

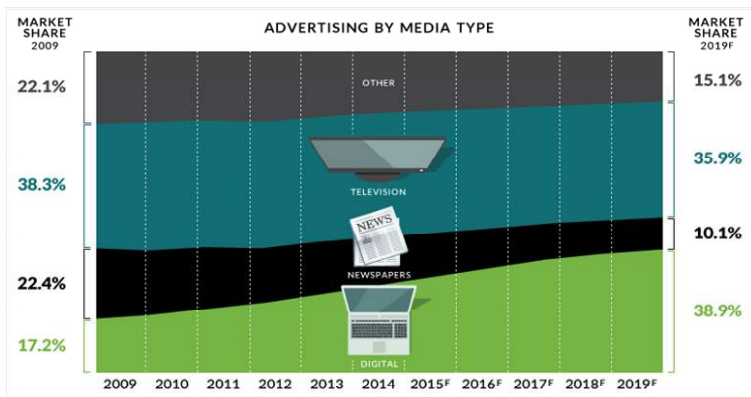
category of migrants, which was described by any media type as an exclusively ‘good’ one, but, in total, both positive and negative consequences of migration were most often broadcasted by private television channels. An important conclusion of the authors’ was the finding that, in terms of means, the media coverage of migrants and migration was about both attracting the attention of Ukrainians with allusion to their life priorities and reflecting their values through the media.

Keywords: media discourse, migration, sociological discourse analysis, hidden meanings.

Modern societies are characterised by rapid informatisation and excessive consumption of media products, which was vividly illustrated by J. Desjardins [23]. He predicted the traditional media’s extinction and the new media’s development (see Figure 1). In any case, all the media types still shape the opinion of the ‘average person’. Back in 1990, J. Nye had proposed the concept of ‘soft power’ which was opposed to armed force, and that concept has become widespread. In J. Nye’s meaning, the use of soft power implies voluntary submission through persuasion and propaganda, that is, using discourse [39]; and M. Foucault had combined the concept of power with the concept of discourse long before J. Nye. According to M. Foucault, power is a multiple relation of force, when strategic attitudes are realised through various discourses [26, p. 203-204]. Today, the media are the agents of soft power, according to J. Nye, or agents of power over society through the discourse they present, according to M. Foucault. Special topicality and painfulness of the media discourse on migration and migrants in Ukraine are driven, first of all, by the latest political events in the EU, the USA and Ukraine itself, although we support the call to move away from pan-politicisation, paying more attention to cultural issues regarding Ukraine [19], and when considering migration as well.

Fig. 1.

The dynamics of development of different media types. Source: (Desjardins 2016)



The content analysis is the one of the most powerful methods to study media texts in the social sciences [15; 31; 32]. Therefore, it was our basic method in the research of media information coverage of migrants / migration, refugees, IDP and migrant workers in the leading Ukrainian media due to MAD project [8], and according to the logic of sociological discourse analysis highlighted by J. Ruiz Ruiz [41]. The timeframe of our study covered four years – from January 1, 2015 to December 31, 2018. The sample consisted of the most popular fifteen Ukrainian media; those were: 1) print media – Uryadovyy kur"yer (Uriadovy Courier), Vesti (News), Shehodka (Today), Den' (Day), Hazeta po-ukrayins'ky (Newspaper in Ukrainian); 2) TV channels – UA:Pershyy (UA:First), Ukrayina (Ukraine), 1+1, Inter, ICTV; 3) Internet media – Ukrayins'ka Pravda (Ukrainian Truth), Tsenzor.net (Sensor.Net), Radio Svoboda (Radio Liberty), Strana (Country), and 24.ua.

The quantitative content analysis was the first sub-method on the list as a 'textual analysis' beginning. The key words were: migrants, refugees, migrants, IDP (internally displaced people) and zarobitchany (i.e., labor (migrant) workers as a nationally labeled concept). The sample was built on the basis of the Mediateka tool and automated, since that step was carried out in collaboration with the Center for Content Analysis [3] which was able to provide that procedure. In total, more than 39,000 key word publications were recorded in the selected media during the selected period, which third part of (about 12,000) were processed on the basis of step-by-step selection. Coding was latent, manual, and the technique of coding the key words' posts was applied.

The greatest attention of the Ukrainian top media was focused on the topic of migration and migrants in a broad sense, without detailing certain types of migration, and the media were the least interested in the labor (migrant) workers' topics. This was caused by lots of reflections on so-called migration crisis experienced by European countries and the US, as well as enormous attention paid to migrants from Donbas (IDP). The topic of refugees itself was the third one regarding its popularity. The illegal migrants were often assigned to refugees (the authors of the publications in the Ukrainian media used them as synonyms and distinguished between these concepts rarely); and the asylum seekers from Donbas in Russian Federation, Poland and other countries sometimes were also named as refugees. The periodic mention of this group was initiated by other (mostly internal) reasons as well (e.g., the stories with M. Saakashvili or V. Kas'kiv). Mostly, the positive media posts were about migrants from Donbas, and the negative ones were about illegal migrants and refugees in the EU (see Figure 2; it also illustrates that positive messages reached the audience a little more often than others). The vast majority of reports on illegal migrants from the Middle East were neutral. Generally, if for the migrants at all the media formed a neutral image with some negativity, for IDP-migrants there was a neutral image with some positivity. The topic on labor (migrant) workers

could be considered as a quite marginal one (see Figure 3), despite the real number of them, which was significantly higher than the number of IDP. It was noteworthy that the migrants became the only group which won a significant share of positive publications in an immigrant's success story genre.

