

FARAH SABBAAH

Independent Researcher

farah.sabbah1107@outlook.com

NAJWA SABA 'AYON

Rafik Hariri University

faresns@rhu.edu.lb

HOUDA ARKADAN

Rafik Hariri University

arkadanhho@rhu.edu.lb

Abstract

The construction of crisis is realized through the language of those expressing their individual or group perspectives. In 2020, many nations faced multiple crises, including the COVID-19 pandemic, which raised questions about how concurrent crises are interpreted and managed. Lebanon is an example of a country that experienced three concurrent crises in 2020: the COVID-19 pandemic, the economic crisis, and the Beirut Port explosion. This study focuses on Lebanon's crises by analyzing ten English-language opinion articles written by authors who view the crises from their own professional, social, or cultural lens. The articles were qualitatively analyzed for instances of attitudinal meaning as presented in the appraisal framework. Four constructions of the crises emerged from the analysis, showing that the effects of the crises are unequal but interconnected, crisis management emphasizes certain stakeholders' interests but not others, and a crisis has the potential to instigate change. Thus, analyzing diverse constructions of crises in the articles shows that they have been simultaneously constructed as victimizing and empowering, thus highlighting the role of power in shaping the effects and management of crises.

Key words: Crisis; Lebanon; Opinion; Appraisal; Evaluation

1. Introduction

In 2020, the entire world experienced the COVID-19 pandemic, and as a result, many nations fell into an economic crisis (Congressional Research Service, 2021). Lebanon has been facing a triad of crises, and they struck the nation in the following chronological order: the economic crisis; the COVID-19 pandemic; and the aftermath of the Beirut port explosion. In times of crisis,

governments usually develop and implement crisis management programs, but civilians, organizations, and other non-governmental institutions have increasingly managed to voice their opinions and views on the government's efforts to manage crises and call for political change through the media. The opinion article is one genre of writing that expresses an individual's perspective and stance more explicitly and subjectively than other types of articles. Opinion articles have also been shown to have the potential to shape public opinion (Coppock et al., 2018).

Power plays a role in a crisis discourse because power structures lead to discrimination in developing crisis management plans and determining the stakeholder that suffers the most. Stakeholders lacking decision-making power may have been negatively impacted by one or more of the co-occurring crises, and they have needs, interests, and perhaps an agenda that should be considered in the process of developing and implementing crisis response plans to ensure social justice. This study analyzes the evaluative meaning in ten opinion articles (see the data section) covering Lebanon's three co-existing crises (COVID-19, economic crisis, and explosion) to identify constructions of crises that push the mentioned stakeholders' agenda and interests vis-à-vis the crisis or to overcome the crises. The analysis of opinion articles is an opportunity to explore the constructions of the crises of those who view them from their own professional, social, or cultural lens.

2. Lebanon's 2020 Triad of Crises

Lebanon faced a triad of crises in 2020. They struck the nation in the following chronological order: the economic crisis; the COVID-19 pandemic; and the aftermath of the Beirut port explosion.

The economic crisis has had the most persistent and detrimental effect on Lebanon when compared to the pandemic and the Beirut port explosion (Harake et al., 2020, p. ix). The Lebanese Lira suffered from devaluation that at one point reached 80%, the local banking system deteriorated, and the inflation rate increased exponentially affecting people's livelihood, particularly the economically vulnerable such as the poor and people on fixed incomes (Harake et al., 2020). The Lebanese people had already been dissatisfied with its government because living costs continued to rise. The citizens' irritation reached its peak when the government announced its plan to tax WhatsApp calls in 2019, which eventually instigated street protests that led the government to cancel the proposed tax (Podieh & Jennequin, 2019). These protests came to be known as the 17 October Protests or Revolution.

The World Health Organization (2020) announced that the 2019 coronavirus disease (COVID-19) was a public health emergency of international concern (PHEIC). The Lebanese government declared the lockdown of the whole country on March 15, 2020 (Qiblawi, 2020) as a measure to prevent the spread of the first wave of the coronavirus ("Coronavirus: Lebanon begins", 2020). According to Koweyes et al. (2021), the reported cases of COVID-19 were 16 cases per day between March 15 and April 17, 2020. Lebanon received 'cautious praise' for the measures it implemented in the early phase of the pandemic (Qiblawi, 2020, [online]). However, because of the damaging effects the lockdown had on the already

unstable Lebanese economy, the government eventually and slowly introduced reversal measures (Bizri et al., 2020).

The reversal measures led to an increase in the number of COVID-19 cases, which took a toll on the healthcare system (Bizri et al., 2020). The COVID-19 pandemic had a severe impact on the economy as well because the borders were closed, which stopped tourism and stymied construction projects (Harake et al., 2020). The lockdown enforced as a measure to combat the COVID-19 pandemic worsened the economic crisis, pushed people further along the poverty line, and increased the rate of unemployment (Bizri et al., 2020). Furthermore, there were neither enough resources nor a sufficiently equipped healthcare system to respond to this health crisis (Bizri et al., 2021).

The Beirut Port explosion on August 4, 2020, left hospitals struggling to attend to more than 5,000 injured people (Bizri et al., 2020). The explosion also resulted in a spike in COVID-19 cases reaching 3,241 cases two weeks after the blast; this number comprised 'one-third of all cases in Lebanon since the start of the pandemic on February 21, 2020' (Bizri et al., 2020, p. 857). Cases reached 605 per day on August 20, 2020 (Johns Hopkins University of Medicine, Coronavirus Resource Center, as cited in Bizri et al., 2020), and more than 1,000 cases per day during the first two weeks of November (Koweyes et al., 2021), which prompted the government to implement a national partial lockdown until the end of November 2020 (Koweyes et al., 2021). There is no agreement on whether or not this partial lockdown was effective (Bizri et al., 2020).

According to a report by Human Rights Watch (2021, [online]), the Beirut port explosion was 'one of the largest non-nuclear explosions in history'. On August 4, 2020, 2,750 tons of ammonium nitrate stored in Beirut port exploded, and the explosion led to the total annihilation of the port and damage to more than half of Beirut city and led to long-term harm to the environment and the Lebanese people's respiratory health (Human Rights Watch, 2021). Investigations have revealed that a Moldovan-flagged ship, the *Rhosus*, transported the ammonium nitrate to Beirut port in November 2013 and was stored in Hangar 12 on October 23 and 24, 2014 (Human Rights Watch, 2021), putting the port at risk. It remains to be seen who will be held accountable and what judicial action will be taken against the Lebanese authorities who failed to protect its citizens.

