

A Review of Discrimination and Labeling of Refugees Using the Example of Syrian and Ukrainian Refugees

Suriyeli ve Ukraynalı Mülteciler Örneği Üzerinden Mültecilere Yönelik Ayrımcılık ve Etiketleme Üzerine Bir İnceleme

Buket Ökten Sipahioğlu¹ 

¹(Lecturer Dr.), Ankara University European Union Research Center (ATAUM), Ankara, Türkiye

ABSTRACT

In the forced migration context, the term "refugee" is mostly related to negative issues because of the prior refugee crisis experiences and the frighteningly increasing numbers of displaced people around the world. Although the term "crisis" mostly evokes negative connotations, it still makes sense for unsolved events. The crisis of the refugees still awaits solutions and thereby demands responses. Furthermore, not every refugee receives the same response from their host community or enjoys the same rights as has recently been seen in the Syrian-Ukrainian refugee examples. Some of them are discriminated against in their race and ethnicity, are "unseen" in their host community, and cannot raise their voices as needed. In this sense, this study points out, in a descriptive way, how refugees are "labeled", and therefore, discriminated against and treated differently based on their race and ethnicity, taking out Syrian and Ukrainian refugees as an example. Accordingly, the main argument of the study is that policymakers, as well as refugee advocates, can somehow change the current 'anti-refugee' perception and execution of the law.

ÖZ

Zorunlu göç bağlamında, 'mülteci' ifadesi, daha önceki mülteci krizi deneyimlerinden ve dünya çapında korkutucu şekilde artan sayıda yerinden edilmiş insandan dolayı çoğunlukla olumsuz konularla ilgilidir. Kriz terimi çoğunlukla olumsuz anlamlar çağırırsa da hala çözülmemiş olayları anlamlandırmaktadır. Mültecilerle ilgili sorunlar hala çözüm ve yanıtlar bekler haldedir. Ayrıca, yakın zamanda tecrübe edilen Suriyeli-Ukraynalı mülteciler örneğinde olduğu gibi her mülteci ev sahibi toplumdaki aynı yanıtı alamamakta ve aynı haklardan yararlanamamaktadır. Aslında, bazıları ev sahibi topluluklarında 'görünmeyen' ırk ve etnik kökenlerine karşı ayrımcılığa maruz kalmakta ve gerektiğinde seslerini yükseltmemektedirler. Bu anlamda, bu çalışma betimleyici bir yöntemle, mültecilerin nasıl "etiketlendiğine" ve dolayısıyla ırklarına ve etnik kökenlerine göre ayrımcılığa ve farklı muameleye maruz kaldıklarına Suriye ve Ukraynalı mülteciler örneğiyle işaret etmektedir. Buna göre, çalışmanın ana argümanı politika yapımcıların ve mülteci savunucularının, mevcut 'mülteci karşıtı' algıyı ve yasanın uygulanmasını değiştirebilmesi veya bir şekilde etkileyebilmesidir.

Keywords: Forced Migration, Refugees, Discrimination, Labeling, European Values

Anahtar Kelimeler: Zorunlu Göç, Mülteciler, Ayrımcılık, Etiketleme, Avrupa Değerleri

Introduction

Although migration issues are often associated with 'crisis', this does not necessarily show the negativity of the subject; rather, it refers to an unsolved problem that awaits a response. The availability of responses and our capacity to respond are influenced by the mobilization of the concept of "crisis." A "crisis" can be utilized as an extraordinary occurrence to justify or sanction an emergency response, which could result in severe implications for people who are on the move if the status quo is disrupted. Both the "crises" themselves and the reactions they evoke show either the presence of power or its absence. The responses to forced displacement in the context of migration show the politics of power: the Global North can put policies and practices in place that trap displaced people in the Global South, and the Global South is unable to hold wealthy countries accountable for their role in the primary causes of displacement. With the Russian-Ukrainian Conflict, the number of forcibly displaced people around the

Corresponding Author: Buket Ökten Sipahioğlu **E-mail:** okten@ankara.edu.tr

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World reached 100 million, the highest number ever recorded, according to United Nations Refugee Agency (UNHCR, 2023). Is it reasonable to continue using a definition of "refugee" that protects only a select few while leaving out the majority, or can we rethink the international protection system to better guarantee the equality and respect that were its initial promises?