Fig. 2.

General tone picture of the top media reports with keywords studied, 2015-2018.

Source: The Center for Content Analysis, by request of the authors

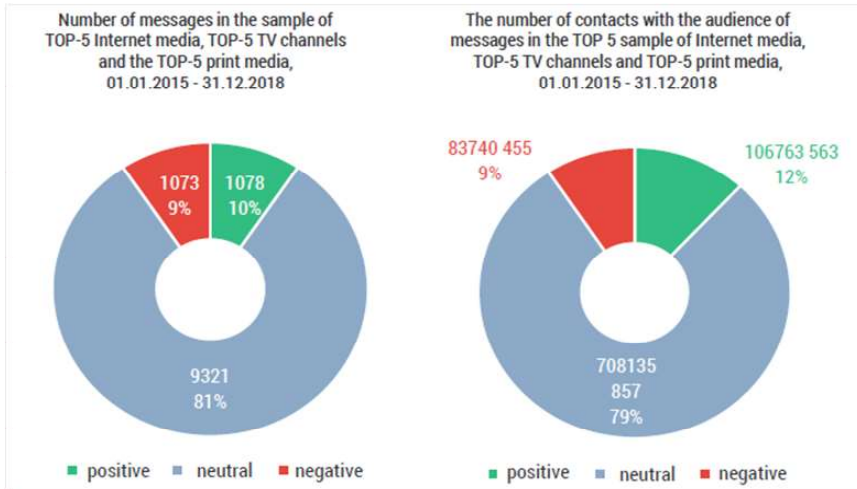


Fig. 3.

Media attention and tone distribution regarding keywords in more detail,

Source: The Center for Content Analysis, by request of the authors

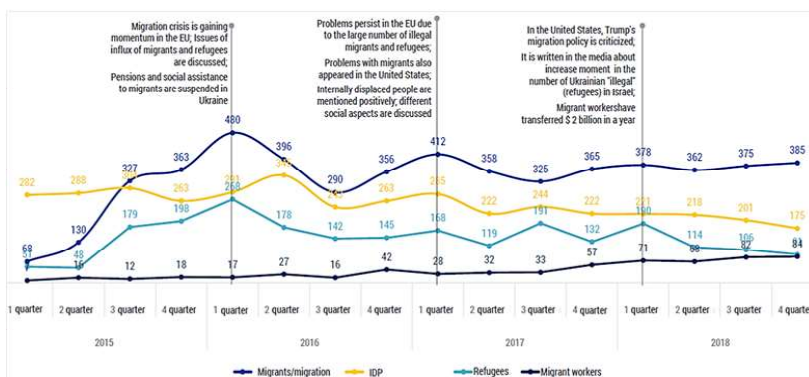


Throughout the 2015-2018 period in the Ukrainian top media, coverage of the migrants' issue had been steadily declining, while the labor (migrant) workers' one had been growing. The migrants' topics had not disappeared from newspapers, television and Internet. According to the number of reports, it was ahead of even the domestic hot topic – IDP from Donbas and Crimea. The IDP issue took the undisputed first place until September 2015, but lost it after the start of the war in Syria, which caused a large 'influx' of refugees / illegal migrants to European countries. In the following years, the media's interest in that topic slowly but steadily declined: it lost about a third of its average monthly memory. The publications on the active life of IDP were in the minority – dominantly, they were portrayed as victims of circumstances, ones who were waiting for help and being in need of compassion. This also negatively affected the state (e.g., the Ministry of Temporarily Occupied Territories and Internally Displaced Persons of Ukraine) which did not fulfill its social obligations. The zarobitchany's issue was paid the least attention. The interest in it was sporadic, and there was a slight but steady increase in the number of its mentions during the 2015-2018. In 2018, the average monthly number of mentions was four times higher than in 2015 due to the visa-free regime's introduction with the EU, which facilitated the employment of Ukrainians abroad and contributed to the labor migration's intensification (see Figure 4).

Fig. 4.

The dynamics of media coverage of key topics regarding migration, 2015-2018.