3. Analyzing the Construction of Crisis in Texts

3.1 Crisis as a Social Construct

A moment of crisis, Hay (1995; 1996) argues, is not really a moment but a precursor of a crisis that would be viewed as requiring decisive intervention. Hay (1996) defines crisis as a process in which stakeholders perceive that a decision is to be made to effect change. Hay's definition adds another characteristic to the term: a crisis is not really a crisis if those who have the power to respond or intervene do not consider it so; therefore, crises are formed through narrative and discourse. It follows that the power of the state is not merely measured by the government's capacity to respond to the crisis, but also by its ability to '*identify, define and constitute* crisis in the first place' (Hay, 1996, p. 255). Jessop's (2013) study on the 2017-2011 global financial

crisis supports Hay's (1996) argument; through proposing a cultural political economy approach that relies on the analysis of semiotic and extra-semiotic factors, the findings show that much of crisis discourse centers on defining the crisis at hand and determining ways to resolve it.

Power is a significant factor to consider because it plays a role in the construal and management of a crisis. Governments usually respond to a crisis and effect change, which may be the reason studies tend to focus on governments and the strategies they use to communicate and respond to a crisis (Jessop, 2013; Sultan & Rapi, 2020; Wodak, 2021). However, considering the perspectives and possible neglected stakeholders' interests also matter and would ensure the development of a comprehensive plan that yields a successful response to the crisis or crises at hand.

To reconcile the stakeholders' individual voices and interests with those of all the stakeholders involved, Berkelaar and Dutta's (2007) culture-centered approach to analyzing crises may be useful. The authors explain that crisis communication and management are typically handled by those in positions of authority, thus not voicing the discourse and narratives of other stakeholders such as the victims or a marginalized group. They argue that to understand crisis as a social construct is to acknowledge that an event/situation may not be construed as a crisis across cultures or even within the same community. The authors explain that an effective method for communicating about a crisis is to include this array of voices that ensures a comprehensive understanding of the crisis that includes perceptions of those who experience a crisis and avoid excluding those who have less power but might be most affected. Therefore, the culture-centered approach uses a less top-down and a more dialogic approach to crisis communication because it can lead to healthy communication channels and more effective management and resolution of the crisis.

In this study, a *crisis* is defined as an event or series of events that are construed as a threat and a detrimental disruption of the lives of its stakeholders, therefore requiring an immediate response. This definition of crisis implies a social constructionist view (Benoit, 1997; De Rycker & Mohd Don, 2013). The language used to communicate about crises and manage them is key.

3.2 The Role of Language in the Discursive Construction of Crisis

The discursive construction of crisis is essentially realized through language; words can constitute perspectives of reality (Neüff, 2018). De Rycker and Mohd Don's (2013) edited volume, for example, examines how language is used during a crisis in various contexts and illustrates language's role in 'the materiality of crisis' (p. 3). De Rycker and Mohd Don (2013) conclude that nations and societies can avoid, manage, and end a crisis predominantly through the effective use of language, discourse, and communication skills.

Critical discourse analysis seeks to analyze discourse with a critical lens to critique power relationships, often in pursuit of social justice (Fairclough et al., 2011). Before the emergence of digital media, the media was viewed as controlled by governments and other members of the powerful elite. Analyzing the discourse of the news, for example, would reveal discriminatory, racist, sexist, and xenophobic discourse that is often used to

influence policy and social structure. However, digital media has provided all members of society with access to platforms that allow them to voice their opinions, participate in the conversation, and counter the discourse of the elite. During times of crises, the less powerful stakeholders have the means and the opportunity to voice their needs and interests that they think decision-makers should consider. Opinion articles become a means of countering the government's shortcomings in times of crisis. Foucault refers to this phenomenon as *counter discourse* (Moussa & Scapp, 1996).

The discourse of crisis and its stakeholders is often realized by emotive and evaluative language. Governments and leaders typically use evaluative language and emotional appeal when communicating with the public during times of crisis (Neüff, 2018; O'Rourke & Hogan, 2013; Sultan & Rapi, 2020; Wodak, 2021) such as positive self-presentation through narrating stories that depict a party as having behaved morally or responsibly (Angouri & Wodak, 2014). Evaluative and emotive language is found in citizens' crisis narratives, such as the study by Hall (2021) that analyzed the constructions of Zimbabwe in the narratives of citizens that described the nation as 'under threat' (p. 30) and the assigning of blame for the country's crisis. Another example is Joharry and Turiman's (2020) analysis of words and phrases that described the COVID-19 pandemic in Malaysian public letters to the editor. Finally, journalistic writing practices often include explicit or implicit evaluative meaning and emotional appeal in its construction of crisis and its stakeholders, as Jacobs's (1996) narrative analysis of newspaper coverage of the police beating of African-American Rodney King in Los Angeles back in 1991 shows. It is through analyzing the language of evaluation and emotions that social actors can discern a crisis and formulate the appropriate response or plan of action.

4. Evaluative Language and the Appraisal Framework

This study relies on the attitude sub-system of the appraisal framework, developed by Martin and White (2005), to analyze affect, judgment, and appreciation of the crises and their stakeholders in the texts. The appraisal systems, based on the systemic functional linguistics model (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014), describe the linguistic resources of evaluation, emotions, and reader positioning in the English language. Appraisal analysis is particularly helpful in the analysis of attitude and stance in a text.

The three main systems of appraisal are attitude, engagement, and graduation (Martin & White, 2005). This study focuses on the attitude system, which consists of gradable methods for assessing the writer's attitude towards people, things, state of affairs, and places, and relied on Martin and White (2005) as a guide for the analysis of instances of appraisal. Attitude may be positive (as in praise) or negative (as in blame), and it is realized explicitly or implicitly in a text (White, 2001). The attitude system is further subdivided into three sub-systems: 1) affect, 2) judgment, and 3) appreciation.

4.1 Affect

Affect describes people's positive or negative emotions toward an entity or feelings triggered by an object, person, event, or situation (Martin & White,

2005). The emotion expressed or invoked may be realized as a behavior; e.g., ‘They cried; I cried.’ (Article 4) or a mental state; e.g., ‘communities in the diaspora grapple with the tug and pull of two emotions: feeling helpless and feeling guilty.’ (Article 4).

