum seekers” who have applied for asylum as refugees but are still waiting for an official status to be granted by a host government.

Therefore, some may argue that it makes sense to label the entire group of people as “migrants” since it includes different types of international migrants. Some articles, such as one published by the Kuwaiti *Arab Times* from my sample, used the term “migrants” since the story referred to a larger group of people fleeing to Europe from different countries of origin. As such, I argue that this term was used because the article referred to people other than Syrians, who might legally be defined as “migrants” or “asylum seekers” or other labels rather than as “refugees”.

However, although the lead of the article did not mention the nationality of these people, the story did go on to explain that they were referring to Syrians and Afghanis, both of whom legally fit the definition of “refugee”. In this case, it was interesting that the term “migrant” was used instead.

Another interesting finding concerning the characterization of the Syrians in these newspapers was the significant jump in Kuwait’s Arabic-language *Al Rai* and English-language *Arab Times*’ use of migrants. All other newspapers from host and non-host countries were relatively similar when it came to comparing the way in which the English and Arabic newspapers labelled the Syrians. *Arab Times* was the only news outlet to use this term in over half of its sample of news stories and this was a large jump from its Arabic-language counterpart, which only did so 14 percent of the time. One reason that could explain *Arab Time*’s heavier usage of the term “migrants” could be that many of the news articles referred to the Syrian refugees as well as those from other nationalities, and who might not legally be considered as a refugee. Therefore, these news articles might have used the term “migrant” more loosely to refer to the entire group of people.

Valence

My assessment of the valences found in the news stories also yielded some interesting findings. First, Jordan – a host country – published a higher percentage of news stories with negative than the positive valence. In *Al Ghad*, 26 percent of the stories included the negative valence and 25 percent included the positive valence. In *Jordan Times*, 27 percent of the news stories included the negative valence, and 24 percent of the stories included the positive valence. Although the difference between the two was not drastic, the fact that both the news outlets from Jordan published stories with more negative than positive characteristics was expected, especially after looking at the most common emergent themes that both Jordanian newspapers focused on. As I indicated earlier, Jordanian newspapers portrayed Syrian refugees as a burden on Jordan's resources in various sectors including the economy, education, water, etc. Their heavy focus on this theme can easily affect the valence of the articles to the negative side given that these stories tended to highlight the negative effects that the Syrian refugees were portrayed to be having on the country.

I can make a similar argument about Egypt. Like Jordan, although the majority of the Egyptian news stories were focused on the crisis in a neutral way – such as listing facts and statistics regarding the Syrian refugees – the stories published by Egyptian newspapers were more likely to include the negative valence in their stories. This could be because the most common emergent theme for both Egyptian news outlets was portraying Syrian refugees as victims. Therefore, it would be logical to expect that these stories were more negative than they were positive since the news stories tended to focus on describing and conveying the sufferings and adversities that the Syrian refugees had faced.

Similarly, both Kuwaiti newspapers published more stories with the negative than the positive valence. This can be explained by the fact that Kuwait focused a lot on portraying Syrian refugees as a threat to the security of the western countries that they were fleeing to, which was a major emergent theme that both newspapers from this country touched on.

Furthermore, another top emergent theme that both Kuwaiti news outlets focused on – as mentioned earlier – was portraying Syrian refugees as victims. Although these themes are somewhat contradictory, they would have regardless impacted the negativity of the news stories, which ultimately helped to explain the larger number of the negative than positive tones found in the news stories from both Kuwaiti news outlets.

Regarding the UAE, the other non-host country, Arabic-language *Al Khaleej* yielded a higher number of news stories published that included the positive valence than the negative valence. This news outlet was the only one to do so out of both host and non-host countries, and this result can be explained by the fact that two of the main emergent themes focused on by this outlet were acknowledging non-Arab host countries and highlighting the role that the UAE was playing in alleviating the suffering of Syrian refugees. I also consider it logical to find that *Khaleej Times* had a higher percentage of news stories with the negative tone given that almost half of the stories published by this outlet focused on the sufferings of the Syrian refugees.

The most interesting finding concerning the valence of the news stories was that all English-language newspapers of host and non-host countries published significantly more news stories that included the negative valence than the Arabic-language newspapers (Other than *Jordan Times*, where the difference was not as dramatic). This finding was quite surprising as it would have been reasonable to expect that the Arabic-language news outlets would publish more stories with the negative valence with the argument that perhaps the Arabic newspapers might

have felt freer to be negative since non-Arabic speakers would not be able to understand what was being said in the news stories. However, the findings show the opposite.