The people who are involuntarily displaced are not treated the same, rather, they are discriminated against according to their race, ethnicity, and country of origin (geography). The world has experienced that some refugees are heard and seen, while some, unfortunately, cannot make their voices be heard. For many, it was not a surprise to see that after the Russian-Ukrainian Conflict started in February 2022, the Ukrainian refugees were welcomed by the Europeans who refused to host millions of Syrians fleeing from war and persecution since 2011, and also, African people struggling with economic difficulties. It is obvious that race, religion, ethnicity, country of origin, and wealth, despite an international legal foundation founded on the inherent equality and dignity of all people, are utilized to build and maintain hierarchies of worth. Therefore, it is reasonable to carry out the forthcoming studies to consider issues of identity and definition, as well as how the current system can provide a safe "space" for refugees to express themselves and assert their rights. The reasons for forced migration (conflict, war, natural disasters, development, climate change, etc.) are well known, but the study of forced migration pays significantly less attention to them than is appropriate. In the largely reactive approaches, they are frequently regarded as mostly inevitable, irreversible, and unchangeable. Forced eviction is the result of purposeful acts made by significant parties, but it is not always the result.

Considering the above-mentioned facts, this study, descriptively, points out that refugees are "labeled" and therefore discriminated against and treated differently based on their race and ethnicity. The main argument of the study is that policymakers, as well as refugee advocates, can somehow change the current 'anti-refugee' perception and execution of the law. Differing from previous studies, this study contributes to the debate by comparing two waves of immigration that brought out Syrian and Ukrainian refugees. Besides, the study analyzes the subject considering the 'securitization' theories, which are especially important in refugee studies. Since refugee flows are regarded particularly risky for national security by the host countries, having these in mind, this study aims to shed light on the 'crisis' aspect of the refugee problem as well as suggest solutions about giving responses on how to procure the refugees' acceptance and protect them against discrimination. The study, within this direction, consists of four sections. The first section summarizes the conceptual and theoretical framework of the study. The first section is about labeling refugees, meaning in which framework being a refugee is evaluated legally and politically. In the second section, discrimination and representation of legitimacy will be discussed under the comparison of 'Syrian Refugees' and 'Ukrainian Refugees'. Securitization theories will also be a part of the discussion comparing these two migrations. In this part, relevant statements of the politicians will also be analyzed. The third section is the part that discusses how race ethnicity, country of origin, religion, and wealth are used to create hierarchies of competence notwithstanding the inherent equality and dignity of all people, which forms the basis of international law. The conclusion is part of the discussion and last evaluations.

Conceptual Framework

Migration studies have evolved in the last two decades. Many migration scholars call for highlighting reflexivity in migration research. The scholars who argue that the basic sociological concepts of migration research should be revised like the phenomenon of 'migration' and whom we should call 'migrants', as well as 'refugees', and their mutual affection for the 'societies' they live in. Within this motivation, the definitions become more important to draw the conceptual framework. According to the 1951 Geneva Convention, a refugee is: "someone unable or unwilling to return to their country of origin owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion" (UNHCR, 2022). Migrant, on the other hand, has no formal agreed-upon legal definition. The United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs states that "an international migrant is someone who changes his or her country of usual residence, irrespective of the reason for migration or legal status" (United Nations Refugees and Migrants, 2023). Bearing these in mind, it can be suggested that refugees are more likely to experience labeling (Bernburg, 2009: 6) and are disadvantageous people whose rights need to be protected. The labeling of refugees has been studied by several scholars including Zetter (2007), Lee and Nerghes (2018), Bernburg (2009), Vigil and Baillie (2018), and Tazreena (2018).

According to Long (2013, p. 23), the difference between refugees and migrants should be clarified beforehand. Both processes and identities have several outcomes. This does not necessitate giving up for refugees from reaching special admission units, rather requires accepting the limitations of different factors to produce long-term and accessible solutions. Policymakers, researchers, and executives can decide how refugees can be reconnected to migration processes. Considering there is a complex relationship between migrants and refugees, it is necessary not only to facilitate refugees' freedom of movement but also to prioritize their rights.

Assuming that rhetoric and ideology play a role in forming impressions of those in need in a period, some new legislation or new executions should be applied regarding the fact that opportunistic populist governments frequently mislead and blame migrants and other forcibly displaced people. How can advocates for refugees and those who are refugees resist and undermine the current power systems that criminalize, demean, and denigrate others through language, image, policy, and law? How these vehicles are

used to influence refugee discourse and practice and look at methods to strengthen the acknowledgment of equal rights and dignity for those who are forcefully displaced should be more closely examined. One of the leading securitization theories, Copenhagen School, is evaluated in the study in terms of how refugees are regarded as a national threat by the host countries. Labeling, on the other hand, with the theoretical framework, is examined throughout the study.