According to Martin and White (2005), emotions in a text may vary in intensity and may be realis categories of affect (un/happiness, in/security, and dis/satisfaction) or irrealis emotions expressed in terms of dis/inclination. The dis/inclination category of affect describes the feelings that are triggered by a stimulus that is irrealis and express the negative emotions of fear; e.g., ‘I am afraid of what she might say¹, and positive emotions of desire; e.g., ‘the rapid measures put in place at the beginning of the pandemic that we hope will enable us to keep everyone as safe as possible’ (Article 1). The realis un/happiness category refers to various degrees of happiness and sadness; e.g., ‘sadly, that term seems extremely accurate for describing Beirut today’ (Article 3). In/security includes the various degrees of positive and negative feelings that relate to the environment of a person such as fear and confidence; e.g., ‘fear the onset of a 1915 famine’ (Article 2). Dis/satisfaction refers to positive and negative feelings of satisfaction; e.g., ‘Last October, when Lebanon’s politicians came up with the novel idea to tax WhatsApp voice calls, the people had had enough of their leaders’ incompetence and poured onto the streets, chanting “All of them means all of them!”’ (Article 5).

4.2 Judgment

Judgment is a positive or negative evaluation of human behavior according to a set of social norms that are further categorized as social sanction and social esteem (Martin & White, 2005; White, 2001). Judgments of social sanction are based on the rules and regulations of a particular culture; these rules could be legal or moral. Social sanction has two sub-types: veracity, which refers to the truthfulness of someone; e.g., ‘Hezbollah's nationalist guise’ (Article 2), and propriety, which evaluates how ethical or moral an individual’s behavior is; e.g., ‘trying his alleged murderers’ (Article 10). Judgments of social esteem, on the other hand, relate to how high or low the individual is ranked on the social esteem of his/her community in terms of his/her normality, capacity, or tenacity. Normality is a judgment of how usual or unusual a person is; e.g., ‘The new government’s immediate priority was to fix the economy’ (Article 8). Capacity is a judgment of a person’s capability; e.g., ‘We were thankfully able to keep treating our oncology patients in our infusion unit the very next day following the Beirut port blast as the broken glass was being swept away and windows replaced’ (Article 1). As for tenacity, it is a judgment of how resolute a person is; e.g., ‘As Iran expert Sanam Vakil has noted: “There will be absolutely no appetite and no support for any such adventurism”.’ (Article 10).

¹ The examples that were not retrieved from the data were included in this section for illustration purposes.

4.3 Appreciation

Appreciation refers to the aesthetics of a text, people, objects, or entities. It can also involve a positive or negative assessment of the appearance, presentation, and construction of a certain object or entity such as buildings, art pieces, poems, texts, and artefacts (White, 2001). White (2001) presents the three types of appreciation:

1. Reaction
2. Composition
3. Valuation

Reaction evaluates the impact the appraised entity has on the appraiser or the quality of the entity; e.g., ‘to the infamous deadly Tripoli clashes back in 2012’ (Article 3). Composition is an appraisal of an entity’s balance or complexity; e.g., ‘as the broken glass was being swept away and windows replaced’ (Article 1). And valuation is the evaluation of an entity’s value in terms of its social significance or salience; e.g., ‘In the worst economic crisis since 1975’ (Article 2).

The sub-categories of the attitude system (affect, judgment, and appreciation) are realized grammatically in various ways (Martin & White, 2005). Participants and processes can be realized in various grammatical structures such as adjectives (e.g. sad, afraid, corrupt), adverbs (e.g., sadly, satisfactorily), nominalizations (e.g. grief), mental processes (e.g., hated), and behavioral processes (e.g., cringed or cried). Judgment is often realized with modality (e.g. she will help them – tenacity) and more implicit or indirect instances of judgment may be realized in material (e.g. They killed the protestors) and verbal processes (e.g. He scolded them for not submitting the report on time). The analysis of affect, judgment, or appreciation is a process of identifying the appraiser, the appraised, and the structure that is analyzed as the realization of the attitude sub-type.

The attitude system of appraisal provides the resources for analyzing instances of affect, judgment, and appreciation in the opinion articles that evaluate the crises and their main stakeholders in the Lebanese context.

5. Methodology

This study critically analyzes the articles of individuals who project the voices of the stakeholders of the three crises. Through an appraisal analysis of ten opinion articles, the study seeks to answer the research questions listed below.

5.1 The Research Questions

The research questions that this study poses are:

1. What does the attitude analysis reveal about how the Beirut port explosion, the Lebanese economic crisis, and the COVID-19 pandemic are constructed in the opinion texts?

2. Which stakeholders in this triad of crises have received the most attention in the opinion pieces? And how are they constructed in the opinion articles?
3. What are the implications of the findings for developing response plans for cases of multiple crises?

5.2 Data Collection

A purposive sampling technique (Miyahara, 2020) was adopted and utilized to collect rich data capable of providing answers to the research questions. Hence, six-item criteria were developed that resulted in collecting ten opinion articles (a total of 9,334 words) through the Google search engine, the most popular search engine. The articles were published between August 5, 2020, and December 21, 2020, in online publications and websites from various countries. The sampling criteria are as follows:

1. The article is an opinion piece published on a website;
2. The article is in English;
3. The article mentions all three crises: the Beirut explosion, the economic crisis, and the pandemic;
4. The article can be accessed, and it can be accessed without a subscription;
5. The articles published within the five-month time period (August 5 and December 21, 2020) were included in the data.

Four rounds of sampling were conducted as the keyword list that included words relating to the Beirut explosion, COVID-19, economic crisis, Lebanon, and opinion was refined to retrieve more results and reach the sample size of ten articles that met the criteria:

1. Mukherji, D., Economic crisis, coronavirus pandemic and Beirut port blast: Lebanese resilience tested to breaking point? *R4HC-MENA*, 20 August, 2020.
2. Hussain, H., Fixing Lebanon's reform narrative, *CGTN*, October 12, 2020.
3. Safwan, L., Lebanon is no longer just crumbling. With the Beirut explosion, it has collapsed, *The Washington Post*, August 6, 2020.
4. Hajar, D., After the Beirut blasts, the Lebanese diaspora is left between helplessness and guilt, *The Washington Post*, August 7, 2020.
5. Momani, B., Lebanon's politicians have failed their people, once again, *The Globe and Mail*, August 5, 2020.
6. AbiRafeh, L., Let's not forget vulnerabilities of women, girls after Beirut port blast, *The Media Line*, September 8, 2020.
7. Joseph Bahout, How COVID-19 exposed the Middle East's economic fragility, *L'Orient Today*, December 21, 2020.
8. The Hindu Editorial Board, Beirut battered: On Lebanon blast, *The Hindu*, August 6, 2020.