After I compared my findings with those from prior studies focusing on non-Arab media, I found a main similarity between the two; the tone of the coverage in both Arab and non-Arab media is more likely to be negative than positive. Such findings found in Lawlor and Tolley's (2017) study, for example, which showed that Canadian news media were more likely to cover the refugees in a more negative light in comparison to immigrants. Esses et al.'s (2013) findings also showed that news media in Canada were more likely to focus on negative news stories as opposed to positive news stories regarding the Syrian refugees. Furthermore, Arcimaviciene and Baglama's (2018) study conveyed that US, British, and German news media covered the Syrian refugee crisis in a negative light, often fueling an "us vs. them" rhetoric through stereotypical and xenophobic portrayals.

Conclusion

Through completing this study of Arab media representations of the Syrian refugee crisis, the complexities and nuances attendant to news coverage of such a topic become evident. It is my hope that this thesis has been able to shed light on the ways in which English and Arabic language news organizations from host and non-host countries in the Arab world have chosen to portray this crisis. By examining the ways in which Egypt, Jordan, Kuwait, and the UAE have responded to the refugee crisis, other countries' responses, this thesis has attempted to provide more insight into non-western media portrayals of the crisis. By so doing, this thesis has taken the coverage of the Syrian refugee crisis to a place that previous researchers had not explored.

Regarding the first research question, when it came to how the eight news outlets were representing each of their respective countries, there were three main emergent themes that resonated with almost all four of the countries. These themes included highlighting the role of their respective countries in response to the Syrian refugee crisis, calling for more international support, and/or exposing their countries' in their treatment/response towards Syrian refugees and the refugee crisis, which was the least common theme in this category.

Differences, however, existed regarding how much of these news outlets were focusing on each of the themes. All the selected news outlets from all four host and non-host countries focused mostly on highlighting the role of each country, followed by calling for more international support (except for Kuwait's *Al Rai*), and then exposing/being more critical of each sample country (though it is worth mentioning that only Egypt's *Egypt Daily News* and Jordan's *Al Ghad* did so).

As for how these news outlets represented "other" countries, whether Arab or non-Arab, there were also a number of main emergent themes that almost all eight news outlets touched on. These were acknowledging an Arab host country (except for Jordan's *Al Ghad*), acknowledging a non-Arab host country, acknowledging an Arab donor country (except for both of Egypt's news outlets, Kuwait's *Al Rai*, and UAE's *Al Khaleej*), and acknowledging a non-Arab donor country (except for *Egypt Daily News*, *Al Rai*, and UAE's *Khaleej Times*). Others included exposing an Arab non-host country (except for Egypt's *Al Ahrām*, and all four news outlets from the non-host country category), exposing a non-Arab non-host country (except for *Al Ghad*, *Al Rai*, and *Al Khaleej*), focusing on the rising tensions in Europe, exposing and/or being critical of the international community's response towards the refugee crisis (except for *Al Rai*), exposing

an Arab host country (except for Kuwait's *Arab Times*), and exposing a non-Arab host country (except for *Al Ahram* and *Arab Times*).

In response to the second research question, there were differences between the news outlets' focus on the themes. The most obvious difference was that none of the non-host countries exposed or was critical of an Arab non-host country. This might be because both Kuwait and the UAE are non-host countries and so the selected news outlets from each of these countries may not have wanted to draw any negative attention regarding that matter.

The third research question was focused on the ways the online media from both Arab host and non-host countries were representing the Syrian refugees. The main emergent themes in this case was portraying Syrian refugees as a burden to a host community, as victims who have suffered, as a security threat to a host society, as good and noble people, as an added value to a host's society, and focusing on success stories that some Syrian refugees may have undergone. Similarities lay in that all news outlets from both host and non-host countries were more likely to focus on representing Syrian refugees as a burden, victims, and as a security threat, and were less likely to portray them as good and noble people, as an added value to a host society, and to focus on their success stories. Furthermore, *Jordan Times* was the only news outlet to touch on the theme of portraying Syrian refugees as an added value (though it was only 3 percent of the sample). Out of the three main themes in this category (representing Syrian refugees as a burden, victims, and as a security threat) the host countries focused more on portraying Syrian refugees as a burden than non-host countries and non-host countries focused more than host countries on portraying Syrian refugees as a security threat.

