

REFERENCES

- Agestia, N. R., Nau, N. U. W., Christian, S. W., & Aruni, A. (2023). The Implementation of Open Door Policy in Dealing with the Syrian Refugee Crisis (A Case Study of Turkey-European Union Cooperation through the Emergency Social Safety Net Program 2016-2017). *Jurnal Middle East and Islamic Studies (MEIS)*, 10(1). <https://doi.org/10.7454/meis.v10i1.159>
- Al-Mas'udi, H., & Al-A'mery, A. (2021). Fairclough and van Dijk Models of Critical Discourse Analysis. *Kufa Journal of Arts*, 1(48), 477–490. <https://doi.org/10.36317/kaj/2021/v1.i48.537>
- Alsbeti, D. (2023). *A double standard in refugee response: Contrasting the treatment of Syrian refugees with Ukrainian refugees*. Human Rights Brief, 26(2). <https://digitalcommons.wcl.american.edu/hrbrief/vol26/iss2/4>
- Anadza, H., Pasopati, R. U., & Wang, L. (2023). Questioning universal humanism: The European double standard on refugees. *Global Strategis*, 17(2), 289–306. <https://doi.org/10.20473/jgs.17.2.2023.289-306>
- Barou, J. (2014). Integration of immigrants in France: A historical perspective. *Identities*, 21(6), 642–657. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1070289X.2013.878565>
- Bourbeau, P. (2011). *The securitization of migration*. Taylor & Francis.
- Buzan, B., Wæver, O., & De Wilde, J. (1998). *Security: A new framework for analysis*. Lynne Rienner.
- Carrera, S., & Ineli-Ciger, M. (2023). EU responses to the large-scale refugee displacement from Ukraine: an analysis on the Temporary Protection Directive and its implications for the future EU asylum policy. In *Publications Office of the European Union*. Publications Office of the European Union. <https://op.europa.eu/en/publication-detail/-/publication/4618f889-cf78-11ed-a05c-01aa75ed71a1/language-en>
- Ceyhan, A., & Tsoukala, A. (2002). The securitization of migration in Western societies: Ambivalent discourses and policies. *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political*, 27(1), 21–39. <https://doi.org/10.1177/03043754020270s103>



- European Council on Refugees and Exiles. (2024). *AIDA Temporary Protection Compilation*.
<https://asylumineurope.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/11/Compilation-temporary-protection-2022-update.pdf>
- European Labor Authority. (2023). *Overview of national measures regarding employment and social security of displaced persons coming from Ukraine Country Fiche -France*.
https://www.ela.europa.eu/sites/default/files/2023-03/BE-Country-Fiche_ELA_Ukraine-update_February-2023.pdf
- Said, E. W. (1978). *Orientalism*. Vintage Press, New York, NY
- Salas, M. I. (2023). *The Refugee Crisis' Double Standards: Media Framing and the Proliferation of Positive and Negative Narratives During the Ukrainian and Syrian Crises : EuroMeSCo – Euro-Mediterranean Research, Dialogue, Advocacy*. Euromesco.net.
<https://www.euromesco.net/publication/the-refugee-crisis-double-standards-media-framing-and-the-proliferation-of-positive-and-negative-narratives-during-the-ukrainian-and-syrian-crisis/>
- Feinstein, S., Poleacovschi, C., Drake, R., & Winters, L. A. (2022). States and refugee integration: A comparative analysis of France, Germany, and Switzerland. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 23. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12134-021-00929-8>
- Gastaut, Y. (2012). The “immigration question”: Mainspring of Sarkozy’s presidency. *Contemporary French and Francophone Studies*, 16(3), 333–346. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17409292.2012.675648>
- Fernando, M. L. (2014). *The Republic Unsettled*. Duke University Press.
<https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv11sn30f>
- Fonkem, A. (2020). The refugee and migrant crisis: Human tragedies as an extension of colonialism. *The Round Table*, 109(1), 52–70.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/00358533.2020.1717089>
- Harzoune, M. (2023, January). *The welcome given to Ukrainian refugees: exception or sign of things to come?* Histoire-Immigration.fr.
<https://www.histoire-immigration.fr/en/politics-and-immigration/the-welcome-given-to-ukrainian-refugees-exception-or-sign-of-things-to-come>
- Hatton, T. J. (2017). Refugees and asylum seekers, the crisis in Europe and the future of policy. *Economic Policy*, 32(91), 447–496. <https://doi.org/10.1093/epolic/eix009>