Labeling theory clarifies the role and result of the classification and discrimination that most of the time disadvantaged groups face. Bamberg (2009: 1) cites Becker (1963) and Lemert (1967), that the theory assumes that although deviant behavior can initially stem from various causes and conditions, once individuals have been labeled or defined as deviants, they often face new problems that stem from the reactions of self and others to negative stereotypes (stigma) that are attached to the deviant label. Being labeled by others produce many sociological outcomes, most of which affect daily lives and result in psychological behavioral patterns too.

Labeling of Refugees

Examining refugee perceptions, it can be said that general perceptions about refugees are that they are problems or at least part of a problem that should be somehow solved globally. Gatrell (2014:1) argues that during World War I, the refugee emerged as a tentative figure who threatened social stability, not only because of the sheer number of displaced people, but also because the refugee was difficult to accommodate within the conventional classification, such as assigning people to a specific social class. Regardless of the period, to solve the so-called "refugee problem," governments, related institutions, humanitarian actors, and politicians act together. Beyond the use of categories, the politics and power relations that underpin the boundary processes need to be highlighted. Crawley and Skleparis (2017, p. 53) argue that only by increasing awareness of boundaries can we begin to denaturalize our use of categories as a mechanism for distinction, separation, identification, or as a mechanism for making things completely invisible. When the political and policy goals underlying the process of containment are understood, our efforts to challenge that process and its interests with the goal of "limiting" what is increasingly excluded become more visible.

According to Zetter (1991, p. 40), since the term "refugee" expresses a dynamic process and, thus, the meaning of the concept varies over time and place, it carries several challenges. There is not an obvious agreement on the definition and legal status. Moreover, not all the forcibly displaced people have refugee status, although they are traumatized and vulnerable, and need support. This makes it more difficult to distinguish between a migrant and a refugee sociologically. Assuming the two of the mentioned concepts have a negative perception, they have a negative label beforehand. The post-Second World War initiatives, according to Scalettaris (2007, p. 45), serve as an example of how labels "account more for the historical and institutional context in which they are produced" and how "the interests of hegemonic states are the most powerful factor in shaping the policy framework for the management of human mobility, and, consequently, in producing labels."

The modern refugee label attempts to group various kinds of people, ignoring their historical, social, political, and cultural impulses. Power can be evaluated as the policy of law within the refugee regime, and these expressions of power influence how categories and labels are constructed. Refugee identities are also defined by a combination of fluidity and obtrusion, which ideally results in identity stabilization. Labels are the socio-political power structures that produce and sustain categorizations or groupings of people. Moreover, refugee labels are changing and transforming globally. In this sociopolitical context, refugee identities and labels are imprinted on one another, and they also form collective and individual transformations. Refugee identities and the labeling of refugees can influence each other during this process. If the common points of refugee labels and refugee identities can be analyzed, then larger forced migration processes become clearer considering they are not only individual or only collective. Refugee identities and labeling are concepts that should be further studied since, when we talk about the human factor, there is no single variability that embraces complexity (Vigil and Baillie, 2018, p. 53).

There is also a lack of understanding of how power is articulated within the creation and maintenance of contemporary refugee identities. Individuals' involuntary or forced movements, according to Malkki (1995), are always only a part of much larger constellations of sociopolitical and cultural processes and practices. Labeling people who involuntarily live in countries other than their home countries has nothing to do with politics. Rather, it has its dynamics, and it is sometimes used to group, differentiate, and frame people. Labeling has the potential to shape the range of possibilities for understanding the story, as well as how migrants and refugees are perceived. Negatively labeling and framing refugees and migrants may cause serious issues in host societies, where perceptions are heavily influenced (Lee and Nerghes, 2018, p. 1). It is crucial to notice at this point that labels, or concepts as they are used in daily lives and the literature, differ in the perceptions and affect the behaviors of the people they apply to. Besides, regarding the forcibly displaced people, negatively labeling them reveals safety problems for these people and prevents their voice from being heard.