9. Glavin, T., Glavin: After the blast, help Lebanon – but not its corrupt government, *Ottawa Citizen*, August 5, 2020.
10. Khwais, M., How Lebanon may be forced to make peace with Israel, *Haaretz*, September 15, 2020.

5.3 Text Analysis

This study qualitatively analyzes the selected articles by probing the texts for instances of appraisal and coding them in terms of attitude type and subtype. The articles were coded by two of the co-authors to establish inter-coder reliability. The instances of appraisal considered here are words, phrases, and clauses that explicitly or implicitly evaluate or invoke feelings, judgment, or appreciation towards a person, group, object, event, or abstract concept. Though analyzing implicit evaluative meaning in the text may be objected to as being subjective, the study follows Martin and White's (2005) recommendation not to overlook such instances because they affect the overall understanding, evaluative meaning, and positioning of the text.

Analysis of implicit meaning requires an interpretation of the co-text and the context. For example, in article 9, the Lebanese government is described as 'Hezbollah-backed'. This instance was analyzed as an implicit judgment of negative propriety given the co-text of the government being previously described in the same article as 'corrupt' and 'inept' and combined with the researchers' previous knowledge of the political division that exists in and outside Lebanon, some being supporters of Hezbollah and some being against them.

The co-authors of this study adhered to a recommendation by Martin and White (2005) to identify and announce their reading position. The co-authors attempted to read the articles compliantly, without contesting or being skeptical of the propositions and claims in the articles, to analyze the text's meaning. The co-authors were also aware that their background as Lebanese citizens and Arabs from three different age groups might affect the reading and interpretation of the text; however, it could also enable them to understand the references to the political and social Lebanese context more easily than those who are not Lebanese.

After qualitatively analyzing the ten articles for instances of attitude, the co-authors ran frequency counts for the number of instances of appraisal and type of appraisal of the three crises and the stakeholders. When running the frequency counts for the appraised crises and the appraised stakeholders, not only were expressions of the crisis or stakeholder considered but also references to it. For example, in counting the number of times the Lebanese economic crisis was mentioned, the appraised items 'economic crisis' as well as 'economic collapse', 'hyperinflation', and 'dollar' were all counted. Even pronouns and clear references to the crisis or stakeholder in the previous clause were also counted. The frequency count allowed certain constructions of the crises and the stakeholders to emerge through a qualitative analysis of the patterns of appraisal based on the frequency of negative or positive evaluation and the categories of affect, judgment, and appreciation.

6. Findings

The appraisal analysis of the opinion articles has identified a total of 1,155 instances of appraisal. The analysis has shown that the crisis(es) were construed in a variety of ways. The discussion of the findings of the appraisal analysis aims to answer the research questions by presenting the constructions of the crises and the needs and interests of the stakeholder(s) the writers presented as worthy of consideration and/or engagement. The URL links to access the articles that were analyzed for this study in the sections below are listed in the data section.

The attitudinal analysis shows the stakeholders and the crises that received the most attention and commentary. The Lebanese government (129 of the 607 instances of evaluated stakeholders) and the Lebanese people (140 of the 607) are the most frequently evaluated stakeholders in the data. Table 1 summarizes the number of times each crisis was appraised in the corpus of ten opinion articles. The appraisal analysis shows that, with the exception of articles 2 and 7, the Beirut port explosion was the most frequently evaluated crisis (141 out of 257), followed by the Lebanese economic crisis (74 out of 257), and the COVID-19 pandemic (42 out of 257).

Article number	Total number of instances of appraisal of the three crises	Beirut port explosion	Lebanese economic crisis	Covid-19
1	21	11	6	4
2	15	3	8	4
3	23	17	4	2
4	13	7	2	4
5	29	16	10	3
6	29	15	12	2
7	28	9	11	8
8	32	25	6	1
9	32	22	6	4
10	35	16	9	10
Total	257	141	74	42

Table 1. The total number of instances of appraisal of the three Lebanese crises in the ten opinion articles

The appraisal analysis of the three crises shows that the crises were predominantly evaluated for appreciation of negative valuation (Beirut explosion: 95 out of 141 instances; Lebanese economic crisis: 33 out of 74 instances; COVID-19: 35 out of 42 instances). Valuation is a subtype of appreciation that emphasizes social significance or salience (benefit or harm) (White, 2001). The evaluative patterns that appeared in the analysis of the

opinion articles about the Lebanese crises led to the extraction of the following four constructions of crises and their stakeholders:

1. The crisis is an opportunity to make references or remind the audience of another crisis.
2. Crisis management is discriminatory.
3. The crisis is an opportunity to serve a stakeholder's interests.
4. The crisis is a catalyst for social change.

6.1 The Crisis is an Opportunity to Make References or Remind the Audience of Another Crisis

The analysis shows that the economic crisis is at the crux of the relationship between the three crises. Even though the Beirut Port explosion is the most appraised crisis in the data, the explosion and the COVID-19 pandemic often function as an opportunity to make references to the economic crisis and how they have exacerbated the deterioration of the economy. The triggered negative emotions and destruction of the Beirut port explosion were often discussed against the backdrop of the pre-existing economic crisis. Example (1), for instance, implicitly and positively judges the hospital staff, including those who do not work there anymore, for their efforts to care for the victims of the blast.

- (1) A huge number of staff came back to the hospital to help in all capacities including some who had recently been dismissed **due to** the deepening economic crisis in the country yet came to serve their community. (Article 1)

The mention of the healthcare professionals and their role in the Beirut port explosion crisis response was bridged with **due to** to invoke an appreciation of negative valuation that draws the reader's attention to the reason behind the dismissal of the hospital staff: the economic crisis.

The economic crisis is construed as a pre-existing crisis that the Beirut port explosion has worsened, as shown in example 2:

- (2) **Hyperinflation** and a currency crisis **have engulfed** Lebanon in recent months, as foreign currency **has become ever scarcer** and the import-dependent country has become effectively bankrupt. (Article 5)

'Hyperinflation' and 'have engulfed' are instances of appreciation of negative valuation, and 'has become ever scarcer' is an appreciation of negative composition that implicitly evaluates the Lebanese economy as weak.