Source: The Center for Content Analysis, by request of the authors



Regarding Februarys' media texts, we applied the qualitative content analysis – after selecting every tenth text from the general set, the sample consisted of 355 units – due to T. A. van Dijk's drawing attention to the importance of text's implications, i.e., hidden meanings. Successful identification of implications is both easy and difficult procedure: one needs the language knowledge and world knowledge corresponding to the horizons of a certain community [50; 51]. Identifying implications is a necessary procedure for an adequate perception of social relations that may be influenced by discourse: '[T]he complete, subjective meanings of a discourse as assigned by speakers or recipients, is in their mental model of an event or situation. By general pragmatic rule, only some of the propositions (schemas, concepts) of such a mental model need to be expressed in discourse, namely the information that is as yet unknown and cannot be inferred by the recipients. Methodologically, implications are important in semantic discourse analysis because they represent meanings that are construed in their mental models by all language users with the same world knowledge, that is, the members of the same epistemic community, but speakers may claim they never actually said what was implied. That is, implicit meanings can be denied – a deniability that may be crucial in many forms of political discourse about a sensitive theme such as migration' [51, p. 239]. We noted the same danger in the media discourse and looked for relatively independent implications' groups. To have the mentioned search done, we principally focused on characterisation of migrants through issues on security, economy and cultural identity that were already recognised as very worthy of attention [24; 25; 27; 29; 33; 38]. The relevant results are presented in the Table 1.

In case of positive security issues in media texts, migrants were mostly presented as the persons who had been protected (by military, lawyers, courts, international organisations, politicians, diplomats, activists and ordinary people, etc.) and were looking for quiet life, peace, and well-being. Their presence was told not to have threaten societies / countries with disintegration, terrorist attacks and bad behavior at all. In case of negative security issues, migrants were mostly told to have supported terrorists, threatened the lives of other migrants, civilians and volunteers, carried out fraud with documents and used illegal migration routes. In addition, the audience was often instructed that the number of migrants was too large, i.e., 'too uncontrollable / dangerous'. The variations of both positive and negative implications were equal in their concreteness; however, there were more variations of negative ones, which had a greater chance of affecting the trust towards migrants.

All the positive implications about migrants and economic issues were repeated three times out of four possible (the only exception was the once-appeared implication about the dignity of labor migrants). Almost the same thing happened with the negative ones: the implication about 'robberies' and exploitation appeared regularly (4/4, i.e., throughout all observation's years), the impending destruction of the economy was also mentioned almost in every February (3/4), and the financial tricks were only offered to be seen exclusively in February 2016. Thus, the media pleased the supporters of both positions, and it might be even good news, because it meant that our top media had done more than just trying to irritate the 'precaritised mind', that G. Standing wrote about: 'The precariat is not a class-for-itself, partly because it is at war with itself. One group in it may blame another for its vulnerability and indignity. A temporary low-wage worker may be induced to see the 'welfare

scrounger’ as obtaining more, unfairly and at his or her expense. A long-term resident of a low-income urban area will easily be led to see incoming migrants as taking better jobs and leaping to head the queue for benefits’ [42, p. 25]. So, it could be assumed that media-owners in Ukraine, who had even been considered as some mythical powerful creatures [10; 12], were only partially interested in manipulations based on the economically colored ‘migrant / non-migrant’ social division.

Messages about cultural identity could be classified as rarely articulated and highly multidirectional. If we looked at the whole picture, it could be noted that among the positive and negative implications taken together there were slightly more ones related either to language (the influence of language knowledge on employment and emotional condition of migrants, and the influence of language practicing on consciousness and integration) or the culture of a certain type of settlements. Actually, the media signaled that the common opinion about assimilation, which was the least contrary to the so-called liberal values, had not changed, and that not only every country, but every city / village had its own atmosphere, that would either win over migrants or be defeated by them (thus, we met a variation on ‘to kill the dragon’ theme, because one becomes a value enforcer by conquering dominant values).

Table 1.

Groups of security-, economy-, and culture-related implications found.

Source: own research

POSITIVE MEDIA IMPLICATIONS	NEGATIVE MEDIA IMPLICATIONS
<b>SECURITY</b>	
<p>1. <b>‘Everyone is not indifferent to migrants, they are protected’</b>: a wide variety of subjects who were told to have saved migrants, convinced others of the need to open borders to migrants, negotiated and united for the protection of migrants.</p> <p>2. <b>‘Migrants are peaceful people caught in the sight of madmen’</b>: migrants as in fact vulnerable, non-conflict and hoping for good people who, in one way or another, simply had become victims of some madmen among the military, authorities and the media.</p> <p>3. <b>‘Even if migrants are cunning, it will be noticed’</b>: improving the control over the number of illegal migrants, border trespassers and smuggled goods.</p>	<p>1. <b>‘Problems for migrants, problems from migrants – problems anyway’</b>: the protest activity of migrants assessed in different ways – there was indignation rather with the protests themselves as well as indignation rather that migrants are given a reason for protests (but, as it is said in one popular anecdote, ‘the sediment remains’ – in any case, migrants were associated with the mention of problems, and, therefore, with the problems itself).</p> <p>2. <b>‘They will crush others with their numbers’</b>: both specially emphasised and semi-hinting indications that the number of migrants was very high, and this should have made non-migrants uneasy pondering how to protect themselves.</p> <p>3. <b>‘Migrants are criminals’</b>: references to various crimes committed by migrants.</p> <p><b>‘Migrants are defenseless’</b>: migrants were threatened by someone / scared of something, and they hardly could have been helped to cope with those dangers.</p> <p>4. <b>‘Being a migrant is a murderer’s mask’</b>: mass migration was difficult to control, and it was easy enough for the military, terrorists and special agents to impersonate refugees.</p> <p>5. <b>‘Migrants bring crisis, hardship and deterioration’</b>: the increase in the number of migrants and the need to express some attitude towards them undermined geopolitical alliances, provided the most powerful governments with an opportunity to increase their power and made politicians worry about the future of foreign policy.</p>