- Huysmans, J. (2000). The European Union and the securitization of migration. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 38(5), 751–777. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-5965.00263>
- Holmes, S. M., & Castaneda, H. (2016). Representing the “European refugee crisis” in Germany and beyond: Deservingness and difference, life and death. *American Ethnologist*, 43(1), 12–24. <https://doi.org/10.1111/amet.12259>
- Institut Français d’Opinion Publique. (2022, March 3). *Les Français et l’accueil de réfugiés ukrainiens* - Ifop Group. Ifop Group. <https://www.ifop.com/article/les-francais-et-laccueil-de-refugies-ukrainiens/>
- Johnson, J. L., Bottorff, J. L., Browne, A. J., Grewal, S., Hilton, B. A., & Clarke, H. (2004). Othering and being othered in the context of health care services. *Health Communication*, 16(2), 255–271. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327027hc1602_7
- Kargin, İ. A. (2018). The road leading to French imperialism in Syria through the lens of Edward Said’s Orientalism. *History Studies International Journal of History*, 10(7), 1–19. <https://doi.org/10.9737/hist.2018.647>
- Lim, W. M. (2024). What is qualitative research? An overview and guidelines. *Australasian Marketing Journal (AMJ)*, 1–31. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14413582241264619>
- Liu, J. (2022). Framing Syrian refugees: Examining news framing effects on attitudes toward refugee admissions and anti-immigrant sentiment. *Newspaper Research Journal*, 44(1). <https://doi.org/10.1177/07395329221077251>
- Macron, E. (2024, April 26). *Europe—It Can Die. A New Paradigm at The Sorbonne*. Groupe d’études géopolitiques. <https://geopolitique.eu/en/2024/04/26/macron-europe-it-can-die-a-new-paradigm-at-the-sorbonne/>
- Mbah, R. E., & Wasum, D. (2022). Russian-Ukraine 2022 war: A review of the economic impact of Russian-Ukraine crisis on the USA, UK, Canada, and Europe. *Advances in Social Sciences Research Journal*, 9(3), 144–153. <https://doi.org/10.14738/assrj.93.12005>
- McLeod, S. (2024). *Critical discourse analysis as a research tool*. Simply Psychology. <http://dx.doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.2.27974.48960>
- Metelev, S. (2016). Migration as a threat to national security. *Indian Journal of Science and Technology*, 9(14). <https://doi.org/10.17485/ijst/2016/v9i14/91086>



- Nail, T. (2016). A tale of two crises: Migration and terrorism after the Paris attacks. *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism*, 16(1), 158–167. <https://doi.org/10.1111/sena.12168>
- Nurullah, A. S. (2010). Portrayal of Muslims in the media: “24” and the “Othering” process. *Journal of Human Sciences*.
https://www.researchgate.net/publication/43086760_Portrayal_of_Muslims_in_the_Media
- Observatoire de la laïcité. (n.d.). *Freedoms and prohibitions in the context of “laïcité” (constitutional secularism)*. https://www.info.gouv.fr/upload/media/organization/0001/01/sites/default/files/les_contenu_piece-jointe_2017_02_libertes_et_interdits_eng.pdf
- Paré, C. (2022). Selective solidarity? Racialized othering in European migration politics. *Amsterdam Review of European Affairs*, 1, 42–61.
- Pope, P. J. (2017). Constructing the refugee as villain: An analysis of Syrian refugee policy narratives used to justify a state of exception. *World Affairs*, 180(3), 53–71.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0043820018757542>
- Priya, A. (2021). Case study methodology of qualitative research: Key attributes and navigating the conundrums in its application. *Sociological Bulletin*, 70(1), 94–110.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0038022920970318>
- Radio France Internationale. (2015, September 4). *France in U-turn on migrant quotas as Syrian boy’s photo shocks Europe*. RFI.
<https://www.rfi.fr/en/africa/20150904-france-u-turn-migrant-quotas-syrian-boys-photo-shocks-europe>
- Shorrock, W. I. (1970). The origin of the French mandate in Syria and Lebanon: The railroad question, 1901–1914. *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 1(2), 133–153.
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/162437>
- Sipahioğlu, B. Ö. (2024). Differentiated integration in the EU regarding the migration crisis: Disputes between the member states. *Akademik İncelemeler Dergisi*, 19(1), 81–92.
<https://doi.org/10.17550/akademikincelemeler.1326947>
- Song, W., Pang, B., Wang, Z., Xu, Y., Liu, Z., & Tan, M. (2024). Differentiated secularism: Discourse shaping of immigrants from different religious backgrounds in the French

media. *Humanities and Social Sciences Communications*, 11(1).
<https://doi.org/10.1057/s41599-024-03390-x>

- Topulli, E. (2016). Securitization of migration and human rights in Europe. *European Journal of Multidisciplinary Studies*, 2(1), 86–92. <https://doi.org/10.26417/ejms.v2i1.p86-92>
- UNHCR. (2024). France Fact Sheet. In *The UN Refugee Agency*. UNHCR. <https://www.unhcr.org/europe/sites/europe/files/2024-10/bi-annual-fact-sheet-2024-09-france.pdf>
- University of Maryland. (2019, October 28). *Research using primary sources*. Research Guides. <https://lib.guides.umd.edu/primary-sources>
- van Dijk, T. (1995). *Opinions and ideologies in the press* (pp. 21–63). Blackwell. <https://discourses.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/07/Teun-A.-van-Dijk-1998-Opinions-and-Ideologies-in-the-press.pdf>
- van Dijk, T. A. (2001). Multidisciplinary CDA: A Plea for Diversity. In R. Wodak & M. Meyer (Eds.), *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis* (pp. 95-120). London: Sage Publications.
- Yildirim, A. K. (2015, November 23). Paris attacks and Syrian refugee resettlement policy. Rice University’s Baker Institute for Public Policy. <https://www.bakerinstitute.org/research/syrian-refugee-resettlement-policy>