



Unveiling Discursive Strategies and Ideologies: A Critical Analysis of Migration Discourse in Turkish Newspapers

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Abstract: The portrayal of migrants in the media is frequently shaped by a variety of discursive strategies aimed at influencing public perception. This study examines the discursive strategies employed by two prominent Turkish newspapers, *Daily Sabah* and *Duvar*, and the underlying ideologies that drive the selection and utilization of such strategies. The theoretical framework guiding this study draws upon Reisigl's (2017) model, providing a structured approach to data analysis. The findings reveal that *Daily Sabah* strategically employs a spectrum of discursive strategies, including nomination, perspectivization, argumentation, intensification, predication, and mitigation. Conversely, *Duvar* predominantly utilizes prediction, mitigation, intensification, and argumentation in their portrayal of migrants. The analysis highlights instances where both newspapers employ multiple discursive strategies within the same news discourse, underscoring the nuanced nature of media construction of discourses on migration. Crucially, the study discerns that the discursive strategies employed by the two newspapers serve distinct purposes and are underpinned by different ideologies. This nuanced exploration sheds light on the intricate relationship between media representation, discursive strategies, and ideological frameworks in shaping public perceptions of migration.

Keywords: Discursive strategies, ideology, critical discourse analysis, migration, Turkey

1. Introduction

The phenomenon of migration, increasingly influential in modern societies, extends its impact across political, social, and cultural realms globally. Within the intricate fabric of contemporary societies, the term 'migration' is often misunderstood in public discourse and media usage, encompassing individuals in vastly distinct situations, including those seeking asylum and ethnically marginalized communities (Anderson & Blinder, 2019). The United Nations (2021) defines a migrant as someone who changes their country of residence for at least one year, underscoring the fluidity of the concept due to the lack of an established legal framework. Consequently, individuals on migration journeys, including those seeking refuge, fall under the umbrella of this term (Yigit, 2023). This nuanced understanding sets the stage for exploring how migrants are portrayed in the media, often shaped by diverse discursive strategies.

Migration, as a perennial and multifaceted phenomenon, has its various dimensions intricately interwoven into the fabric of contemporary societies. The media's role in portraying and discussing migration is pivotal, shaping public perceptions, influencing policy decisions, and contributing to the construction of societal norms. Recognizing this, it is widely accepted that the media serves as a crucial mechanism in constructing and mediating relations between host communities and migrants (Gemi et al., 2013).

Furthermore, the media's historical role has been characterized by the endorsement, if not initiation, of racist imagery (Spoonley & Butcher, 2009; Van Dijk, 1993). Research indicates that the relationship between natives' attitudes and news on migration is significantly influenced by the presence of newsworthy events, crowding out nuanced discussions on migration (Jacomella, 2010). Ethnic ideologies also play a substantial role in the media's portrayal of migrants, particularly in cases where the general population lacks definitive attitudes and ideologies (Van Dijk, 1995).

Media discourse has increasingly emphasized ethnic and culturally specific characteristics that differentiate "others" from the in-group, contributing to the symbolic construction of group identities. This construction is intricately linked to Triandafylidou's (2000) hypothesis, asserting that migrants pose a direct challenge to the political and cultural order of the nation, jeopardizing its perceived 'purity' and 'authenticity' (Boukli, 2009). The media's symbolic constructions influence public debate and become institutionalized, contributing to the validation of ethnocentric, nationalist, and xenophobic discourse (Silverstone & Georgiou, 2005).

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Turkey, located at the intersection of Europe and Asia, has become a noteworthy location and transit nation for migrants and refugees originating from diverse territories, such as the Middle East. This strategic geographic position, combined with its relatively stable political and economic environment compared to neighboring areas, makes Turkey an attractive destination for those fleeing conflict, persecution, and poverty. It plays a critical role in managing migrant flows into Europe, particularly through agreements with the EU, and hosts the largest refugee population globally. The country has experienced a significant increase in unauthorized migrants, especially following the crises in the Arab Spring countries (İçduygu, 2003). In this context, Turkish newspapers have emerged as influential agents in disseminating information about migration, contributing to the formation of public opinion and potentially influencing policy decisions (Yu, 2023).

Despite the significance of Turkey in the migration discourse, the existing body of research often focuses on Western contexts, leaving a notable gap in understanding how media outlets in non-Western societies contribute to the discourse (Türkmen, 2020). This study seeks to address this gap by delving into the discursive strategies employed by two prominent Turkish newspapers, *Daily Sabah* and *Duvar*, in their coverage of migration. By adopting a critical discourse analysis (CDA) model (i.e., Reisiğl's 2017 model, refer to the theoretical framework for further detail), this study aims to identify the key discursive strategies employed by the selected Turkish newspapers and examine the underlying ideologies guiding the use of such strategies in news discourses related to migrants. The research seeks to provide insights into the motivations and beliefs that drive media outlets, offering a comprehensive understanding of the impact these strategies may have on shaping public opinions about migration. The analysis will shed light on the concealed ideologies and power dynamics at play, highlighting the significance of language and rhetoric in shaping public perspectives on migration. In essence, this study contributes to the academic discourse by offering a rigorous examination of migration discourses in the two selected Turkish newspapers, providing valuable insights into the complexities of public sentiment formation on migration matters.