The relationship between the economic crisis and the Beirut port explosion is also construed resulting in economic losses, as shown in example 3.

- (3) The northern port located in Tripoli, Lebanon's second-largest city, might be **a temporary option to make up for the economic losses**, but what about the souls that we lost? (Article 3)

Though the purpose of the above sentence is to evaluate the northern port in Tripoli as a positive appreciation for its role in compensating for the

economic losses, the negative effect of the explosion on the economy is clearly expressed.

The COVID-19 pandemic was negatively evaluated for appreciation of valuation (35 out of 42 instances) with evaluative language focusing on the harmful effects of the pandemic, and this health crisis also served as an opportunity to make references to the economic crisis and the pandemic, as illustrated in example 4.

- (4) **Fragile** health systems **barely coping with the economic situation** plus need to contain COVID-19 infections before the blast have been left with limited resources to deal with yet another emergency. (Article 1)

In example 4, the health systems are evaluated as ‘fragile’ and ‘barely coping with the economic situation’, both instances of negative judgment of the healthcare professionals’ capacity and a reference to the pre-existing economic crisis that has already taken a toll on the health sector.

The COVID-19 pandemic was also construed as worsening the economic crisis in Lebanon, as shown in example 5.

- (5) After the revolutionary uprising that began in October brought some hope for change, the covid-19 pandemic brought the world to a grinding halt – and **brought Lebanon to the breaking point**. (Article 4)

The co-text of the bolded text in example 5 shows the pandemic’s severe effect on the already weak economy.

The appraisal analysis indicates that the effect of each crisis on the other crises was reciprocal because the economic situation made crisis response to the pandemic and the explosion challenging, and the pandemic and the explosion exacerbated the economic crisis. Nevertheless, the narrative around the most recent crisis, the Beirut port explosion, was constructed as the final blow because it worsened the effects of the other two crises. Intervention and recovery from the economic crisis and the COVID-19 pandemic are incumbent upon the recovery from the Beirut explosion disaster to a great extent. Concerns about recovery from the crises after the explosion are expressed in example 6:

- (6) How does a country that **is already struggling** from years of **poor** governance, and **facing an economic and political and health crisis** all at once, **expect to recover from the wholesale disaster of its capital?** (Article 3)

Lebanon is appraised for negative capacity because it is ‘struggling’ and ‘facing’ multiple crises simultaneously and because of the government’s negatively appreciated ‘poor’ performance. The rhetorical question form of this example invokes a negative evaluation of the country’s capacity to recover, which raises the question of the role stakeholders play in the construal of crises and the discursive strategies used.

6.2 Crisis Management is Discriminatory

Certain factions of the Lebanese population have been more negatively affected by the crises than the other members of the community. The findings

indicate a recurrent claim that certain stakeholders' needs and interests are neglected. In that sense, crisis management can be discriminatory. The findings show that the Lebanese people are the most frequently appraised stakeholder in this data (140 [23%] out of 607 instances of appraised stakeholders) and are construed as victims of the crises and debilitated by them, a conclusion drawn from the high frequency of instances of negative capacity (67 out of 140 instances). This aforementioned result does not count the explicit mention of the victims of the explosion because this group was recognized as having distinguished characteristics and needs. The Lebanese diaspora was considered a different stakeholder because it resides outside Lebanon, is not directly affected by the crises, and plays a different role in the crises.

A closer examination of the appraisal analysis of the Lebanese people indicates that they were mostly constructed as victims of the crises and the government's corruption and/or incompetence. The attitudinal analysis shows that the Lebanese people are most frequently evaluated for their lack of capacity (67 out of the 140 instances of appraisal). Table 2 outlines the type of appraisal of the Lebanese people in the ten articles.

<i>Appraised Stakeholder</i>	<i>Affect</i>	<i>Judgment</i>	<i>Appreciation</i>	<i>Total number of instances of appraisal</i>
Lebanese people	-Happiness (1)	+Normality (2) +Capacity (17) -Capacity (67) +Tenacity (17) -Tenacity (2) -Propriety (3)	+Reaction (6) +Composition (1) -Composition (19) -Valuation (5)	140

Table 2. The instances of appraisal of the Lebanese people in the ten articles covering the three crises in 2020

The crises do not target all the members of the Lebanese community equally. The victims of the explosion, for example, were constructed as more severely impacted by the crises. In article 3, for instance, they are described as 'displaced and left with no shelter'. The Lebanese of lower socioeconomic backgrounds suffer more from the crises. In article 7, for example, the author lays out the dire economic situation in the Arab region as a whole before analyzing the Lebanese crises.

- (7) The total of those below the poverty line is now approximately one quarter of the total Arab population. These newcomers were until recently middle class – an impoverishment that might well impact social and political stability (Article 7)

The level of poverty increased, and the Middle class has not been spared. In article 4, the author comments on how Lebanese who are of lower socioeconomic status suffer more: 'a third of the country lives in poverty'.

Other stakeholders are evaluated in the articles as ignored or whose needs are insufficiently considered in the Lebanese crisis. In article 6, women are identified as a vulnerable group that requires immediate and close attention during emergency times. The author explains that women are at higher risk during times of crises:

- (8) It might appear inappropriate to speak of women and girls now, at a time when the entire population is crippled. But we must speak about women and girls **so they are not forgotten**. Despite common perceptions, it is precisely in these settings that women's rights and freedoms **are at risk**. (Article 6)

In the instances that are in bold in the example above, women are evaluated as lacking capacity and in need of being acknowledged.

Other vulnerable groups that are discriminated against are the Syrian and Palestinian refugees and the migrant domestic workers. The author of article 4 reflects on the privilege he feels as a Lebanese who managed to migrate from Lebanon to an economically stable foreign country in example 9.

- (9) And that doesn't even include the millions of Syrian and Palestinian refugees who already **face harsh and prejudice policies**, or the "kafala" (sponsorship) system that **has subjected migrant domestic workers from countries such as Ethiopia into what is essentially a form of modern-day slavery**. (Article 4)

The policies and the sponsorship system that the refugees and migrant workers face are evaluated as negative appreciation of valuation, essentially meaning that they are harmful and inhumane, and places these vulnerable groups at a higher risk during times of crises. Though the Lebanese crises may have interacted with power structures in exacerbating the vulnerability of certain stakeholders, it has managed to alter the power dynamics of other stakeholders.