Concerning the level of direct quotes used in the news stories, the sources used, and how much each of the outlets gave voice to the Syrian refugees, some interesting results were found.

Firstly, UAE's *Khaleej Times* yielded the highest percentage of articles that featured direct quotes by Syrian refugees. This was surprising because other studies (Dimitrova & Ozdora-Aksak & Connolly-Ahern, 2018) have shown that host countries are more likely to include stories with direct quotes for reasons such as proximity to the refugees and easier access to them. After *Khaleej Times*, *Daily News Egypt* had the next highest percentage of stories that included direct quotes by Syrians, which was closely followed by *Arab Times*. This was also surprising because even though Egypt is considered as a host country, both news outlets from Jordan – a smaller country that hosts a larger number of refugees – had a significantly lower percentage of news stories with direct quotes in comparison with both *Al Ahram* and *Arab Times*. *Al Rai* and *Al Ahram* had the lowest percentages of stories that featured direct quotes credited to Syrians. Additionally, less than half of each of the samples collected from each of the news outlets produced less than half news stories that included direct quotes by Syrian refugees. Many of the sources used were public officials. Therefore, the Syrian refugees were more likely to be spoken for in all cases rather than to be given a voice in the news stories that were revolving around them.

The fourth research question concerned the characterization of Syrian refugees. All eight news outlets referred to the Syrians as refugees in all of the news stories in the samples collected other than *Jordan Times*, *Al Rai*, and *Arab Times*, who all still referred to them as refugees in over 90 percent of the news stories published. After “refugee”, the next most common term used to refer to these people was “migrants”. In this case, both non-host countries published a higher percentage of news stories using the term “migrants” than host countries did. *Arab Times* yielded the highest percentage and did so in over half of the news stories published. *Al Ghad* had the lowest percentage of news stories referring to the Syrians as “migrants”. Regardless, all eight

news outlets published a number of news stories that used the terms “refugees” and “migrants” interchangeably when referring to the Syrians, which could be problematic because even though all people who are on the move are entitled to their human rights, these terms are not synonyms and there are important legal distinctions between the two. A third term that was used by all news outlets, except for *Al Ghad*, was “asylum seekers”, though this term was used sparingly throughout both host and non-host countries.

The fifth research question was focused on the extent to which the host and non-host countries portrayed the Syrian refugee crisis in a positive, negative, and/or neutral manner. As mentioned earlier, rather than tagging each entire story as exclusively positive, negative, or neutral, I labelled and tagged all the valences that existed within each of the stories. The main similarity was that all news outlets from both host and non-host countries included mostly neutral aspects in their news stories. This was followed by negative aspects, and then positive aspects in all eight of the news outlets. The only news outlet that did not fit this pattern was UAE’s *Al Khaleej*, which published news stories that contained slightly more positive than negative aspects. Other noticeable differences were that *Daily News Egypt* (host) and *Arab Times* (non-host) yielded significantly higher percentages of news stories that focused on negative aspects (around three quarters of each of the samples), and both news outlets from Kuwait had significantly lower percentages of news stories that focused on positive aspects. These results do not resonate with other studies because in this case there were no clear patterns regarding whether or not host or non-host countries were more likely to publish positive or negative news stories, whereas Dimitrova et al.’s 2018 study showed that host countries are more likely to publish positive news stories, while non-host countries are more likely to publish negative news stories regarding refugees. That being said, Dimitrova’s study was more focused

on whether or not the news stories were portraying the refugees *themselves* in a positive, negative, or neutral way, whereas this thesis was more focused on the portrayals of the entire *crisis*, so this might explain the differences.

Concerning the differences between the Arabic and English-language newspapers, there were some noticeable similarities and differences regarding the level of direct quotes used in the news stories as well as the valence. Regarding the direct quotes, all English-language news outlets were more likely to publish stories that included direct quotes by Syrian refugees than their Arabic-language counterparts; regardless if they came from host or non-host countries. As for the valence, although all newspapers of both languages included mostly the neutral valence, all English-language newspapers of both host and non-host countries published more stories that included the negative valence than the Arabic newspapers. That being said, the level of positive valence found were relatively balanced when comparing the English and Arabic newspapers, with the exception of the Emirati *Al Khaleej*, that posted a significantly higher percentage of news stories with the positive valence in comparison with the English *Khaleej Times*.