The current study will add to the existing body of knowledge on the analysis of migration discourse by offering insights into the specific context of Turkish print media. It contributes to a more profound comprehension of how migration is depicted in the Turkish media, uncovers the underlying power dynamics and ideologies, and promotes a more well-informed and critical public discussion on this intricate and multifaceted subject. It is expected that the findings of this study will uncover various key discursive strategies utilized in the representation of migration by the Turkish media. This study will contribute to the wider field of media studies and can guide endeavors to foster a more inclusive and respectful public conversation on migration in Turkey.

2. Literature Review

Literature reveals that some studies have centered on the critical analysis of the discourse surrounding migration in print media. For example, Teo (2000) concentrates on the depiction of Asian migrants in Australian newspapers, shedding light on discursive strategies involving the portrayal of negativity and criminality. Van Dijk (2000) also examines the ideological characteristics of political discourse on migration and minority groups in contemporary Europe, underscoring the perpetuation of racism through discourse and the influence of societal customs in spreading racist ideologies. Additionally, Flynn (2011) conducts a critical analysis of Canadian migration discourses, delving into the portrayal of migrants, Canadians, and the Canadian state in the conceptualization of the Canadian national community, thereby uncovering tensions and inconsistencies in the representation of migrants. Rybina et al. (2014) utilize CDA to examine the depiction of migrants in Russian newspapers, specifically within the framework of an ethnic riot in Biryulyovo, Moscow. The study emphasizes the deliberately manufactured tensions between migrants and the indigenous population.

The studies discussed above on migration discourse in print media have illuminated the impact of discursive strategies on public perceptions of migrants across various global contexts, yet there remains a gap in specific analysis related to Turkish media. The studies have explored the portrayal of migrants in terms of negativity, criminality, and ideological biases in countries like Australia, Europe, Canada, and Russia, revealing the significant role media plays in shaping national identities and societal tensions. However, the discursive representation of migrants within Turkey, particularly through *Daily Sabah* and *Duvar* newspapers, has not been extensively examined.

Furthermore, Blommaert (2001) analyzes the role of language in asylum application procedures in Belgium, while van der Valk (2003) focuses on French parliamentary discourses on migration and nationality. Tileaga (2005) investigates negative representations of the 'Romani' community in Romania, and Pietikainen (2003) examines the representation of the aboriginal 'Sami' community in Finland. Flowerdew, Li & Tran (2002) study the representation of immigrant Chinese in Hong Kong, Ana (1999) explores racism in the USA, Wetherell & Potter (1992) analyze the representation of native New Zealanders, and Malcolm & Sharifian (2002), Clyne (2005), and Teo (2000) study the discursive dimensions of immigrant representation in Australia.

The studies discussed in the preceding paragraph illuminate the intricate ways in which language and discourse shape the representation and societal perception of migrants and marginalized communities across diverse contexts. Blommaert's examination of asylum application procedures in Belgium underscores the challenges posed by language barriers and legal discourses, while van der Valk reveals the framing of migration and nationality within French parliamentary debates as narratives laden with security and identity implications. Similarly, Tileaga's work on the portrayal of the Romani in Romania, Pietikainen's analysis of the Sami community in Finland, Flowerdew, Li & Tran's study on immigrant Chinese in Hong Kong, and further research on racial and

immigrant discourses in the USA, New Zealand, and Australia, each contribute to understanding the perpetuation of stereotypes, the negotiation of identities, and the impact of discursive practices on social integration and marginalization. These studies collectively demonstrate the role of language in both reinforcing and challenging social hierarchies and stereotypes, offering critical insights into the mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion, and underscoring the potential for more equitable discursive practices in the representation of migrant and marginalized populations.

Therefore, investigating migration discourse in Turkish print media holds the utmost importance in comprehending the media narratives encompassing migration. The Turkish people, endowed with a multifaceted geopolitical stance and a substantial surge of migrants and refugees, have witnessed noteworthy alterations in migration trends within the past few years (Içduygu, 2003; Bel-Air, 2016; Martin & Sirkeci, 2016). Despite this, few studies have investigated the migration discourse in Turkish newspapers. For instance, Jurat (2023) conducts qualitative field research in Ankara, Bursa, Malatya, Kayseri, and Istanbul to investigate the phenomenon of irregular Afghan migrants. The study delves into their migration process, the factors that drive their decision to migrate, and the obstacles they encounter upon arrival. The findings shed light on the predominant employment sectors for Afghan migrants in Turkey, namely construction, supermarkets, shepherding, and kitchens, where they primarily work as unskilled laborers. The study posits that these migrants are propelled by a combination of humanitarian and economic hardships. However, their integration into Turkish society is hindered by the absence of legal safeguards, leaving them vulnerable to mistreatment and engendering a sense of hopelessness.

Although certain research endeavors (e.g., Içduygu, 2003; Bel-Air, 2016; Martin & Sirkeci, 2016) have delved into migration in Turkey, they did not offer an extensive analysis of the Turkish media discourse on migration. Hence, there arises a necessity for a methodical exploration that scrutinizes the prevailing narratives, ideologies, and discursive strategies employed in the depiction of migration across diverse time periods and contexts within the Turkish print media.