6.3 The Crisis is an Opportunity to Serve a Stakeholder's Interest

The only article where this pattern emerges is in article 10. Article 10 argues that the Lebanese crises, particularly the Beirut port explosion, will make the Lebanese government more willing to consider normalizing its relations with the State of Israel. This article, written by an Israeli PhD candidate (at the time of publishing) in transportation engineering at Technion - Israel Institute of Technology, argues that Lebanon's economic crisis and the Beirut explosion may make its direction toward normalizing its relations with Israel 'inevitable'. Lebanon and Israel consider each other enemy states and that has been an obstacle for Israel to make progress in one of its economic endeavors, the Pipeline project. Lebanon's 'dire economic distress' has made it more willing to negotiate with Israel the demarcation of the maritime border between the two states. This serves the agenda and the interests of Israel and the pipeline consortium that aims to build a pipeline that has the potential of being a profitable venture because of the gas fields that they detected under the sea floor. The explosion in the Beirut port may be the final motivator to reconsider its relations with Israel because the Beirut port has been destroyed and so Lebanon needs a neighboring country with a flourishing and expanding port such as Haifa port as a logistical solution 'to salvage its trade networks'. In other words, Lebanon needs Israel and Israel will benefit economically from Lebanon's willingness to normalize its relations with Israel and build an economic partnership.

There is a party that is standing in Israel's way to achieving its agenda and serving its interests; it is the most appraised subject in the article: The Lebanese militia and political party Hezbollah that has considerable political

power in the country. Out of a total number of 139 appraised stakeholders, Hezbollah was appraised 58 times. The high frequency of positive judgment of its capacity (13 instances) is an acknowledgment of its power and strength, and the high frequency of negative judgment of its propriety (10 instances) emphasizes an abuse of power. In this author's opinion, Hezbollah poses a threat to Israel's ambitions for economic growth, but the crises in Lebanon may weaken Hezbollah's position and control. The crises may also become the catalyst for much-needed socio-political change.

6.4 The Crisis is a Catalyst for Social Change

The stacking of one crisis on top of another in Lebanon in a relatively short period of time may function as a catalyst for socio-political change. The articles show a clear distinction and separation between the government and the citizens in Lebanon. It is the people who need to choose how to respond. Though articles 2 and 8 prescribe how the Lebanese government should respond to the crises, the remaining articles focus on the people and the international community. In article 3, the author, a Lebanese journalist, constructs the Lebanese people as at a crossroads:

- (10) To Lebanon, this **catastrophe** could be **a new trigger to revolt**, or a new reason to surrender to **total helplessness**. This time, there is no place in between. (Article 3)

In example 10, the Beirut port explosion is labelled as a 'catastrophe', an instance of negative appreciation of the explosion's catastrophic effects. However, the author makes a reference to common wisdom on the importance of fighting back and making pivotal changes when one is at their lowest point. She constructs the Beirut explosion as either 'a new trigger to revolt', a positive appreciation of the explosion's social salience as an opportunity for the Lebanese people to assert their agency, or a solidification of the Lebanese people's lack of agency or capacity by submitting themselves to 'total helplessness'.

The author of article 4, a media relations professional based in Washington DC and a member of the Lebanese diaspora, on the other hand, expresses more compassion towards the Lebanese people by questioning the audience's expectations of the Lebanese to be resilient, a positive judgment of their capacity, in the face of adversity, as they have been countless times throughout history:

- (11) I don't know how many more times we can expect Lebanese people to rise up, rebuild the country and be "**resilient**" again. We've adapted to survive for so long — and this is where we've ended up. (Article 4)

Nevertheless, the urgent need for change is expressed in the articles. The authors of articles 6 and 7, both Lebanese, construct this crisis discourse:

- (12) It is time to focus on the Lebanon of the future. It is possible to rebuild a Lebanon on **a stronger foundation** — one that treats all equally. (Article 6)

- (13) For Lebanon, the remedies are unfortunately much more drastic; it will be hard to escape a very **painful shock therapy**. (Article 7)

The change has to be significant, based on a 'stronger foundation' implying a negative appreciation of Lebanon's current state and in need of a 'very painful shock therapy', a negative appreciation of the remedies of Lebanon's crisis. The necessary changes that the authors refer to do not all focus on the same stakeholders and do not all reflect the same interests. The Lebanese author of article 6, for example, voices the concerns surrounding women in Lebanon during times of crisis. The change she wants to see is a country that protects the well-being of women.

The author of article 10 finds that change may be inevitable because of the beleaguered state of the country. In this article, the 'economic crisis' is a negative judgment of Lebanon's capacity, and the argument that the crisis 'is likely to dissolve more old oppositions to engagement with Israel' is a positive appreciation of the economic crisis as having a positive impact on Lebanon's relationship with Israel. This change in the political relations between Lebanon and Israel is constructed as making economic partnerships possible in the future, thus serving both Israel's and Lebanon's interests.

7. Discussion

This study aimed to analyze the constructions of crisis that do not necessarily serve those in power, mainly governments and decision-makers. In the case of Lebanon, the attitudinal analysis of ten opinion articles shows that in this context of multiple crises, the degree of impact of each crisis is unequal but may be deeply intertwined. The analysis also sought to investigate which stakeholders in this triad of crises received the most attention in the opinion pieces and how those main stakeholders of the triad of crises are constructed. The most frequently appraised stakeholders are the Lebanese government and the Lebanese people. Their relationship is constructed as a broken relationship that lacks solidarity and cooperation. The government is constructed as corrupt and incompetent, and the Lebanese people are constructed as lacking agency and support for their government. Thus, the Lebanese people call for urgent assistance from the international community.

In the context of the Lebanese crises, the study has shown that the economic crisis was worsened by the COVID-19 pandemic and that the explosion served as the last blow. Four constructions of the crises and crisis management in Lebanon were derived from the attitudinal analysis:

1. The crisis is an opportunity to make references or remind the audience of another crisis.
2. Crisis management is discriminatory.
3. The crisis is an opportunity to serve a stakeholder's interest.
4. The crisis is a catalyst for social change.