Refugees, according to the UNHCR in Greece, are like ghosts for a variety of reasons. First, they have died because they left their homes and their lives behind, and they left parts of their identities. Second, they are being pursued and are terrified as they run from place to place, unable to rest. Finally, they have the potential to frighten the assumed viewer: the final image in the television commercial shows the elderly man staring directly at the viewer as he emerges from the shadows (Cabot, 2016, p. 646).

Comparing Syrian and Ukrainian Migration

The Syrian Migration is a forced migration resulting from the Syrian Civil War starting in 2011. In 2020, the UNHCR estimated that there were 6.8 million refugees and asylum-seekers from Syria, meaning people who had not yet legally settled in another country. The U.N. identified the second-largest crisis as the displacement of Palestinians and Venezuelans, both of which have affected around 5 million people in dire situations. There were 3 million refugees and asylum seekers from Sudan and South Sudan in 2020, while there were 2.8 million refugees and asylum seekers from Afghanistan abroad. Looking at 2013 data, it is normal for refugee crises to happen gradually. Ten years ago, the number of people displaced from Syria was 2.5 million, while the number of people fleeing Sudan and South Sudan was only 800 thousand. The Palestinian and Afghan situations are examples of protracted conflicts where the number of refugees has stagnated over the past ten years or so.

When it comes to 2022, UNHCR expresses that, there are 13.7 million Syrians displaced worldwide as of 2022 (<https://www.unrefugees.org>). Approximately 6.8 million of these have been forced to leave their country, whereas 6.9 million of them are internally displaced. The majority of those leaving outside of the country live in Turkey (approximately around 3.7 million) and the rest of them are dispersed in Lebanon, Jordan, Germany, Iraq, Egypt, Sweden, Sudan, Austria, Greece, Netherlands, France, Switzerland, Denmark, Bulgaria, Belgium, Norway, Spain, the United Kingdom, Cyprus, the USA, Algeria, Armenia, and Morocco. Ukrainian migration, on the other hand, started in March 2022 and forced millions of Ukrainians to flee their country in a very short time. When compared to the Ukrainian migration, which is the fastest displacement of people recorded since World War II, the Syrian migration occurred over a longer period. Rapidly, with the start of the Russia-Ukrainian Conflict, more than 5 million people left Ukraine, and approximately 7 million of them are still waiting to be placed inside Ukraine, far away from their homes. These figures may appear to be just numbers and statistics, but they highlight a serious flaw in the international refugee law: the failure to protect the vast majority of people fleeing armed conflict (Ramji Nogaes, 2022, p. 1).

This "European Union (EU)-wide" response to the Ukrainian refugee crisis contrasts with the 2015 refugee influx, which caused many EU members to close their borders to refugees. However, the former contains valuable lessons that are unlikely to be extended to non-Europeans anytime soon. While each case of refugee flow is unique, some broad lessons can be drawn. For example, we know that refugees tend to be displaced for long periods, ranging from 10 to 26 years. According to European Commission Vice President Margaritis Schinas, up to 3 million Ukrainians will remain in Europe, a boon for a continent facing demographic decline (Karasapan, 2022).

Furthermore, while 72 percent of Syrian refugees are women and children, 90 percent of Ukrainian refugees are males aged 18-60 and are prohibited from leaving Ukraine to defend the country, making women and children refugees, an already vulnerable population, even more vulnerable. Measures to support women and children must be deployed and sustained, from trafficking to child care for working women to educational challenges for children. Long-term family separation brings new challenges (Yale School of Medicine, 2022).

Although regional law offers some different exceptions for refugees and forcibly displaced people worldwide, discrimination related to race occurs in different migratory flows, handling the cases of Syrians and Ukrainians in this study. While European countries refused to accept responsibility and thus refused to share the burden of hosting refugees, they welcomed Ukrainians with open arms. This generous greeting is unprecedented as the world has never seen before, the negative perception of refugees and forcibly displaced people all around the world. According to Linos and Chacko (2022), most Ukrainians do not fit the definition laid out in the 1951 UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees. Besides, this treaty does not identify how the responsibility and burden will be shared for large and unexpected refugee flows. This includes people who are not applying for refugee status.