Furthermore, there is acknowledgment that the media tends to use different descriptions when referring to individuals who have undergone migration such as refugees, asylum seekers, and migrants (Jaeger et al., 2012). Nevertheless, it has been frequently contended that the media's depiction of individuals who have migrated has encountered censure as a result of its tendency to perpetuate unfavorable portrayals and disseminate incomplete narratives concerning these individuals (Geschke et al., 2010). Therefore, it is of utmost importance to comprehend the composition of migration discourse in the Turkish print media owing to its potential impact on societal attitudes, policy formulation, and the assimilation experiences of migrants and refugees. Media portrayals have the power to shape public sentiment, contribute to the formation of preconceived notions, and influence policy decisions related to migration (Thorbjørnsrud, 2015). Hence, it becomes indispensable to critically evaluate the media's function in constructing narratives, endorsing specific ideologies, and potentially perpetuating prejudices or misconceptions concerning migration.

The current study is driven by the recognition that migration is a subject of great debate in Turkey and that the media has a substantial influence on molding public sentiment regarding this issue (Gemi et al., 2010). Within this framework, it is imperative to analyze the discursive strategies and discourses surrounding migration in the Turkish print media, as it holds a pivotal position in shaping public opinion and policy discussions. Upon close examination of the literature on migration in Turkey, it becomes evident that there is a significant gap in research regarding critical discourse analysis of Turkish print media on migration. This gap highlights the need for further investigations that scrutinize the discursive strategies, biases, and narratives employed by the media in shaping public perceptions and attitudes towards migration in Turkey. A critical discourse analysis of Turkish print media would provide valuable insights into the construction of migration discourse, power dynamics, and the reproduction of dominant ideologies within the broader context of migration debates in the country.

Analyzing the deficiencies and examining the discussion around migration in the Turkish print media from a critical perspective will not solely enhance the body of academic knowledge but will also yield practical consequences. The study also offers a unique non-Western perspective, facilitating a global comparative analysis of media representations of migration. Furthermore, it underscores the importance of media accountability, promoting responsible journalism, fostering community integration, and contributing to academic fields such as Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). By addressing ethical considerations and enhancing media literacy, the study seeks to have a broader impact on cultural dynamics, identity formation, and the reduction of prejudice in the context of migration discourse in Turkey.

The conclusions drawn from this study can enlighten media experts, policymakers, and civil society organizations regarding the influence of media portrayals on public perceptions and policy deliberations. Furthermore, it can cultivate a more knowledgeable and discerning public dialogue on migration, which in turn promotes inclusivity, comprehension, and evidence-based decision-making within Turkish society. Consequently, the research gap identified in this study stems from the absence of thorough investigations into the critical analysis of migration discourse within Turkish print media, with a specific emphasis on the discursive strategies used by Turkish newspapers. By addressing this gap, the study aims to unravel the dominant narratives, ideologies, and discursive strategies employed in the portrayal of migrants.

3. Methodology

This section presents the methodology adopted in the present study as follows:

3.1. Study Design

This study employs a qualitative research design to examine the discursive strategies and discourse surrounding migration in Turkish print media. The study adopts a critical discourse analysis (CDA) approach. The researcher collected a comprehensive sample of print media articles from two Turkish newspapers published in 2023, ensuring a diverse range of sources and perspectives. These articles are systematically analyzed using CDA techniques to identify discursive strategies employed in the portrayal of migration. The analysis aims to uncover the purpose behind using such discursive strategies within the migration discourse.

3.2. Corpus of the Study

The corpus of the study consists of a diverse collection of print media articles sourced from two Turkish newspapers, namely *Daily Sabah* (pro-government newspaper) and *Duvar* (Independent Newspaper). These articles were published from January to October 2023. The articles within the corpus cover a variety of topics related to migration, such as migration policies, refugee issues, integration, cultural diversity, and socio-political debates. The corpus aims to provide a representative selection of texts that reflect the discursive landscape surrounding migration in Turkish print media, allowing for thorough analysis and interpretation within a critical discourse analysis framework. Here is a brief background of the selected newspapers:

1. Daily Sabah

The newspaper *Daily Sabah* is renowned for adopting a pro-government position within Turkey. It is owned by the Turkuvaz Media Group, an entity that maintains close connections with the ruling Justice and Development Party (AKP). The publication frequently mirrors the government's standpoint and wholeheartedly endorses its policies and ventures. It is crucial to bear in mind that media establishments can exhibit varying levels of partiality, thus it is always advisable to consult multiple sources and perspectives to construct a comprehensive understanding of any given subject matter.

2. Duvar Newspaper

Duvar is an independent online news platform in Turkey. It provides news and analysis on various topics, including politics, society, and culture.

The selection of *Daily Sabah* and *Duvar* for the present study leverages their contrasting perspectives to enrich the analysis. *Daily Sabah*'s pro-government stance is likely to reflect narratives that align with official policies and emphasize Turkey's role in migration management positively. Conversely, *Duvar*, being independent, might offer more critical views on migration, potentially highlighting the challenges migrants face and critiquing government approaches. This comparative approach allows for a comprehensive understanding of the diverse media narratives on migration in Turkey, illustrating the impact of media perspectives on public discourse and policy.

3.3. Data Collection

The data collection process for the study involves several steps. Firstly, a purposeful sampling strategy is developed to ensure the inclusion of diverse Turkish print media sources. This strategy involved selecting newspapers that represent various political leanings and cover both national and local publications. Once the newspapers are identified, a specific time period or range (January to October 2023) is determined for data collection.