Table 1. cont.

POSITIVE MEDIA IMPLICATIONS	NEGATIVE MEDIA IMPLICATIONS
<b>ECONOMY</b>	
<p>1. <b>'Migrants won't take anyone's bread'</b>: everything necessary for migrants was available, the expenses were foreseen, regular and significant, migrants had someone to receive material support from and were offered to have it (= international organisations / country leaders / local authorities kept it under control and there was no reason to fear that someone would become robbed by state in favor of migrants).</p> <p>2. <b>'There are enough opportunities to encourage migrants to work'</b>: special payments and redistribution systems, social services, employment programs, grants and courses / seminars / retraining programs to give migrants a boost for their own efforts.</p> <p>3. <b>'Migrants are labor heroes'</b>: migrants earned a lot of money through self-sacrificing working and contributed to the enrichment of both their families and their countries.</p> <p>4. <b>'Migrants both strive to work and cherish their dignity (= are poor but proud)'</b>: although labor migrants would like to flee abroad, they were not ready to take on some job which was traditionally said to be 'humiliating' and 'dirty'.</p>	<p>1. <b>'Migrants are robbed and exploited'</b>: a wide variety of abuses by states and employers against migrants, that is, 'disappearing into nowhere' of payments / pensions / benefits / salaries / work opportunities / employee rights / normal working conditions, etc. (but, again, 'the sediment remains' – migrants were associated with problems in society, humiliation and their own readiness for it).</p> <p>2. <b>'Corruption and financial fraud rampant because of migrants'</b>: the emergence of new migrants became a new cover for unscrupulous people stealing money from the state, that migrants deceived both their own and foreign states for the sake of earning money and gave bribes.</p> <p>3. <b>'Migrants will destroy the country's economy'</b>: dissatisfaction with the facts that the state did not have enough money to support migrants, that a lot of money had already been spent on migrants, that the state's economy was not in the best condition even without migrants, and that labor migrants did not think about the economy of their own country.</p>

<b>CULTURAL IDENTITY</b>	
<p>1. <b>'Migrants are diligent'</b>: migrants had fulfilled / had been fulfilling the required minimum of assimilation (i.e., language assimilation).</p> <p>2. <b>'Migrants are supportive and healing for the culture of the place'</b>: approval that migrants successfully fit into life with a different rhythm and different customs.</p> <p>3. <b>'Migrants understand the shady side of life'</b>: recognition by migrants of meso-level and micro-level immoral social things happening in host communities as well as migrants' readiness to follow those things.</p> <p>4. <b>'Migrants enjoy a different cuisine'</b>: describing the excellence of another country's cuisine because high-status food had become accessible.</p>	<p>1. <b>'The blacksmith nails a horseshoe to the horse, and the frog foists its paw to him'</b>: migrants flocked to other countries without knowing the language of those countries to their own trouble, or that the mother-tongue of migrants was associated with politically stimulated mental clouding and senseless protests.</p> <p>2. <b>'Migrants are doughfaced'</b>: shaming one part of society by another due to the fact that it was partially not ready to accept different people (who were too good-natured to stand up for themselves).</p> <p>3. <b>'Migrants will make copy of their home from our home'</b>: migrants' desire to remake a city that was new for them into a city completely identical to their native one.</p> <p>4. <b>'Migrants are weak complainants'</b>: migrants who (in)directly expressed contempt for the culture of a new place of living or for being perceived by some individuals as a 'trash' due to origin from a certain region.</p> <p>5. <b>'Migrants suffer but do not return'</b>: migrants strived to cook and eat their own national dishes in conditions not intended for that at all.</p> <p>6. <b>'Migration requires mental sacrifice'</b>: people outside the homeland were incomprehensible in thinking and this could only be solved by special appeals or returning home.</p>

