

COVERAGE OF MIGRATION ISSUES IN UZBEKISTAN AND RUSSIAN INTERNET PUBLICATIONS: CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF JOURNALIST APPROACHES

Nodira Zokhitova¹, Yoqutxon Mamatova²

¹2nd year basic doctoral student of the National University of Uzbekistan

² Professor of the National University of Uzbekistan, DSc

Abstract. Coverage of migration processes in the media, including in online publications, based on effective approaches, directly affects the attitude towards migrants in different countries and in the world, the decisions taken by governments and international organizations in this area. The article critically analyzes the experience of the leading Internet publications in Uzbekistan and Russia, approaches to covering this topic and the opinions of journalists. The Russian Federation is the world leader in terms of the number of immigrants and emigrants. The web pages of the Russian weekly "Argumenty i Fakty" - "Aif.ru", the newspaper "Izvestia" - "Iz.ru" and the site "Lenta.ru" have the largest number of materials related to the topic of migration, and examine the problem from different points of view. The study showed that the use of "hate speech" in Russian publications is widespread, the authors are too emotional, and the principle of tolerance was not observed. Since Uzbekistan is a major supplier of immigrants, in the last decade, the migration balance has only been negative. Due to the fact that the main flow of Uzbek labor migrants is directed to Russia, the country's Internet publications are focused on the problem of labor migrants. In the course of the analysis of materials from the Internet editions of Uzbekistan "Kun.uz", "Daryo.uz", "Qalampir.uz" and the website of the newspaper "Xalq so'zi", it is substantiated that the attention of journalists to this issue has increased in the past 4 years, it has been made an attempt to cover different aspects of the topic based on new approaches and adhere to the principle of pluralism.

Keywords: Uzbekistan; Russia; massmedia; internet publications; labour migrants; migration; brain drain, journalistic approaches

1. Introduction

At the beginning of the 21st century, as a result of globalization, economic, political, cultural relations and information processes all over the world accelerated, this influenced changes in the way of life of people and caused a global migration process. Dissemination of information on the content, scope and consequences of this process among the general public through the media has become a reality. Especially over the past decade, the role and importance of online media in reporting on migration issues has increased dramatically. In this sense, it is important to analyze the approach of the Internet publications of the countries of emigrants and immigrants to the topic of migration.

Over the past 30 years, the scale of global migration processes has expanded significantly due to the formation of large migration flows in the new states that arose as a result of the collapse of the Soviet empire. For example, the Russian Federation is one of the three countries in the world in terms of the number of migrants. The majority of labor migrants in the country are citizens of the CIS countries, especially Central Asia. For this reason, the topic of migration is one of the most frequently discussed topics in Russian

Internet publications. Among the materials on this topic, the main part is made up of articles on the issues of labor migrants. Most of the studies of migration in the media by Russian researchers were carried out in 2011-2012. According to Federal State Statistics Service, during these years the number of migrants in Russia increased sharply in comparison with previous periods and "reached the highest level of migration balance for this period". The largest number of sociological surveys on migration conducted by the POF (Public Opinion Foundation) of the country were conducted in 2012. In 2012, 7 opinion polls were conducted on this topic, and in 2018-2019 - one social study each. According to sociologists and independent polls, in 2018 "xenophobia among Russians has increased dramatically". Russian researcher A. V. Grishina writes: "In modern Russian society, most of the population does not communicate with labor migrants, therefore the ethnic attitude of the population towards migrants is formed through the mass media". According to N. Ablajey, "Russian pupils have a negative attitude towards migrants, because they are constantly reminded that the problem is complex and insoluble". According to the candidate of sociological sciences O.V. Sarayeva, "there are two different attitudes towards labor migrants in the media: the first is the lack of conditions for migrants in their home country and the problems they face in Russia; secondly, the backwardness and lack of education of guest workers". According to the conclusion of associate professor P.M. Fedorova, "the topic of migration is one of the issues on the agenda of online publications, in which migrants are viewed as a threat to their social groups". As the psychologist-researcher I. Abakumova notes, "the negative attitude towards migrants ... is probably formed by the mass media". According to Uzbek researchers carrying out their activities in European countries, "Russian media widely use racist terms". Uzbekistan is one of the most active countries in the immigration process. Its migration direction is oriented to Russia, then to Kazakhstan, Turkey, Korea and the USA. According to political scientist Farkhod Tolipov, there are five global types of migration in Uzbekistan: labor migrants, those, who have moved to permanent residence, "smart" migration and human trafficking. The previous two types of migration have existed for a long time, but smart migration has become more active in recent years and the share of female migration has also increased.