Next, the researcher systematically collected articles from the selected newspapers within the defined time frame. This was done through online archives and accessing digital databases that provide access to newspaper articles. The study employed a strategic set of keywords to ensure a comprehensive analysis of migration representation in Turkish newspapers. These keywords encompassed direct migration terms and related concepts, including 'migration,' 'refugees,' 'economic migrants,' and 'Turkey-EU migration deal,' among others. This approach facilitated an extensive search of online archives and digital databases, capturing a wide array of articles from both *Daily Sabah* and *Duvar*, thus enhancing the study's systematic and in-depth exploration of migration narratives. The articles are retrieved in their original form, including headlines and bylines. The collected articles are then organized and stored in a structured manner, ensuring proper documentation of metadata such as the publication date, newspaper source, and author information. The data collection process involved being attentive to potential biases or limitations in the sample. The study employed a refined methodology, ensuring a comprehensive corpus of articles on migration in Turkish newspapers. Key strategies included refining keywords to capture a broad spectrum of migration discourse, defining a temporal range aligned with significant migration events, establishing clear inclusion and exclusion criteria for article selection, and making concerted efforts to include underrepresented voices. Quality checks of random article samples were conducted to maintain data integrity and relevance. This rigorous and systematic approach aimed to gather a balanced and representative collection of print media articles, thereby enhancing the study's depth and inclusiveness.

3.4. Model of Data Analysis

The present study adopts Reisigl's (2017) model for data analysis. Reisigl (2017) formulated a set of five questions that aid in delineating the Discursive Strategies within the examination of discourses concerning racial, national, and ethnic matters:

- How do individuals receive names and references through language?
- What are the traits, characteristics, qualities, and features ascribed to them?
- Through what arguments and argumentation schemes do particular individuals or social groups seek to validate and legitimize the exclusion, discrimination, suppression, and exploitation of others?
- From what perspective or point of view are these labels, attributions, and arguments expressed?
- Do the respective assertions manifest overtly, are they amplified, or are they attenuated? (Reisigl, 2017: 52).

These questions give rise to the five discursive strategies which will be discussed below. According to Reisigl (2017), the term "strategy" refers to a plan of practices, including discursive practices, that are adopted to achieve a specific aim in the social, political, psychological, or linguistic domain. This implies an aware and knowledgeable selection.

Reisigl (2017) identifies five distinct strategies, namely nomination, prediction, argumentation, perspectivisation, mitigation, and intensification (p.52): nomination strategies involve constructing and representing social actors; prediction strategies aim to label social actors in a positive or negative, deprecating, or appreciative manner; argumentation strategies justify positive and negative attributions; perspectivisation allows speakers to express their involvement in discourse; and intensifying/mitigating strategies qualify and modify the epistemic status of propositions by intensifying or mitigating the illocutionary force of racist, nationalist, or ethnicist utterances (ibid).

This model is exceedingly useful for the analysis of critical discourse, as it provides a comprehensive structure for evaluating the manner in which individuals and collectives shape their identities and establish power dynamics through language. This framework allows researchers to identify and scrutinize the discursive strategies utilized by the newspapers. Through the application of this framework, researchers can unearth the underlying ideological underpinnings and societal influences that inform and perpetuate these strategies, thus gaining valuable insights into how power relations, social inequalities, and dominant ideologies are both upheld and reinforced through linguistic practices. To conclude, this framework enriches the comprehension of how discourse serves as a tool for social and political influence, facilitating a critical analysis of discursive practices and their broader societal implications. Using this model for analysis, the following types of analyses are conducted:

1. **Textual Analysis:** The researcher conducts a detailed analysis of the selected articles to identify the discursive strategies used in the representation of migration. This includes analyzing lexical choices, framing techniques, and persuasive elements within the texts.
2. **Interpretative Analysis:** The researcher interprets the identified discursive elements within the larger socio-political context of migration in Turkey. The analysis shows how the articles construct meanings related to migration. This involves examining the underlying ideologies and assumptions embedded in the discourse.
3. **Social Practices Analysis:** The researcher analyzes the ways in which the discourses on migration in Turkish print media reflect and reproduce social practices and power relations. They investigate the role of media in shaping public opinion, influencing policy debates, and constructing social realities related to migration.
4. **Ideological Analysis:** The researcher critically examines the ideologies present in the discourse, including dominant ideologies, power relations, and potential biases.
5. **Comparative Analysis:** The researcher compares and contrasts the discursive strategies, themes, and narratives across the selected newspapers within the corpus. This allows for an examination of variations in the representation of migration, highlighting potential differences in perspectives, political orientations, or regional biases.

By applying Reisigl's (2017) model, the researcher could systematically analyze the migration discourse in Turkish print media, uncovering the discursive strategies employed, the underlying ideologies, power dynamics, and social practices embedded within the news discourses.

4. Data Analysis and Findings

This section offers an analysis of the discursive strategies employed by the selected Turkish newspapers when portraying migrants. It also discusses the ideologies behind using such discursive strategies.

4.1. Discursive Strategies Employed by the Two Selected Newspapers

This section presents the discursive strategies used by *Daily Sabah* and *Duvar* newspapers to portray migrants as follows:

4.1.1. Nomination

The data analysis reveals that the nomination discursive strategy is used by *Daily Sabah*. This strategy is employed through the phrase "country-wide application against irregular migrants." It nominates and presents the specific action or program that Türkiye plans to launch to address irregular migration. This helps to specify and define the focus of the proposed measure. The ideology of the newspaper, *Daily Sabah*, is to announce Türkiye's intention to

launch a country-wide campaign to address irregular migration. It also highlights President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's response to the increased public concerns about migration, indicating a commitment to take stronger actions to curb irregular migration. The newspaper primarily utilizes nomination to present this specific program or action related to migrants in Turkey.