Examining the EU as a host for these two migration flows, it is seen that the Dublin Convention regulations will not impose the same difficulties. According to that treaty, the nation that initially registered an asylum applicant must handle the application and provide accommodation. Athens, which at the time lacked the resources to carry out its duties under the treaties, was overrun in 2014 by refugees from Syria and North Africa. As a result, there was a disorderly and desperate remigration throughout Europe, and refugees continued to live in constant fear of being sent back home. For Germany to assume responsibility for many of these asylum seekers, Angela Merkel, the former German chancellor, had to do a heroic act at a great political cost. For the benefit of the Ukrainian people, Ukraine's western neighbors are frantically trying to register and assume initial responsibility for this unprecedented flood, which is projected to add another 5 million refugees from Ukraine, the flow of refugees from Syria and North Africa was nearly five times as high as the flow from Ukraine. Besides, perhaps the most conspicuous difference is the extension of Ukrainian refugees' stay visas up to 1 year after the conflict. They could stay up to 90 days without a visa previously. Syrian refugees have never had this kind of right offered by the EU. They had no right to work legally either in the labor market. Ukrainian refugees got the right to enter the labor market initially (De Witte, 2022).

The Copenhagen School, which focuses on securitization and identity, can also be associated with reactions to refugees and the refugee crisis. In contemporary Western European societies, belonging is mediated not only through cultural identity- or nationalism- and border policing. Access to social and economic rights is also important in the welfare state's governance of

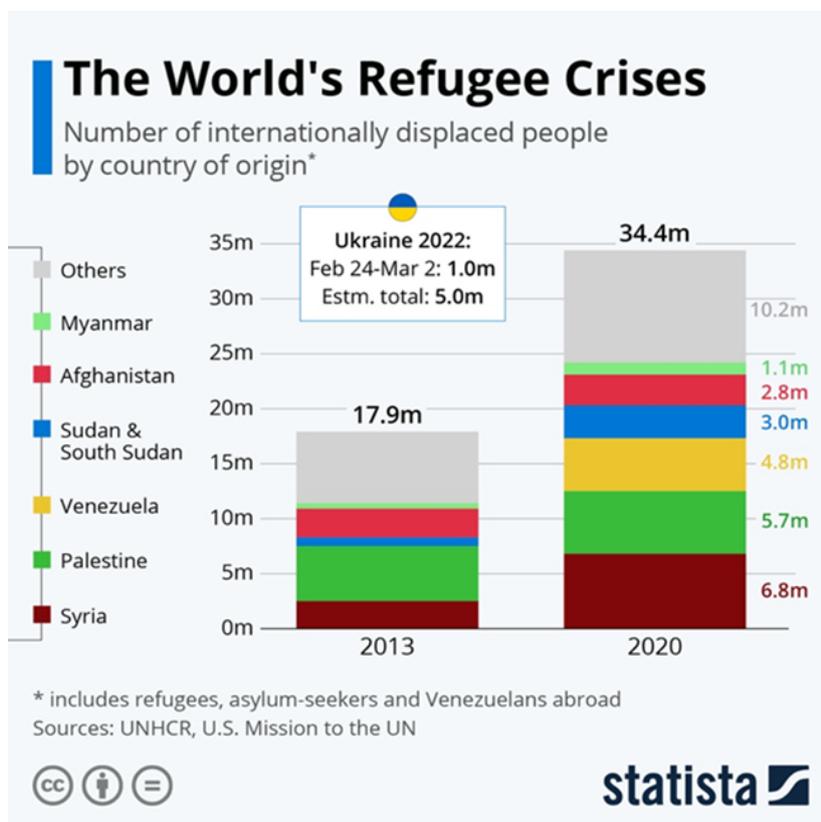


Figure 1. Number of internationally displaced people by country of origin Source: Buchholz, K. (2022) How the Ukrainian Refugee Crisis Compares Globally, <https://www.statista.com/chart/26974/refugee-crises-worldwide>

belonging. Who can receive government assistance? Migration is crucial in today’s fight for the welfare state. Immigrants, asylum seekers, and refugees are increasingly seen as having no legitimate (rather than legal) rights. Karyotis (2007) puts it out highlighting that the military security approach, which frequently associates immigrants with terrorism, is typically on the table when the relationship between immigration and security is investigated. Demirkol (2023) suggests that in the context of the Copenhagen School, societal security is the second most important factor in the securitization of immigration. Societal security comes when locals and immigrants are seen as self- and others. According to this viewpoint, immigrants are deemed to represent a threat to the existing culture and identity. King (2004) puts the debate one step further and argues that according to the Copenhagen School Securitization Theory, the notion that immigrants will undermine locals’ sense of identity and culture constitutes a sort of securitization of immigration. Immigrants are portrayed in this way as a threat to identity, the referent object. Yet, it is unclear if immigration threatens society or diversity because it breeds identity uncertainty among its newcomers.