During 1968-1970, migration among Uzbeks was significantly lower than in the former Soviet republics and amounted to 1.4%. In the 1990s, low migration activity remained, and only by 1999 the number of emigrants exceeded the number of immigrants. "In 1999, less than 2% of women migrant workers identified themselves as heads of the family, and in 2000, 50% of women became the main breadwinners of the family". Along the way, many migrants have died and are dying. "308 people in 2019" and "by December 2020, the bodies of 211 migrants have been repatriated". Thus, this shows that the study of the problem of migration in the media of Uzbekistan and Russia is extremely important and relevant.

There are pros and cons of migration processes for the country. The positive side is economic and the negative is social. "At least two children of 45% of migrant families remain under guardianship. Almost 63% of these children live with their mothers ... In addition, mothers often leave their children under the age of 6 and migrate". To reduce the impact of migration on children in Uzbekistan, UNICEF launched the "Program to Protect Children from Migration in Uzbekistan".

2. Methods and materials

The study used about 170 materials on migration from Russian online publications Aif.ru, Iz.ru, Lenta.ru for 2013-2020. These publications regularly publish materials on migration. According to LiveInternet statistics, these sites rank high in terms of audience coverage. Naturally, the materials published in them have a direct impact on the consciousness of the readership and thus on the formation of the corresponding public opinion. Aif.ru and Iz.ru are the web pages of traditional newspapers, while Lenta.ru is a purely online publication. The study analyzed about 300 materials on migration,

published in 2015-2020 by the Internet publications of Uzbekistan "Kun.uz", "Daryo.uz", "Xabar.uz", "Qalampir.uz", which have a large audience and often address the topic of migration. These editions are important in that they raise topics that are not covered by many other editions, and regularly cover important and pressing issues in the life of migrants. The study also used materials from the website of the newspaper "Xalq so'zi". When studying these materials, the methods of content analysis, structural analysis, observation, comparison and generalization were used.

3. Results and discussion

According to L. Gudkov's research, "in Russia, a tolerant and benevolent attitude towards migrants changed for the worse in the late 1980s and intensified in the 1990s and 2000s". Over the past 20 years, the trends in the topic of migrants in the Russian media have practically not changed. According to the results of monitoring in federal and regional territories in 2001-2002, the "hate speech" is directed at the peoples of the Caucasus, Asians and Muslims. Ethnically, the list is followed by Chechens, Armenians and Azerbaijanis". The number of materials in the media with a negative attitude towards the countries of the Caucasus has sharply decreased. This is directly related to the reduction in their number. Their places completely replaced materials about the inhabitants of Central Asia (although the topic of the inhabitants of Central Asia was still in the spotlight). In online publications, the trend of countering Muslim migrants and refugees has not lost its relevance.

The study found that xenophobia through the media over the past decade has focused mainly on Central Asians. One of the reasons for this was the stereotypes "backward", "uncultured", "sheep", "fish" and so on, formed over the years as a result of historical factors, and the role of the media in this process was significant. Attitudes towards migrants from countries such as Moldova and Ukraine can be viewed as neutral or positive. According to a survey of Russians conducted by the FOM in 2012, 56% of respondents said they did not want to live in the same area with migrants from Central Asia. The answers of 16% of the respondents were positive and 23% - neutral.