Our final findings were born from the ‘sociological interpretation’ of discourse expressed in the critical discourse analysis (CDA): ‘What is of interest to the analyst in this type of interpretation is the subject’s particular viewpoint. This viewpoint is not considered to be a subjectivist bias of the discourse but an indication of ideological constructs, which are understood as intersubjective modes of perceiving the world and finding one’s place in it; a process common to subjects immersed in concrete social and historical contexts’ [41]. The CDA approaches are being positioned ambiguously. In some literature, we found a clear division of CDA practices into a number of scientific schools: M. Halliday’s (‘socio-semiotic’) school, N. Fairclough’s (‘dialectical-relational’) school, T. van Dijk’s (‘sociocognitive’) school, R. Wodak’s (‘discursive-historical’ / ‘discursive-sociolinguistic’ / ‘historical’) school, etc. [18; 40; 47; 53; 56]. In other sources, certain ‘utilitarian’ synthesis of these approaches was either being proclaimed or practiced by the authors that were guided by rather arbitrary and / or eclectic ideas about CDA [28; 35; 43; 52; 54]. In addition, the critical and ideological assessment of this method itself is ripe now. The discourse analysis in general was noted to have been hardly meeting the requirements of academic culture [13] and ‘emerged in a context where ignoring the corpora, which had been associated with traditional hermeneutic practices, was a way to position and legitimate oneself’ [34]. As for CDA, it was noted that this method ‘considers the pragmatic effects of discourse in relation to the immediate social context, but does not link it to the broader social context’ [41] and ‘have traditionally served the interests of liberal globalisation’ [18]. But the same authors observe that CDA ‘can also be considered a potential mechanism of liberation’ [41] and, in contrast, ‘is increasingly being used against leading actors of this [i.e., liberal globalisation] geopolitical process’ [18]. Therefore, we would like to touch upon a few points of this method.

First, we were looking for signs of the ‘justification of inequality’, which involves ‘two complementary strategies, namely the positive representation of the own group, and the negative representation of the Others’ [49, p. 263]. As we found, the positiveness of the corresponding media messaging was more instrumental than terminal messaging – that is, we assume that the goal was not to improve attitudes towards migrants, but to strengthen the position of media-owners in the Ukrainian media-market. There was no such category of migrants among those proposed by us – with the conscious risk of such categories’ creation [14, p. 186], – that was characterised as exclusively ‘good’ by any category of media. But we noticed one media type, in which positive implications about migrants were present more often than in other ones: it was a private TV. Thus, the ‘positive migrants’ could be concluded to have become a ‘commodity in demand’, because ‘transforming Ukrainian TV into a high-quality and competitive product was carried by private TV channels, financed by a small group of local oligarchs: Victor Pinchuk, Rinat Akhmetov, Ihor Kolomoyskiy and Petro Poroshenko. <...> Ukraine’s private channels



advanced to a quite decent level, compared to other countries of Central Eastern Europe’ [12]. Migrants became a symbolic honorary donor of capitalism in Ukraine, like other audiovisually traded categories of people. Internal migrants in Ukraine and Ukrainian emigrants turned out to be the most salable, and this partly coincided with our hypothesis: the positive attitude towards migrants would decrease as we move down the list in the table below (see Table 2). Given the situation emerged with negative implications about migrants, previous conclusion would seem even too optimistic (see Table 3): again, migrants’ images looked more like tools to attract the attention of readers / viewers – the negative itself is applied more often than another tool for mass entertainment, – and private TV was again among the leaders, but no longer at the first place, thanks to the Internet media.

Table 2.

Picture of the positive implications’ presence / absence. Source: own research

<i>Positive issues related to migrants</i>		The most trusted / watched / read top media (Februarys 2015–2018, sample)							
		Print media			Television			Internet media	
		Sehodnia	Vesti	1+1	ICTV	Ukr. pravda	Tsenzor. net		
Internal migrants in Ukraine	<i>Security</i>								
	<i>Economy</i>								
	<i>Cultural identity</i>								
From-Ukraine migrants	<i>Security</i>								
	<i>Economy</i>								
	<i>Cultural identity</i>								
Into-Ukraine migrants	<i>Security</i>								
	<i>Economy</i>								
	<i>Cultural identity</i>								
Migrants fr.-o.-in.-o. countries	<i>Security</i>								
	<i>Economy</i>								
	<i>Cultural identity</i>								
<i>Positive issues related to migrants</i>		Less trusted / watched / read top media (Februarys 2015–2018, sample)							
		Print media			Television			Internet media	
		State Uryad. kur'ier	Private Den'	Private Haz. po-ukr.	State UA:Per-shyy	Private Ukra-yina	Inter	State Radio Svob.	Private Strana
Internal migrants in Ukraine	<i>Security</i>								
	<i>Economy</i>								
	<i>Cultural identity</i>								
From-Ukraine migrants	<i>Security</i>								
	<i>Economy</i>								
	<i>Cultural identity</i>								
Into-Ukraine migrants	<i>Security</i>								
	<i>Economy</i>								
	<i>Cultural identity</i>								
Migrants fr.-o.-in.-o. countries	<i>Security</i>								
	<i>Economy</i>								
	<i>Cultural identity</i>								

According to our hypothesis, it was just another face of capitalism: ‘[W]hen online media outlets started to pop up like mushrooms, the level of responsibility for what they were publishing decreased in proportion. So, online media outlets often turn into so-called ‘drain tanks’ (that is, websites that publish everything from everyone, even better for them, if they are paid to do so), publishing untrue, fake news and spawning pools of covertly commissioned materials (so-called ‘dzhynsa’). Although, there is a certain number of information websites that can be trusted, IMI [Institute of Mass Information] has conducted thorough research on dzhynsa over the years and has concrete data on the price list for publication of dzhynsa practically at all major portals’ [10].