The first construction acknowledges the connections between the crises and the effects they have on one another. It is a reminder that the co-occurring crises are deeply connected and intertwined and that crisis management and developing a crisis response plan becomes an intricate process of considering all the variables and the stakeholders. In the case of Lebanon, the economy is the weak foundation upon which the COVID-19 pandemic and the Beirut Port

explosion are stacked, thus further jeopardizing an already unstable Lebanon and placing it at risk of becoming a failed state.

Crisis management has also been constructed as discriminatory because it favors certain stakeholders' needs while neglecting other stakeholders' needs. All the articles, except for article 10, mention at least one stakeholder whose needs and interests have not been addressed sufficiently. Those stakeholders are the Lebanese of an impoverished background, the victims of the blast, women, domestic workers, and refugees. A pattern that emerged in the analysis is that the articles projected the voices of other stakeholders that relate to the authors' background, professional or otherwise.

When an opinion article presents an alternative construction of the crisis, it may become an act of resistance to these dominant discourses and at times an act of advocacy. The mention and evaluation of the aforementioned stakeholders in the opinion articles confirm Hay's (1996) argument that people select the narrative(s) and the discourse(s) from a plethora of narratives and discourses based on the extent to which it aligns with their experience of crisis. Jessop (2013) argued that those in power adopt the crisis discourse or narrative that suits their political views. The opinion articles in this study projected the voices and interests of stakeholders that relate to the authors' background, professional or otherwise. A culture-centered approach to analyzing crises, as proposed by Berkelaar and Dutta (2007), can be implemented to develop a comprehensive plan for responding to a crisis that includes all stakeholders and strengthens the trust and cooperation between the government and the people.

The crises have also been constructed as a catalyst for change. The Lebanese authors, whether abroad or residing in Lebanon, were focused on the possibility of this tragedy functioning as a trigger for political and economic reform in the country. The Beirut Port explosion was constructed as a potential trigger for social and political change in Lebanon that set the Lebanese people on a path to a brighter future as a nation. Furthermore, this change may not only serve the Lebanese people but also other potential stakeholders.

8. Conclusion

This study aimed to analyze the construction of the multiple crises that Lebanon was facing in 2020: the economic crisis, the COVID-19 pandemic, and the Beirut port explosion, in ten English-language opinion articles. The study applied Martin and White's (2005) attitude system of appraisal to analyze the language of evaluation in the opinion articles and discussed the findings in relation to social constructionist theories of crisis (Berkelaar & Dutta, 2007; De Rycker & Mohd Don, 2013; Hay, 1995). The attitudinal analysis showed that the crises were constructed as a reminder of another crisis, as not serving all its stakeholders' interests and needs equally, as an opportunity to serve a certain stakeholder's interest, and as a trigger for change. Though several groups were identified as stakeholders in the Lebanese crises, the attitudinal analysis identified the Lebanese people as the most affected group that needs support from the international community, as the Lebanese government is judged as lacking the capacity and the propriety to manage the crises.

The findings illustrate the importance of news commentary as offering readers an array of reading positions that allow careful consideration of the needs and interests of those affected by the crises. This aligns with the culture-centered approach (Berkelaar & Dutta, 2007) that proposes that stakeholders other than those in positions of authority voice their views, ensuring a comprehensive understanding of the crisis. As a result, decision-makers avoid neglecting the needs of vulnerable groups, identify the resources at their disposal to devise a response plan, and recognize the triggers and opportunities that these crises may offer. The four constructions that emerged from the analysis of the opinion articles about the Lebanese crises can contribute to an insightful discussion to develop an effective crisis response plan for cases of multiple crises.

It cannot be fully determined whether or not such amplification of the voices of the less powerful can truly make a difference. A limitation of this study is that the size of the data does not make the findings of the study generalizable, but the constructions of crises suggest alternative perspectives of crisis and its relationships dynamic with other co-existing crises. A step forward could be to acknowledge alternative perceptions and construal of a crisis or multiple crises and give all stakeholders a seat at the table.

Data

1. Mukherji, D., Economic crisis, coronavirus pandemic and Beirut port blast: Lebanese resilience tested to breaking point? R4HC-MENA, 20 August, 2020. <https://r4hc-mena.org/2020/08/20/economic-crisis-coronavirus-pandemic-and-beirut-port-blast-lebanese-resilience-tested-to-breaking-point/>
2. Hussain, H., Fixing Lebanon's reform narrative, CGTN, October 12, 2020. <https://news.cgtn.com/news/2020-10-12/Fixing-Lebanon-s-reform-narrative-UwUTHBKSFw/index.html>
3. Safwan, L., Lebanon is no longer just crumbling. With the Beirut explosion, it has collapsed, The Washington Post, August 6, 2020. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2020/08/05/lebanon-was-already-facing-multiple-crises-now-this/>
4. Hajjar, D., After the Beirut blasts, the Lebanese diaspora is left between helplessness and guilt, The Washington Post, August 7, 2020. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2020/08/06/after-beirut-blasts-lebanese-diaspora-is-left-between-helplessness-guilt/>
5. Momani, B., Lebanon's politicians have failed their people, once again, The Globe and Mail, August 5, 2020. <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/opinion/article-lebanons-politicians-have-failed-their-people-once-again/>
6. AbiRafah, L., Let's not forget vulnerabilities of women, girls after Beirut port blast, The Media Line, September 8, 2020. <https://themedialine.org/news/opinion/lets-not-forget-vulnerabilities-of-women-girls-after-beirut-port-blast/>
7. Joseph Bahout, How COVID-19 exposed the Middle East's economic fragility, L'Orient Today, December 21, 2020. <https://today.lorientjour.com/article/1245660/how-covid-19-exposed-the-middle-east-economy-fragility-in-2020.html>
8. The Hindu Editorial Board, Beirut battered: On Lebanon blast, The Hindu, August 6, 2020. <https://www.thehindu.com/opinion/editorial/beirut-battered-the-hindu-editorial-on-lebanon-blast/article32279843.ece>
9. Glavin, T., Glavin: After the blast, help Lebanon – but not its corrupt government, Ottawa Citizen, August 5, 2020. <https://ottawacitizen.com/opinion/glavin-after-the-blast-help-lebanon-but-not-its-corrupt-government>

10. Khwais, M., How Lebanon may be forced to make peace with Israel, Haaretz, September 15, 2020. <https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/.premium-how-lebanon-may-be-forced-to-make-peace-with-israel-1.9150875>