Sum of All Findings

According to the findings of this thesis, Arab news coverage of the Syrian refugee crisis is, generally, like that of western news coverage of this crisis. The fundamental similarity between my findings on Arab media and that of others who focused on non-Arab media representations of Syrian refugees is that both portrayed Syrian refugees as victims of brutality and traumatic experiences (see Bhatia & Jenks, 2018; Dimitrova & Ozdora-Aksak & Connolly-Ahern, 2018; Holzberg & Kolbe & Zaborowski, 2018; Jaber, 2018; Kyriakides, 2016).

Secondarily, my study of Arab media and others' work on non-Arab media portrayed Syrian refugees as a burden to host communities' national resources (see Bhatia & Jenks; 2018; Elsamni, 2016; Holzberg & Kolbe & Zaborowski, 2018). As well, my work on Arab media tallies with those focused on non-Arab media in their association of Syrian refugees with terrorism. This coverage is particularly the case in newspapers from non-host countries in my sample and others' (see Dimitrova & Ozdora-Aksak & Connolly-Ahern, 2018; Fotopoulos & Kaimaklioti, 2016; Holzberg & Kolbe & Zaborowski, 2018; Rettberg & Gajjala, 2015; Tyyska & Deboer & Kawai & Walcott, 2018).

Furthermore, there is a consistency between my work on Arab media and others' studies on non-Arab news media where the use of use public officials as sources is concerned. These officials spoke on behalf of the Syrian refugees (see Dimitrova & Ozdora-Aksak & Connolly-Ahern, 2018). This latter trend was the case for news outlets from both host and non-host countries.

A fundamental difference between my findings on Arab media vs. studies that focused on non-Arab news media was that Arab news coverage of the Syrian refugee crisis tended to focus more on acknowledging donor countries, whether they were Arab or non-Arab nations. My findings revealed that Arab host and non-host countries focused on this theme. This may have been an effort made to thank outsiders for doing their part in helping fellow Arab refugees. However, I was unable to find prior studies that have examined non-Arab media portrayals of this crisis that illustrated such a finding. Therefore, it is logical to assume that this was not a major theme that non-Arab news media focused on.

Another notable difference between my findings on Arab versus non-Arab news coverage of the Syrian refugee crisis concerned the direct quotes included in the news stories. Prior studies

that examined non-Arab media (see Dimitrova & Ozdora-Aksak & Connolly-Ahern, 2018) showed that host countries were more likely to include direct quotes credited to Syrian refugees than non-host countries. As shown my findings, however, some newspapers from non-host countries (*Kuwaiti Arab Times* and *Emirati Khaleej Times*) published a considerably higher percentage of news stories that featured direct quotes in comparison to host countries.

In the final analysis, it is safe to conclude that Arab news coverage of the Syrian refugee crisis is largely like that of non-Arab news coverage. Although my findings showed that Arab news coverage of this crisis was not substantially different from non-Arab news coverage, studying Arab coverage of the Syrian refugee crisis has been advantageous. I believe that I have been able to show that location is not necessarily a substantial factor regarding the coverage of this topic. This is notwithstanding the fact that Arab newspapers were covering refugees who were themselves Arabs.

Furthermore, although newspapers sampled from each of the countries in my sample may have been influenced by different factors and the sociocultural and political and economic complexities of each environment, it seems that there was an interconnectedness regarding how news media covered the Syrian refugee crisis. Perhaps this could be the case because of imitation of western journalistic practices, or perhaps this is due to the underlying notion of globalization and its influence on global journalistic practices. Therefore, one could argue that this thesis has shed some light on the globalization of journalism practices and underscored the reality that news media coverage of the same issues may show similar trends.

Limitations

As with every study, this thesis has its limitations. Some might argue that the fact that both selected non-host countries are countries from the Gulf region makes it a confounding variable. Although this may very well be the case, it can also be argued that it is not a coincidence that the Arab non-host countries are Gulf countries. None of the Gulf countries signed the 1951 Refugee Convention, which is United Nations treaty that defines who a refugee is and spells out their rights and states the legal obligations of the states that signed the treaty. Therefore, given that neither Kuwait or the UAE signed the treaty, neither are legally bound by the convention. Although both were among the most generous contributors to the relief funding regarding the Syrian refugee crisis, neither are considered as host countries by UNHCR. Others might also argue that the issue of this confounding variable could have been solved by including Iraq as a “gulf” host country; however, although Iraq is geographically located at the head of the Arabian Gulf, it is not a member of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), and since it is not a part of the GCC, it is not entirely considered as a “gulf country” in the Arab world.