Table 3.

Picture of the negative implications’ presence / absence. Source: own research

Negative issues related to migrants		The most trusted / watched / read top media (Februarys 2015–2018, sample)								
		Print media			Television			Internet media		
		Sehodaia	Vesti		1+1	ICTV		Ukr. pravda	Tsensor. net	
Internal migrants in Ukraine	Security									
	Economy									
	Cultural identity									
From-Ukraine migrants	Security									
	Economy									
	Cultural identity									
Into-Ukraine migrants	Security									
	Economy									
	Cultural identity									
Migrants fr.-o.-in.-o. countries	Security									
	Economy									
	Cultural identity									
Negative issues related to migrants		Less trusted / watched / read top media (Februarys 2015–2018, sample)								
		Print media			Television			Internet media		
		State	Private		State	Private		State	Private	
Internal migrants in Ukraine	Security									
	Economy									
	Cultural identity									
From-Ukraine migrants	Security									
	Economy									
	Cultural identity									
Into-Ukraine migrants	Security									
	Economy									
	Cultural identity									
Migrants fr.-o.-in.-o. countries	Security									
	Economy									
	Cultural identity									

Why was private television also so involved in negativity? '[W]hile promising complete deliverance for all groups oppressed by traditional society, capitalism never brings the matter to full equality. Even when the old structures of oppression collapse under the onslaught of capital, new ones quickly grow in their place, fully meeting the new requirements. <...> As a rule, such segregation is being tried to justify 'retroactively' with the help of negative stereotypes towards oppressed groups (lazy blacks, stupid women)' [30]. The same principle works for the presentation of someone in the media: even if it is profitable to sell your positive images, this does not mean that you will not be offended in no less profitable cases presented most often in relation to Ukrainian emigrants. In the second place after them there were migrants 'from other countries to other countries', who were not spoiled by the situational fondness of private television to the positive about them to the same extent. In addition, we explained this by copying from foreign media of what has been named as 'hysteria', 'panic' and 'fear', and the latter mentioned had been criticised through other foreign media – for example, the Guardian (37; 51, p. 238), which was indicative of the fact that media criticism (regarding those who present themselves in the media as concerned about migrants) is also a political tool.

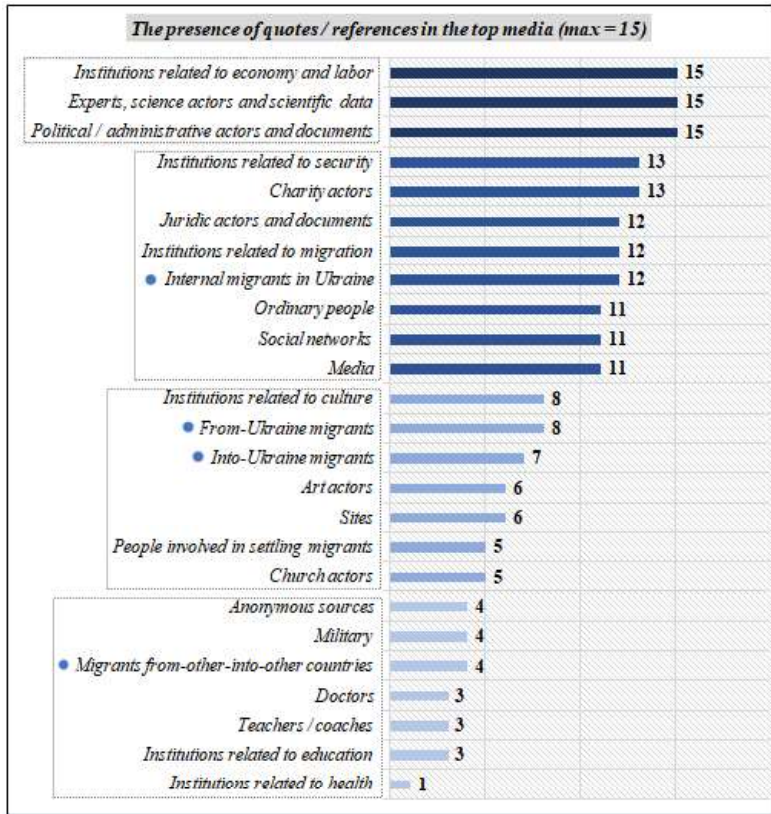
Second, we found out which actors had an advantage in being quoted, because 'quoting credible witnesses, sources or experts' is an important element of indoctrination [49, p. 263]. As we have already understood, there was no reason to call some group of migrants confidently 'good' regarding presentations its image in the media. There was inequality everywhere, although we admitted that most of the capitalism (un)happiness – to be ignored by players of Braudel-discovered 'opaque market area' [20, p. 19] – went to Ukrainian immigrants, most often not mentioned among both positive and negative implications related to security, economy and cultural identity. Having checked the presence / absence of direct and indirect quotes from various actors and documents in the Ukrainian top media, we saw that, according to P. Bourdieu's concept of social space and its fields [16; 17], almost all media relied primarily on the recognised importance and objectivity of just four fields. We want to emphasise that this concept does not fully fit into, but is very close to critical discourse analysis: 'The ideological interpretation of discourse is also characteristic of Pierre BOURDIEU's analysis <...> Social discourses will not only vary, in the sense that they will depend on the social position of the individual who engages in them, but they will also have a different social value' [41]. When quoting and referring to, the media used rather the simulacrum of this value, created by inertia, because the media bowed to representatives of the bureaucratic, scientific and economic fields of social space. It was very likely that in 2015–2018 the real social value in the eyes of Ukrainians was developing in favor of volunteers, journalists / bloggers and OOC participants [22]. But we are very careful in this conclusion, because the actors' list of the sociological monitoring 'Ukrainian Society' and our actors' list were not fully identical,