Tazzrena (2018, p. 41) contributes to the debate by arguing that, these vulnerable people who are fleeing from war, conflict, discrimination, and inequality get the freeze by the host countries and international organizations. Whenever immigration is linked to criminality and security, these thousands of people become hyper-visible and blamed for being extremely dangerous to society. Besides, regarding especially irregular migrants, when some of them are perceived as innocent and worthy while others are treated as potential criminals, this prevents objective evaluation and the creation of the right policy. By the way, this issue goes beyond avoiding international law obligations, and by labeling determining who should be protected under the asylum regime and who should be excluded from the protection becomes clear.

Analyzing Discourses About the Syrian and Ukrainian Refugees

Not long after the conflict between Russia and Ukraine began, European countries, which opened their doors to civilians who left Ukraine due to Russian attacks, acted with greater mobilization in providing economic and social assistance to Ukrainians compared to refugees from other countries. While the European countries neighboring Ukraine host refugees with unprecedented hospitality, other continental countries also make special legal arrangements so that Ukrainians can easily enter their borders. Apart from shelter, countries are also struggling to ensure the social and economic welfare of refugees.

Politicians, journalists, and government officials all deliver speeches at the start of the conflict. To set an example, Bulgarian Prime Minister Kiril Petkov describes the Ukrainian refugees as "educated, skilled, and smart". He summarizes his views about Ukrainian refugees as, "There is no refugee wave here, where there are people with an uncertain past that we are used to and do not know what to do." Likewise, in an interview with the M1 news channel, the prime minister said refugees arriving from

neighboring Ukraine "can be assured they will be welcomed by friends in Hungary". "We'll feed them, shelter them, and provide for their children," he added. He said assisting refugees from Ukraine is an "elementary human, Christian instinct" (PM Orban, abouthungary.hu).

Kelly Cobiella, a reporter for US television channel NBC said: "To put it bluntly, these are not refugees from Syria. These are refugees from neighboring Ukraine. These are Christians and whites. They are very similar to people living in Poland" (twitter.com). A commenter from Kyiv, who participated in the live broadcast of the British news channel BBC, said: "I see blue-eyed Europeans and blond-haired children being killed by Putin's missiles every day. These are prosperous middle-class people, not refugees trying to flee areas of the Middle East that are still in a state of the great war. Nor are these people trying to move away from areas in North Africa" (indiatoday.in). Speaking to Qatar-based publication Al Jazeera, a commentator also used the following expression: "What stands out about these people is how they dress. They are not refugees trying to escape from the Middle East, from North Africa. They look like your next-door neighbors, any European family" (aljazeera.com). In the article published by Daniel Hannan in the British newspaper The Daily Telegraph, "They look very similar to us. This makes this situation very shocking. Ukraine is a country in Europe. Its people have Netflix and Instagram accounts, vote freely and read uncensored newspapers. The war is now far away. It's not something that happens to poor people" (Bayoumi, 2022).

Evaluating the above comments, it can be said that race and "Europeanness" are at the forefront of the classification of Syrian and Ukrainian refugees. Nevertheless, wealth also plays an important role when we talk about discrimination and inequality. During a war or conflict, the wealthy are the ones who can escape to a safe place and enjoy watching the warfare in their country.

The geographic aspect of the discrimination against the refugees is highlighted clearly by a D.C.-based Syrian journalist Rasha Ellass.

"The Russian invasion of Ukraine is jarring, because this is the closest it has gotten in our lifetime to a World war, and in that regard, it is very different from the U.S. invading Afghanistan or the regional war in Syria. But it is not because one area is civilized and the other is not. It is because of the geopolitics and what is at stake" (washingtonpost.com).

UN Syrian Commission Chair Paula Pinheiro stated that "There is openness and generosity vis-a-vis the Ukrainians that I don't criticize at all. They deserved it. But I would like very much that the same treatment will be applied to the Syrian refugees,"

"Authorities should treat Ukrainians better because they should have learned from [the 2015 refugee crisis]." Communities are still welcoming and supportive, but I believe it is due to the role of politics. What politicians are doing and how they are reacting to welcome newcomers may be different than in the past. The response to Ukrainian refugees has been overwhelming, as should be the normal human and political response to any human tragedy. In the future, welcoming refugees from wherever they come should be the norm" (aljezera.com)

Along with the Russia-Ukraine conflict, the number of forcibly displaced people passed a milestone: 100 million. According to UNHCR, this number is stark and an alarming figure that should wake the world to immediately take measures against forced displacement.