Table 1: Utilization of nomination

Discursive strategy	News discourse	Newspaper
Nomination	"Türkiye to launch country-wide campaign against irregular migrants".	Daily Sabah

Source: website of Daily Sabah newspaper

4.1.2. Perspectivization

As revealed in Table 2 below, the discursive strategy of perspectivization is also used by *Daily Sabah*. This strategy encompasses the presentation of a specific standpoint or perspective on a provided subject matter. Within this news discourse, the expression "It is a tough challenge" conveys the viewpoint that the described situation is arduous, reflecting not only the considerable difficulties involved but also eliciting sympathy for the country's strenuous circumstances. The news discourse accentuates the viewpoint of the nation grappling with the predicament of migrant flow by characterizing the challenge as "tough." Furthermore, the statement "where migrant flow is ever present" serves to further underscore this standpoint by drawing attention to the continual presence of migrants in the region. The newspaper's ideology is to offer an understanding of the obstacles encountered by a country situated at the junction of Asia and Europe and to present the notion that managing migrant flow represents a substantial hardship.

Table 2: Use of perspectivization

Discursive strategy	News discourse	Newspaper
perspectivization	"It is a tough challenge for a country sitting at the crossroads of Asia and Europe, where migrant flow is ever present".	Daily Sabah

Source: Website of Daily Sabah newspaper

4.1.3. Argumentation

The discursive strategy employed in the news discourse exemplified in Table 3 below is argumentation. This strategy is utilized within the news discourse through the expression "which some sections shift the burden on migrants' shoulders." This particular phrase presents a perspective or stance that implies certain sectors of the population are attributing the responsibility or weight of the increase in migrants and the economic issues of the nation to the migrants themselves. It suggests the presence of a discourse or dissension regarding the assignment of accountability for these matters. Through the utilization of argumentation, the news discourse accentuates the divergent viewpoints within the societal framework and the existence of deliberation on how to address the difficulties brought about by the surge of individuals migrating. The newspaper's ideology is to introduce an opposing perspective to the previous declaration concerning Turkey's stance towards migrants, signifying a division in opinions within the societal structure.

Table 3: Utilization of argumentation

Discursive strategy	News discourse	Newspaper
argumentation	"But this year, a debate emerged as Turkey deals with an influx of migrants from more conflict zones, including Afghanistan, Ukraine and other countries, in addition to the society's economic problems, which some sections shift the burden on migrants' shoulders".	Daily Sabah

Source: Website of Daily Sabah newspaper

4.1.4. Intensification/argumentation

The data analysis reveals that these two discursive strategies are employed by the selected Turkish newspapers. As shown in Table 4 below, the argumentation and intensification strategies are utilized by *Daily Sabah* for specific purposes. For instance, intensification is used by *Daily Sabah* to accentuate the significance and urgency of the matter at hand. Expressions such as "a higher risk to depression and anxiety" and "aiming to support and strengthen the healthcare systems' responses" heighten the influence and importance of the findings revealed in the report. This intensification aims to draw attention to the mental health needs of refugees and migrants, particularly among girls and women, as well as the necessity for enhanced healthcare responses.

It is also noted that *Daily Sabah* employs argumentation by presenting evidence and reasoning to substantiate a specific standpoint. The news discourse asserts that females and girls on the move encounter a greater susceptibility to depression and anxiety, emphasizing their vulnerability concerning mental well-being. This assertion is supported by the report, indicating that it is grounded in research or expert analysis. The ideology of *Daily Sabah* is to present a substantiated standpoint concerning the increased risk of mental health difficulties experienced by

females and girls on the move. The aim is to raise awareness, advocate for support, and reinforce the healthcare systems' responses to address the mental health needs of refugees and migrants, thus underscoring the pressing nature and significance of this issue.

Similarly, the discursive strategies used by *Duvar* newspaper are revealed in Table 4 below. Argumentation is employed through the statement, "This incident should not be evaluated as a simple criminal case." By making this argument, *Duvar* suggests that the incident holds more significance and complexity than being a simple criminal case. It implies that broader implications and considerations must be taken into account when evaluating the incident. Intensification is used through phrases like "such incidents are happening all over Turkey right now" and "We are worried about the growth of these incidents." These intensify the understanding of the situation by emphasizing the widespread nature of similar incidents occurring throughout Turkey and expressing concern about their increasing frequency.

Duvar aims to strengthen its viewpoint and highlight the significance of the incident. By arguing against evaluating it as a simple criminal case and emphasizing the broader context of similar incidents happening across the country, the ideology of *Duvar* is to draw attention to the gravity of the situation and elicit a sense of concern. Through argumentation, the news discourse presents the viewpoint that the incident should be considered beyond a simple criminal case. Through intensification, *Duvar* emphasizes the widespread occurrence of similar incidents and expresses worry about their growth. These discursive strategies work together to persuade the reader or listener to view the incident as a more complex and concerning issue that requires attention and action.

Moreover, the use of "we" in the context of "We are worried about the growth of these incidents" indicates a collective concern shared by the speaker and a group they represent or belong to, about the increasing incidents in Turkey. It emphasizes unity and a shared viewpoint among the members of this group, suggesting that the speaker is voicing a concern that extends beyond an individual opinion, reflecting the collective stance of a community or organization worried about these developments.