and yet there were some matches (see Figure 5). We saw that, in general, the media were well-insured while speaking about migrants and migration: in the top of ones being quoted / referenced, there were sources of both ‘serious’ (1-4th, 6-7th, 11th positions) and ‘sincere’ (5th, 8-9th positions) and ‘ultramodern’ (10th position) information.

Fig. 5.

Actors who were referred to when talking about migration and migrants in the media.

Source: own research



Could a mass audience protect themselves from such a massive blow? T. A. van Dijk was sure that yes: ‘If dominant groups, and especially their elites, largely control public discourse and its structures, they thus also have more control over the minds of the public

at large. However, such control has its limits. The complexity of comprehension, and the formation and change of beliefs, are such that one cannot always predict which features of a specific text or talk will have which effects on the minds of specific recipients' [46, p. 358]. Or, as we are told by researchers engaged in framing theory, an 'alternative possibility, however, is that people engage in more conscious evaluations of the issues by considering, for example, the politicians or interest groups behind the issues' [21]. And the results of focus group discussions on attitudes towards media in 2017-2019 [48, p. 13-38] testified that the Ukrainians' trust was hard to catch even by the most trusted media.

While speaking about the prospects for further research, more attention should be paid to the (de)humanisation of migrants in the light of other indications. For example, it seemed sufficient for us to identify additionally both implications about sociodemographic portrait of migrants and semantic cores among those sociodemographic characteristics related to age, sex, marital / family status, city / village, center / periphery dimensions. In all the years considered, the humanisation of migrants went parallel with non-empathic detachment, i.e., the emphasis on the fact that migrants were 'someone's family members', which could soften the hearts of many people, went parallel with artificial impersonal protrusion of some migrant groups, which could lead to aggressive perception – e.g., as if they had been given too much [36]. On the one hand, the images of migrants were connected with the images of their family members and considered in terms of family roles (father / dad, mother / mam, husband, wife, grandfather, grandmother, son, daughter, brother, sister, grandchildren, etc.). On the other hand, there was an 'anonymous & separated' implication: specific migrants' families were shown as a 'series of families'; children and older people (primarily them) were shown as ones existing as if by themselves or living on 'bonuses' from benefactors, suffering from rights violations, etc. An automated semantic analysis via Adevgo revealed that the most frequently used words were child and family (see Figure 6).

Fig. 6. Semantic core for sociodemographic migrants' features of media discourse, 2015-2018.

Source: own research



Images of children are one of the means used by the media to manipulate the reaction of the audience. There had been at least one high-profile child-rights-scandal in the Ukrainian media which led to the preparation of a report on situations where the media cooperated with children [55]. However, the practice of using children in the media continues itself in Ukraine to enhance the emotional perception of broadcasted content. In particular, the Institute of Mass Media did research on how the leading national online media covered the topic of minors [7]. According to their results, the top themes with children-mentioning included medicine (25%), crime, traffic accidents, missing children, accidents (22%), show business (8%). Therefore, the topics of childhood, children's images, etc., were expectedly used in covering the topics of migration as well. Children had become just another tool used by the Ukrainian top media to enhance the emotional perception of migration. Also, here we traced the appeal to the family as a traditional value of Ukrainians. According to the annual monitoring of the Institute of Sociology of NASU, the 'family' had been occupying the second value ranking position for young people for a long time [4]. The A. Tashchenko's research on values and morality of the Ukrainian society also testified that the best options had been selected by Ukrainians principally for the family [44; 45]. Thus, the media depiction of migrants' topic was a mean of attracting attention of the Ukrainians with the reference to their priorities, as well as a simultaneous reflection of their values through the media. Who knows, will the topic of migration still be filled with a significant amount of negative tone and appealing to emotions through various descriptions of the migrants' plight, or not. In any case, at the end of our research story, we would like to express our deep gratitude to the other countries' teams in the MAD project [2] and the experts invited to speak at the MAD project's workshops – Dr. William Ludwig Allen [1], Dr. Svitlana Babenko [6], Dr. Oleh Ivanov [9], Dr. Bernadette Nadya Jaworsky [5] and Dr. Rafal Zaborowski [11] – their reports filled our past years of research with amazing professional discoveries and extremely positive emotions.