The materials of the online edition Aif.ru of the newspaper "Argumenty i Fakty" emphasize the need to strengthen the system of admitting migrants to Russia. It can be seen that in such proposals and recommendations of journalists, the main emphasis is placed on limiting the visit of Muslim migrants. In Russian Internet publications, there are also cases when migrants are associated with crime. For example, in the material "A guest worker's dream. Why are there no terrorist attacks in the UAE?" the opinion is expressed that the experience of the UAE should be studied in order to prevent a repetition of the terrorist attack in the St. Petersburg metro by the former Kyrgyz guest worker. This allows us to conclude that the main perpetrators of terrorist acts and crimes in the country are migrants. The story notes the high demand for Filipino workers in the UAE. "The answer is simple - most Filipinos are Christians, so they don't bring bombs into the building," the journalist says. It can be seen here that the main negative attitude is observed not towards all migrants, but towards Muslim migrants. This approach lays the foundation for the formation of Islamophobia among readers. Subsequent opinions in the text are devoted to labor migrants from Central Asia working in Russia. Thus, it is indicated that it is necessary to tighten the requirements for migrants in Russia, to deny them citizenship. As with many migration materials, this article is dominated by a precautionary spirit.

Another article by the author of this article, G. Zotov, refers to the Hungarian experience. According to the author, Hungary does not accept labor migrants from the Middle East, preferring migrants from Eastern European countries. It is also reported that Russia should prefer migrant workers from countries such as Serbia and Ukraine over labor migrants from Central Asia. In an article titled "Everything is under control!" the Aif.ru edition states: "Strict restrictions on the legal entry of migrants, the termination of their admission and, above all, the introduction of a visa regime with Central Asia". From

this point of view, it is clear that the problem is not only in illegal migration, but also in the nationality of migrants.

In a scientific article published in 2015 by the Russian scientist T.G. Skrebtsova, also emphasizes the need to close borders and introduce a visa system in Russian online publications. It can be seen that in 2020 these views have not changed. In recent years, the site Aif.ru has put forward the opinion that in order to reduce the number of labor migrants, it is necessary not only to tighten control, but also to attract Russians to the jobs occupied by migrants, to pay them sufficient wages and thereby reduce migration.

A similar approach is observed in another article entitled "Migrants, go home. What borders should Russia close and for whom?". The title itself uses "hate speech" against migrants. The first sentences used evaluative stereotypes such as "crime", "terrorism" and "violence". "Developed countries can no longer solve it. The situation in Russia is good, but experts advise not to rejoice too much, problems are only accumulating". In these lines, special attention is paid to the fact that even economically developed countries are powerless to accept migrants, and that Russia is not economically strong enough like them, if it encounters this problem, it will not be able to solve this problem. Migrants were characterized as a threat, and the pervasive threat method was used in the migration materials. The subtitle of the article also uses the verb "понаехали" ("come in large numbers"), which is widely used in the Russian media. The main idea of the material is embodied in the opinion that it is necessary in any way to restrict the illegal entry of migrants into the country. The material also features photographs titled The most atrocious crimes committed by migrants in recent years. The subtext of all these photographs focuses on the ethnicity of the migrants. This allows us to conclude that the frequent mention of crimes committed by migrants in many articles about them is a characteristic feature of Russian Internet publications. Illegal migration is undoubtedly a negative situation, but the one-sided approach of the media to the situation violates the principle of impartiality on their part. The final part of the article repeats such stereotypes as "an epidemic due to migrants", their "negative impact on the labor market", "the main thing is the growth of crime and the spread of Islamization".

Another article says that the future of Russia remains in the hands of Muslims and it is necessary to take an example from the processes taking place in Western Europe. Migrants are called dangerous guests, a very negative connotation is given, saying, perhaps, there are members of terrorist organizations among them. Thus, the author of the article uses emotional manipulation. In fact, even among the local population of Russia, there are members of such an organization. In a country where the majority of the population is Orthodox Christians, in the media to place Islam on a par with crime, relentlessly emphasize that their values are being overshadowed by another black-tinted religion, facilitates forming "Islamophobia" and a growing fear of Muslim migrants. In this sense, the political researcher V. Manapova rightly notes that "the media contribute ... to the spread of Islamophobic sentiments and fears of the Islamization of Russian society".

This is exactly the approach used in an article entitled "Islam and Scrapping. What threats does Islamic migration bring to Europe and the world". The article is devoted to the problem of the Islamization of European countries, in which this process is assessed as an acute threat. The problem is explored in an article in sections like "The Origins of the Crisis", "The First Wave", "You owe us" and "Political Invasion". Negative words such as "invasion", "crisis", "wave" were also used in the title of the sections.