The analysis of discursive strategies, specifically intensification and argumentation, in the representation of migrants by two Turkish newspapers, reveals distinct approaches to emphasize the severity of issues facing migrants and societal incidents. *Daily Sabah* uses these strategies to highlight the urgent mental health needs of migrants, especially women and girls, advocating for enhanced healthcare responses. On the other hand, *Duvar* employs these techniques to underscore the complexity and broader societal implications of certain incidents in Turkey, aiming to elicit collective concern and call for action. Both newspapers strategically employ intensification and argumentation not only to inform but to engage and influence public perception, demonstrating the significant role of discursive strategies in shaping narratives and public discourse on critical social issues.

Table 4: Using intensification/argumentation

Discursive strategy	News discourse	Newspaper
Intensification and argumentation	"The report highlights that girls and women on the move have a higher risk of depression and anxiety, aiming to support and strengthen healthcare systems' responses to the mental health needs of refugees and migrants, said Severoni".	Daily Sabah
	"In fact, such incidents are happening all over Turkey right now. This incident should not be evaluated as a simple criminal case. We are worried about the growth of these incidents".	Duvar newspaper

Source: Websites of Daily Sabah and Duvar newspaper

4.1.5. Prediction and Intensification

The data analysis shows that these two discursive strategies are employed by the two Turkish newspapers. For instance, *Daily Sabah* used predication by stating that "Türkiye copes with the irregular migration phenomenon," which succinctly asserts the description of the situation or action. Intensification, on the other hand, serves to highlight the significance and magnitude of the irregular migration phenomenon, as well as Turkey's role within it. Expressions used by *Daily Sabah* such as "crises across the world," "once again put it at the forefront," and "migrant influx as a gateway to Europe" effectively enhance the impact and importance of the aforementioned statement. The data analysis reveals that this intensification strategy used by *Daily Sabah* serves the purpose of drawing attention to the notable obstacles encountered by Turkey in addressing irregular migration and its positioning as a pivotal entry point for migrants aspiring to reach Europe. By merging predication and intensification, the news discourse presents a succinct declaration concerning Turkey's role in grappling with irregular migration. It accentuates the global context, the recurring nature of the issue, and the crucial position of Turkey as a gateway to Europe. The ideology of *Daily Sabah* is to bring focus to the ongoing challenges faced by Turkey and the magnitude of the irregular migration phenomenon.

Furthermore, the findings show that these discursive strategies, i.e., predication and intensification, are employed by *Duvar* newspaper to serve certain purposes. For example, predication is enacted through the enunciation

of President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's utterance. This affirms the direct assertion concerning the President's statement and underscores its existence as a tangible mode of communication. Additionally, intensification is utilized by *Duvar* newspaper via phrases such as "our citizens will soon feel the visible changes undertaken in the issue of irregular migration." This augments the comprehension of the impact and import of the alterations. It conveys a sentiment of anticipation and accentuates the positive ramifications that will be encountered by the citizens. It suggests that the modifications will be palpable and conspicuous, thus fostering enhancements in the sphere of irregular migration.

It is found that the employment of predication and intensification by *Duvar* newspaper serves the purpose of communicating the President's pronouncement pertaining to the issue of irregular migration and accentuating the expectation of favorable changes. The ideology of *Duvar* newspaper is to engender a sense of optimism and assurance regarding the measures undertaken by the government to tackle the matter. By employing predication, *Duvar* validates the existence of the President's statement, and through intensification, it underscores the anticipation of observable changes that will benefit the citizens. This combination serves to effectively disseminate the President's message and instill a sense of hope and reassurance concerning the issue of irregular migration. Moreover, the periodical deploys predication to affirm the President's statement, and intensification is employed to underscore the expectation of observable changes in the domain of irregular migration. This discursive strategy assists in conveying the President's message and instilling a sense of optimism regarding the imminent positive developments to be experienced by the citizens.

In analyzing the representation of migrants within the selected Turkish media, the discursive strategies of predication and intensification reveal distinct approaches to the issue of irregular migration. *Daily Sabah* focuses on Turkey's efforts and challenges in managing migration flows, using these strategies to underscore the country's crucial role as a gateway to Europe amidst global crises. Conversely, *Duvar* highlights the anticipated positive outcomes of government initiatives on migration, emphasizing the tangible improvements expected for Turkish citizens. Through these discursive techniques, both newspapers aim to engage their audience with the complexities of migration, showcasing the national and governmental responses to this pressing issue from different perspectives.

Table 5: Utilization of prediction and intensification

Discursive strategy	News discourse	Newspapers
Intensification and argumentation	"Türkiye copes with the irregular migration phenomenon as crises across the world once again put it at the forefront of migrant influx as a gateway to Europe".	Daily Sabah
Intensification/Predication	"On his return from the NATO summit in Vilnius, President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan had said, "Our citizens will soon feel the visible changes undertaken in the issue of irregular migration".	Duvar newspaper

Source: Websites of Daily Sabah and Duvar newspaper

4.1.6. Mitigation and Prediction

The data analysis shows that the discursive strategies of 'prediction and mitigation' are utilized by *Daily Sabah*, as indicated in Table (6) below. Prediction is employed by the newspaper through the assertion that Syrians are predominantly held accountable for various predicaments, including housing and rent issues. This entails a straightforward declaration concerning the ascription of blame to Syrians for specific challenges in the nation, accentuating the negative connotation imposed upon them. Mitigation is also employed to temper or diminish the blame attributed to Syrians by acknowledging that the country also experienced a substantial influx of migrants as a consequence of the conflict between Ukraine and Russia. This serves to alleviate the criticism or negative concentration solely on Syrians by recognizing the existence of other migration flows and proposing that blame should not be solely directed at Syrians.