Furthermore, some might argue that it would have been more valuable to choose an Arab host country other than Egypt, that hosted a larger number of Syrian refugees, such as Lebanon or Iraq. According to UNHCR, Lebanon officially hosts 944,613 Syrian refugees and Iraq hosts 253,672 Syrian refugees. Both these numbers are higher than the number of Syrian refugees hosted by Egypt, which – according to UNHCR figures – is 132,165. The main justification for choosing Egypt over Lebanon in this thesis is that although Lebanon is the Arab country that officially hosts the largest number of Syrian refugees, tensions exist between Lebanon and Syria – especially after the Syrian occupation of Lebanon beginning in 1976 – and such strained relations could have added complications and affected the ways in which Lebanese media were

representing the Syrian refugees. As for Iraq, although it officially hosts a larger number of refugees than Egypt, it was ultimately not chosen as a host country in this thesis because of other political complications, particularly that all Syrian refugee camps in Iraq exist within the Kurdish region. The Kurdistan Region of Iraq is located in the northern part of Iraq and is an autonomous region governed by the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG). This also could have complicated the results and is the major justification for choosing Egypt over Iraq. Regardless, the fact that I did not include Iraq or Lebanon in my sample could have been a limitation of this thesis. Therefore, it would be worth it for future studies to incorporate these countries in their analyses.

Another limitation of this thesis concerns the valence portion of the study. I did not distinguish between negative stories that could have positive contexts. In other words, some of the news stories categorized as negative may have also been positive, especially if the context of the story was supportive, and not condescending or demeaning towards Syrian refugees. For example, a story focusing on the plight of Syrians could actually be supportive through conveying the need to improve their experiences and conditions and therefore calling for support and action from the international community. Therefore future studies could examine “negative” stories more carefully to acknowledge the differential nuances that exist in negative stories that may actually be positive after further examination.

In the future, it would be valuable to include more news outlets and a larger sample of news articles to offer deeper insight into how countries in the Arab world are covering the refugee crisis. Other limitations of this thesis include that I only analyzed two newspapers from each selected host and non-host country. Furthermore, due to time restraints, I only included news stories that were published from the years 2015 until 2016 in my sample.

Recommendations for Future Studies & Implications

Future research in this area, including the topic of Arab media portrayals of Syrian refugees as well as media portrayals of refugees in general, is important. Research focusing on media representations of Syrian refugees from a non-western lens is limited, therefore more can be done in future studies to fill this gap. For example, this area can be looked at further by comparing and contrasting Arab media coverage of refugees with non-Arab coverage. Also, such studies can examine not only the ways in which media across regions are covering Syrian refugees but also refugees from other nationalities.

Furthermore, another valuable approach would be to study Arab media representations of Syrian refugees from a feminist perspective. As argued by Alhayek (2014), media representations of Syrian refugee women are overly-generalized and fail to address the power relations that exist for these women not only in the host countries that they reside in but also in their homes. Future studies can take on the feminist perspective when studying media representations of Syrian refugees in order to shed light on the diversities and complexities that refugee women experienced.

Other research regarding this topic could take a more quantitative approach and examining how media has influenced public opinion and discourse in the Arab world. Although qualitative methods allow researchers to acquire implicit patterns, meanings, and cultural and ideological assumptions not explicitly found in the text, quantitative methods would be helpful in measuring the public's opinions and produce generalizable results. For example, future studies could employ such a method to examine media's role in shifting government policies towards refugees in the region.

Interviews with both journalists, editors, as well as the general public can also be conducted to offer deeper insights into people's perceptions, opinions, and feelings regarding Syrian refugees and media coverage of them.

Visual representations in Arab media is yet another approach that could be taken to further uncover how this region is portraying Syrian refugees in the media. As seen in the literature review chapter of this thesis, some studies have examined visual depictions of Syrian refugees in the news media. However, none seem to have studied such depictions in Arab media. Therefore, future studies could focus on visual representations of refugees in Arab media, and compare such portrayals with non-Arab media. In doing so, research gaps can be filled regarding this topic, resulting in a more comprehensive outlook on media representations of refugees on a global level.

The Syrian refugee crisis is not the first refugee crisis to occur in history and unfortunately will not be the last. Therefore, it is important to study this topic to understand the complexities of news coverage of such crises. This way we can hopefully encourage more responsible and ethical news portrayals of the victims of war involved.

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