References

- Angouri, J., & Wodak, R. (2014). 'They became big in the shadow of the crisis': The Greek success story and the rise of the far right. *Discourse & Society*, 25(4), 540-565. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926514536955>
- Benoit, W. (1997). Image repair discourse and crisis communication. *Public Relations Review*, 23(2), 177-186. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0363-8111\(97\)90023-0](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0363-8111(97)90023-0)
- Berkelaar, B., & Dutta, M. (2007). *A culture-centered approach to crisis communication* [Paper presentation]. The NCA 93rd Annual Convention 2007, Chicago, Illinois. http://www.allacademic.com/meta/p193811_index.html
- Bizri, A. R., Alam, W., Bizri, N. A., & Musharrafieh, U. (2020). COVID-19 and the Lebanese Crisis: Will the Phoenix Manage to Rise Once Again?. *Disaster Medicine and Public Health Preparedness*, 16(3), 857-858. <https://doi.org/10.1017/dmp.2020.416>
- Bizri, A. R., Khachfe, H. H., Fares, M. Y., & Musharrafieh, U. (2021). COVID-19 pandemic: An insult over injury for Lebanon. *Journal of community health*, 46, 487-493. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10900-020-00884-y>
- Congressional Research Service. (2021). *Global Economic Effects of COVID-19*. (CRS Publication No. R46270). <https://sgp.fas.org/crs/row/R46270.pdf>
- Coppock, A., Ekins, E., & Kirby, D. (2018). The long-lasting effects of newspaper op-eds on public opinion. *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*, 13(1), 59-87. <https://doi.org/10.1561/100.00016112>
- Coronavirus: Lebanon begins 'total' shutdown as cases increase. (2020, May 13). BBC. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-52637725>
- De Rycker, A., & Mohd Don, Z. (Eds.). (2013). *Discourse and crisis: Critical perspectives*. John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Fairclough, N., Mulderrig, J., & Wodak, R. (2011). Critical discourse analysis. In T. van Dijk (Ed.), *Discourse studies: A multidisciplinary introduction* (2nd ed., pp. 357-378). SAGE Publications Ltd. <https://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781446289068.n17>
- Hall, L. (2021). Intertextual, action-oriented, political and occasioned constructions of Zimbabwe as a country in crisis. *Discourse & Society*, 32(1), 25-41. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926520961633>
- Halliday, M. A. K., & Matthiessen, C. M. (2014). *An introduction to functional grammar*. Routledge.
- Harake, W., Jamali, I., & Abou Hamde, N. (2020). *Lebanon economic monitor: The Deliberate Depression* (English). World Bank Group. <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/474551606779642981/Lebanon-Economic-Monitor-The-Deliberate-Depression>
- Hay, C. (1995). Rethinking crisis: Narratives of the New Right and constructions of crisis. *Rethinking Marxism*, 8(2), 60-76. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08935699508685442>
- Hay, C. (1996). Narrating crisis: The discursive construction of the 'winter of discontent'. *Sociology*, 30(2), 253-277.
- Human Rights Watch. (2021). *"They killed us from the inside": An investigation into the August 4 Beirut blast*. <https://www.hrw.org/report/2021/08/03/they-killed-us-inside/investigation-august-4-beirut-blast>
- Jacobs, R. N. (1996). Civil society and crisis: Culture, discourse, and the Rodney King beating. *American Journal of Sociology*, 101(5), 1238-1272.

- Jessop, B. (2013). Recovered imaginaries, imagined recoveries: a cultural political economy of crisis construals and crisis management in the North Atlantic financial crisis. In M. Benner (Ed.), *Before and beyond the global economic crisis* (pp. 234–254). Edward Elgar Publishing. <https://doi.org/10.4337/9781781952016.00020>
- Joharry, S. A., & Turiman, S. (2020). Examining Malaysian public letters to editor on COVID-19 pandemic: A corpus-assisted discourse analysis. *Journal of Language Studies*, 20(3), 242-260. <https://doi.org/10.17576/gema-2020-2003-14>
- Koweyes, J., Salloum, T., Haidar, S., Merhi, G., & Tokajian, S. (2021). COVID-19 pandemic in Lebanon: one year later, what have we learnt?. *MSystems*, 6(2), 10-1128. <https://doi.org/10.1128/msystems.00351-21>
- Martin, J. R., & White, P. R. (2005). *The language of evaluation*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Miyahara, M. (2020). Sampling: Problematizing the issue. In J. McKinley & H. Rose (Eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Research Methods in Applied Linguistics* (pp. 52-62). Routledge.
- Moussa, M., & Scapp, R. (1996). The practical theorizing of Michel Foucault: Politics and counter-discourse. *Cultural Critique*, (33), 87-112. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1354388>
- Neüff, M. (2018). *Words of crisis as words of power: The jeremiad in American presidential speeches* (Vol. 77). John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- O'Rourke, B. K., & Hogan, J. (2013). Reflections in the eye of the dying tiger: Looking back on Ireland's 1987 economic crisis. In A. De Rycker & Z. Mohd Don (Eds.), *Discourse and crisis: Critical perspectives* (pp. 215-238). John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Podieh, P., & Jennequin, A. (2019). *Lebanon under fire—Protesters are taking the streets with a burning desire to overthrow the government*. Brussels International Center. <https://www.bic-rhr.com/research/lebanon-under-fire-protesters-are-taking-streets-burning-desire-overthrow-government>
- Qiblawi, T. (2020). US citizens in Lebanon decline repatriation offer, saying it's 'safer' in Beirut. *CNN*. <https://edition.cnn.com/2020/04/09/middleeast/us-citizens-lebanon-coronavirus-intl/index.html>
- Sultan & Rapi, M. (2020). Positive discourse analysis of the Indonesian government spokesperson's discursive strategies during the covid-19 pandemic. *Journal of Language Studies*, 20(4), 251-272. <https://doi.org/10.17576/gema-2020-2004-14>
- White, P. (2001). An introductory tour through appraisal theory: Introduction. *The Appraisal Website*. Retrieved January 24, 2014, from <https://www.grammatics.com/appraisal/appraisalguide/appraisalguidewpfiles.html>
- Wodak, R. (2021). Crisis communication and crisis management during COVID-19. *Global Discourse*, 00(00), 1–20. <https://doi.org/10.1332/204378921X16100431230102>
- World Health Organization. (2020, March 7). “Responding to community spread of COVID-19.” Retrieved from <https://www.who.int/publications/i/item/responding-to-community-spread-of-covid-19>