Table 6: Use of mitigation and prediction

Discursive strategy	News discourse	Newspaper
Mitigation and predication	"He elaborated that although the country also received significant migration as a result of the war between Ukraine and Russia, Syrians are mainly blamed for problems including housing and rent issues".	Daily Sabah

Source: Website of Daily Sabah newspaper

The newspaper's ideology is to present the assignment of blame to Syrians for issues pertaining to housing and rent, while also furnishing a contextual perspective to mitigate the singling out of Syrians as the sole catalyst of these problems. By acknowledging the broader migration context, the newspaper endeavors to temper the blame and avoid an oversimplified or unjust evaluation of Syrians' impact on the aforementioned problems. This news

discourse centres on prediction by directly asserting the assignment of blame to Syrians and mitigation by providing contextual information to balance the narrative surrounding the issue.

4.1.7. Prediction, argumentation, and mitigation/intensification

The findings reveal that the discursive strategies of ‘argumentation, prediction, and intensification’ are used by the two selected Turkish newspapers, as shown in Table (7) below. Prediction is utilized by *Daily Sabah* through the articulation of the notion that the suggested measure would guarantee that undocumented asylum seekers are enrolled as employees with insurance. This serves as a direct declaration regarding the desired outcome of the measure, underscoring the significance of formalizing the status of asylum seekers and affording them legal employment and insurance. Argumentation arises when addressing the demands put forth by the Turkish business sector. *Daily Sabah* presents the assertion made by the business sector that migrants from African countries, Afghanistan, and Pakistan could serve as substitutes for the positions that most Turkish citizens are disinclined to undertake. This introduces an argument that supports the employment of migrants to alleviate labor shortages and meet the demands of the business sector. Mitigation is employed by *Daily Sabah* to temper or diminish the potential negative connotation associated with the assertion made by the Turkish business sector. By highlighting the challenges in filling certain job positions within the country, it becomes evident that the consideration of migrants as potential candidates for these roles stems from a complex interplay of labor market needs and preferences, rather than a blanket unwillingness to work among Turkish citizens.

Table 7: Using predication, argumentation, and mitigation/mitigation

Discursive strategy	News discourse	Newspaper
Mitigation and predication	“It would ensure undocumented asylum-seekers are registered employees with insurance. It would also respond to demands from the Turkish business sector claiming migrants from African countries, as well as Afghanistan and Pakistan, could substitute a shortage in positions “most Turkish citizens don’t want to work”.	Daily Sabah
Argumentation, prediction and intensification	“Green Left Party (YSP) Kocaeli MP Ömer Faruk Gergerlioğlu warned, “What started as a criminal case may turn into a lynching incident like the one in Altındağ district of Ankara”.	Duvar newspaper

Source: Websites of Daily Sabah and Duvar newspaper

It is noticed that *Daily Sabah*’s ideology is to present the suggested measure as a resolution to guarantee that undocumented asylum seekers obtain legal employment and insurance. Moreover, it aims to introduce an argument originating from the Turkish business sector, which lends support to the employment of migrants to address labor shortages, while simultaneously mitigating any potential negative implications regarding the work preferences of Turkish citizens. Predominantly, *Daily Sabah* employs prediction to assert the intended outcome of the suggested measure, argumentation to present the demands of the Turkish business sector, and mitigation to address potential sensitivities associated with the work preferences of Turkish citizens.

Moreover, the data analysis reveals that the discursive strategies of ‘predication, argumentation, and intensification’ are also employed by *Duvar* newspaper for certain purposes. For instance, prediction is utilized through the statement proclaiming that Ömer Faruk Gergerlioğlu, the Green Left Party (YSP) Kocaeli MP, issued a warning. This direct assertion highlights the concrete action of warning undertaken by the MP. Argumentation is also employed by *Duvar* newspaper to support this warning by drawing a parallel to a previous incident. The MP suggests that the ongoing criminal case possesses the potential to transform into a lynching incident similar to the one that transpired in the Altındağ district of Ankara. By providing an example, this form of argumentation fortifies the MP’s stance and underscores the gravity and potential hazards of the situation. Intensification is employed through phrases such as “may turn into a lynching incident,” thereby intensifying the comprehension of the potential repercussions and the severity of the circumstance. By emphasizing the possibility of a violent and perilous outcome, this utilization of intensification conveys the seriousness of the warning.

It is shown that *Duvar* newspaper’s ideology is to communicate the MP’s caution regarding the potential escalation of a criminal case into a lynching incident. By drawing a comparison to a prior incident, the MP bolsters their argument and underscores the urgency of the situation. Through the use of predication, the news discourse asserts the act of warning issued by the MP, while argumentation is utilized by *Duvar* newspaper to support the warning through reference to a prior incident. Furthermore, intensification is employed by the same newspaper to accentuate the potential severity and violence of the situation. This amalgamation of discursive strategies effectively conveys the MP’s concern and underscores the necessity for attention and action. Additionally, the newspaper employs prediction to assert the act of warning made by the MP, argumentation to support the warning through reference to a prior incident, and intensification to accentuate the potential severity of the situation. These discursive strategies operate in unison to convey the MP’s concern and raise awareness regarding the potential for a hazardous outcome.