The longer the strife keeps going, particularly as advanced outcast emergencies surge, the more the issue of outcast returns will emerge. According to the World Bank Report (2020), in a nitty-gritty consideration of Syrian outcasts and their return flow, superior conditions in nations of beginning nearly continuously empower outcast returns as clashes melt away and human and property rights move forward. Unfavorable conditions in nations do not consequently lead to expanded returns to domestic nations. However, as the Syrian involvement emerges, progress in having nations may lead to more returns as the high costs of return become more reasonable. The flow of Ukrainian displaced persons returning will be influenced by the expansive number of isolated atomic families and measures encouraging reunification. Racism became more visible and exposed with the welcoming of Ukrainian refugees by European countries. Demir (2022) argues that the world once again saw that refugeeism is not a choice but a necessity. This is how we know it. It is a humanitarian duty to help everyone who has had to leave their country for this reason, regardless of language, religion, race, or nationality. What summarizes the situation best is expressed by the Secretary General of Amnesty International, Agnes Callamard (twitter.com, 3 March 2022). She said that the comments by some journalists and others on racism, strict ignorance, and the flow of refugees from Ukraine are disgusting. Western countries essentially are not interested in refugees, rather this is the kind that demonstrates how they treated immigrants for years.

Conclusion

The term "refugee" has had a negative connotation recently since the migration movements around the world are gathering pace and the number of asylum seekers as well as refugees has substantially increased. Forcibly displaced people, on the other hand, have a more negative sense of specially developed countries that think it is a burden to host these people. Before the Ukrainian-Russian conflict emerged in the early days of 2022, there were around 89.3 million people who were forced to flee their homes due to conflicts, violence, fear of persecution, and human rights violations. According to recent statistics, this number reached 100 million, which is the highest ever recorded. For this reason, the rights of these vulnerable people have gained more importance

globally. Although the term "refugee" most of the time is associated with the crisis in the international relations context and globally, there are still issues surrounding refugees worldwide that await solutions. In this study, the negative labeling of refugees and the discrimination against them according to their race and ethnicity are highlighted. In this aspect, politicians and lawmakers, as well as non-governmental organizations, scientific researchers, and impartial humanitarian organizations, play a vital role in changing policies and making their needs visible. Ukrainian and Syrian refugees are taken as examples throughout the study, and different and discriminated discourses by the journalists and politicians are exemplified clarifying this discrimination. According to Lee and Nerghes (2018, p. 2), labeling has the potential to shape the range of possibilities for understanding the story, as well as how migrants and refugees are perceived. Negatively labeling and framing refugees and migrants may cause serious issues in host societies, where perceptions are heavily influenced. For example, according to a European Commission report, public perception of migration is generally negative throughout Europe, even though the issue has become increasingly pressing. Thus, labels and frames indicate how displaced people are received and perceived throughout Europe and beyond.

According to the UNHCR, the refugees are like ghosts who had to live in their homes and whose "lives" and dreams are dead. Certainly, not all refugees can be considered in this context. As a result, in the early days of 2022, the entire world witnessed refugees being treated differently based on their race, ethnicity, and home country. The Ukrainian refugees, who had to leave their country at a pace not seen since the Second World War, are welcomed by the European countries that turned around for the Syrian refugees in the 2015 European refugee crisis, who were fleeing from war. Considering the Copenhagen School, identity and belonging play a vital role in the securitization of migration. Ukrainians, who share the same values and historical and cultural ties with Europe, immediately gained rights in the European countries where they sought refuge. On the other hand, Syrian refugees are geographically, culturally, historically, or religiously different from the European people. For some, this different treatment should be welcomed. However, Article 14 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights grants the right to seek and enjoy asylum from persecution (ohchr.org). To find a middle ground, it can be suggested that both Human Rights Regulations and the humanistic approach require the same treatment for refugees who are forcibly displaced from their home countries.

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ORCID IDs of the authors / Yazarların ORCID ID'leri

Buket Ökten Sipahioğlu 0000-0003-3815-6732

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