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**«ГАРЯЧА» І ЧУТЛИВА ТЕМА ВОДНОЧАС:  
МІГРАНТИ, БЕЗПЕКА, ЕКОНОМІКА  
ТА КУЛЬТУРНА ІДЕНТИЧНІСТЬ В УКРАЇНСЬКИХ МЕДІА**

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За умов інформатизації та надмірного медіаспоживання медіа продовжують формувати громадську думку, будучи агентами «м'якої сили». Актуальність і сенситивність медіадискурсу про мігрантів та міграцію зумовлена останніми політичними подіями в ЄС, США та Україні. Авторки здійснили дослідження медіависвітлення мігрантів та міграції відповідно до логіки соціологічного дискурс-аналізу на основі вибірки з п'ятнадцяти провідних українських ЗМІ. Найбільша увага досліджених медіа у період з 2015 по 2018 рр. була зосереджена на відповідній темі у широкому сенсі, без деталізації окремих видів міграції, найменшу зацікавленість медіа виявляли до трудових мігрантів. Якісний контент-аналіз медіатекстів показав, що наявні позитивні приховані сенси медіаповідомлень характеризували мігрантів як людей, які є захищеними від різноманітних загроз або ж шукають саме такого – спокійного – життя; також ці сенси підкреслювали відсутність загрози суспільних розколів, терористичних атак чи поганої поведінки, наголошували на позитивних економічних наслідках, гідності трудових мігрантів, успішній асиміляції необхідного рівня тощо. Негативні приховані сенси медіаповідомлень переконували, що мігранти підтримували терористів, загрожували життю інших людей, шахраювали та порушували закон, ставали жертвами пограбувань та експлуатації, сприяли кризі економіки, зазнавали складнощів із працевлаштуванням тощо. Та

кож зафіксоване копіювання інфопаніки із зарубіжних ЗМІ. Досліджені українські топ-медіа були добре підстраховані цитуваннями та посиланнями, що стосувались типів джерел згідно з умовною авторською типологізацією – «серйозні», «щирі» та «ультрасучасні» джерела. Однак не завжди можна передбачити складнощі розуміння прихованих сенсів та можливі зміни переконань аудиторії, і дослідникам слід більше уваги приділяти (де)гуманізації мігрантів у світлі інших ознак. Зокрема, важливим висновком авторського дослідження стало те, що висвітлення у ЗМІ теми мігрантів та міграції було водночас і засобом привернення уваги українців з аллюзією на їхні пріоритети, і засобом відображення їх цінностей через ЗМІ.

Ключові слова: медіа-дискурс, міграція, соціологічний дискурс-аналіз, приховані смисли.

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**MODERN UKRAINIAN LABOR MIGRANTS STEREOTYPES  
ABOUT THE OTHER, “OURS”, AND “THEIRS”  
(according to the results of the author’s empirical research)**

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The article is devoted to the study of the images of the Other, one’s own and someone else’s in the author’s sociological research. Since the topic of images of the Other, one’s own and someone else’s is in demand and quite discussed in national sociology, as Ukraine is currently moving towards European integration, which means that the issue of tolerance and acceptance of the Other, in particular ethnically and nationally, will be quite acute. The purpose of the article is to determine the impact of labour migration on the peculiarities of ethnic and national stereotypes, in particular, the formation of images of the Other, one’s own and someone else’s, among labour migrants from Ukraine. The paper analyses the materials collected by the author and interviews for the presence of images and basic traits attributed to labour migrants. Using the images portrayed by the respondents, ten main pairs of key characteristics were identified (generous/greedy, patriots/non-patriots, hardworking/lazy, religious/non-religious, rich/poor, democratic/non-democratic, non-aggressive/aggressive, tolerant/intolerant, sincere/hypocritical, liberal/conservative).

**Keywords:** labour migration, stereotype, Other, stranger, own, ethno-social distance, interview.

According to the data of the Ukrainian Ministry of Social Policy, in 2019, there were 3.2 million migrant workers. In 2020, according to the chairman of the National Bank of Ukraine, there were about 3 million migrant workers. During the year, 400-500 thousand people returned to Ukraine, but mainly due to the coronavirus pandemic, when the EU countries closed to lockdown, people lost their jobs, and were forced to return home. Last year, 3,259 Ukrainians went abroad for permanent residence. Also due to the pandemic, the figure dropped. In 2021, according to the Plukha Institute for Demography and Social Studies at the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, the number of migrant workers is 2.5-3 million. «I think because of the pandemic, some people have postponed migration