The discourse analysis of *Daily Sabah* and *Duvar* newspapers reveals their strategic use of discursive strategies to frame migration issues in Turkey. *Daily Sabah* uses predication, argumentation, and mitigation to advocate for the integration of undocumented asylum seekers into the workforce, addressing labor shortages while mitigating potential social sensitivities. This narrative is presented as beneficial for Turkey's economy and as a practical solution to workforce gaps. *Duvar*, on the other hand, employs predication, argumentation, and intensification to highlight the potential for escalation in migration-related disputes, emphasizing the seriousness and possible consequences of such tensions. Through these discursive practices, each newspaper crafts its unique narrative on migration, reflecting broader ideological stances and contributing to the public discourse on this critical issue within Turkey.

4.1.8. Mitigation

The findings reveal that the discursive strategies of 'prediction and mitigation' are employed by one newspaper, namely *Duvar* newspaper, as revealed in Table (8) below. Prediction is implemented through the declaration that the UK government remunerated Turkey with £3 million. This statement directly affirms the occurrence of the payment issued by the UK government, emphasizing the existence of the financial transaction as a tangible event. Mitigation, on the other hand, is employed through the phrase "to prevent refugees from crossing into Europe." This approach mitigates potential negative connotations linked to the financial support provided by Europe to Turkey by framing this support as a measure designed to prevent refugees from embarking on dangerous journeys to Europe. This financial support, referred to as 'payment,' aims to enhance the conditions for refugees in Turkey, addressing their immediate needs and improving the infrastructure and services available to them. It underscores the protective intent behind the funds, highlighting efforts to tackle the risks and challenges associated with refugee crossings.

The utilization of prediction and mitigation by *Duvar* newspaper serves the purpose of conveying information concerning the payment made by the UK government to Turkey while simultaneously presenting it in a manner that underscores a humanitarian intention. By accentuating the objective of preventing refugees from embarking on hazardous journeys, *Duvar* newspaper's ideology is to diminish any conceivable criticism or unfavorable connotations associated with the payment. Through the utilization of prediction, the news discourse affirms the occurrence of the payment, and through mitigation, it portrays the payment as a measure to avert refugees from crossing into Europe, underscoring a protective and humanitarian motive. This combination effectively communicates the action taken by the UK government, framing it in a more positive light. In conclusion, the news discourse utilizes prediction to affirm the occurrence of the payment made by the UK government to Turkey while employing mitigation to present the payment as a measure aimed at preventing refugee crossings into Europe. This amalgamation of discursive strategies aids in conveying the information while emphasizing a humanitarian objective.

Table 8: Utilization of mitigation and prediction

Discursive strategy	News Discourse	Newspaper
Mitigation and prediction	"The UK government paid Turkey £3 million last year to prevent refugees from crossing into Europe".	Duvar newspaper

Source: Website of Duvar newspaper

5. Conclusions and Discussion

This study investigates the discursive strategies employed by two Turkish newspapers, namely *Daily Sabah* and *Duvar* newspaper, when portraying migrants. It also identified the ideologies of the selected newspapers behind using such discursive strategies. The analysis of data reveals that *Daily Sabah* employed these discursive strategies: nomination, perspectivization, argumentation, intensification, predication, and mitigation. However, *Duvar* newspaper employs predication, mitigation, intensification, and argumentation. It is noticed that *Daily Sabah* employed more discursive strategies than *Duvar* newspaper. It is also shown that both newspapers sometimes employed more than one discursive strategy in the same news discourse. The discursive strategies are employed in the two newspapers to serve different purposes as revealed through the data analysis. For instance, *Duvar* used argumentation and intensification to emphasize the significance and widespread nature of certain incidents in Turkey, aiming to elicit concern by placing them in a larger context. Conversely, *Daily Sabah* employs prediction to attribute societal issues to Syrians while using mitigation to broaden the narrative by acknowledging other migration influxes, such as from Ukraine and Russia. These contrasting strategies reveal each newspaper's unique approach to framing migration-related issues, reflecting their ideological orientations—*Duvar* seeks to draw attention to systemic concerns, while *Daily Sabah* aims to provide a balanced perspective on the impacts of migration.

The findings of the study are similar to some studies on migration discourses, such as Flowerdew et al. (2002), who found that some words are associated with migration discourse like 'influx,' 'flood,' 'burden,' etc. The findings also show that Reisigl's (2017) model is useful in revealing the discursive strategies employed by the selected Turkish newspapers. Therefore, the study recommends that future researchers should use this model to compare the discursive strategies and ideologies of newspapers published in different countries. Future researchers should also include data from various newspapers with different political orientations and select data that are

published over longer periods. Different models should also be employed for data analysis, as the present study is only based on one model, i.e., Reisigl's (2017) model. Using various models for data analysis might enrich the analysis and offer more interesting findings.

Future research in the realm of migration discourse in Turkey should also expand upon the findings of this study by conducting contextual analyses to understand the socio-political factors influencing media framing, employing longitudinal studies to track shifts in discursive strategies over time, and adopting a comparative approach to analyze a wider range of media outlets with varying political orientations. Additionally, researchers should consider examining migration discourse across different forms of media and exploring how these discursive strategies intersect and influence public perceptions. By addressing these avenues for future research, scholars can deepen their understanding of the complexities surrounding migration discourse and its impact on societal attitudes and policymaking in Turkey.

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