The first part of the article, entitled "The Origins of the Crisis," argues that migrants first came to Europe not for political reasons, but for a better life, work and quality education. From this point of view, the author emphasizes that migrants are currently visiting Europe not only for economic, but also for political purposes, but no reason or evidence has been presented to describe and confirm this point of view. The second part of the article emphasizes that both sides were interested in the arrival of the first migrants to European countries. However, the author notes with irony that over time the problems began as a result of the fact that indigenous families in European countries

had one or two children, and migrants had many children and they received strong social assistance from the state. This opinion of the author is not entirely correct, because the state provides a lot of social support for the population of Europe in order to have as many children as they want. Throughout the text of this section, "hate speech" towards migrants becomes more expressive. In particular, the author criticizes urban areas inhabited by Muslim migrants and uses the term "Muslim ghetto".

The word "ghetto" means, according to the dictionaries of Cambridge and Oxford, an urban area, especially a poor part of the city, divided by race and religion. These sources also say that in the early Middle Ages this was the name of the Jewish part of the city. During World War II, this was the name of the extermination camps for Jews. Judging by the lexical meaning and etymology of this word, we see that it contains a comprehensive negative meaning and even discriminatory content. In fact, it would be appropriate for the author to instead use phrases such as "Muslim territory", "part where the Muslim population resides". The fact that the word "territory" is given in the material as part of the phrase "areas of Sharia" also has a negative impact on the consciousness of the reader.

In the third part of the article, the author notes that the current generation of migrants does not have a sense of gratitude, they grew up in a closed Sharia environment, they are people who do not want to accept European traditions, and they become easy prey for radicals. The fact that the author's reasons for the conclusion are not reflected in the text clearly shows that his assumptions were put in the context of the accusation. Throughout the text, it is indicated that Europe has already lost control in this regard. Most imams in France are said to have received their education not in France, but in Turkey and Arab countries, and the data are cited. However, the author did not study why the share of imams who received education in France is small and what factors prevent this. Therefore, the author says: "It's not hard to imagine what sermons they are preaching. There can be no talk of 'republican values', - he expresses emotionally. However, if he turned to the Concise Dictionary of Historical and Literary Concepts and Terms on Islam or other sources, he would understand that the Imam's task is to disseminate and explain the Koran and Sunnah, and that the Imam's speech does not contain "republican values".

In the fourth part of the article, Muslim migrants are referred to as "dangerous guests" and "burden". The use of words such as "dangerous" and "burden" for all Muslim migrants and refugees, whose guilt has not yet been proven, due to some migrants, is incompatible with the ethics of journalism and the recommendations of international organizations on the coverage of migrants and refugees. The author of the article, V. Kostikov, noted that a number of Eastern European countries will accept migrants only if they accept Christianity or adhere to the values of this country, and the number of countries applying these rules is growing. This example in the material was presented as a solution, a proposal on the issues of migrants in Russia.

In the concluding part of the article, it is emphasized that there are no problems with the admission or non-admission of migrants due to the size of the territory of Russia, low birth rate, labor shortage, but nevertheless it is necessary to draw timely conclusions from the tragic situation in Europe.

In general, in materials about migration processes abroad of Russian Internet publications there is link and comparison with the process of internal migration. This encourages the government to take action against migrants, and the audience - to be vigilant. On the one hand, it is understandable that journalists are in danger of migrants, since religious views have always been important and defended. However, "Muslims make up only 4.9% of the population of Europe".

One of the problems concerning the Russian government is the demographic crisis in the country, therefore an attempt is being made to influence the consciousness of the audience through the portrayal as a threat of the facts that an increase in the number of Muslim migrants will lead to the "Islamization" of the country, Russia and European countries will remain "in the hands" of Muslims. At the same time, the site "Aif.ru"

presents materials about the increase in the birth rate, the demographic situation in the country, and having many children.

The refugee problem is also widely covered in Russian Internet publications. Aif.ru provides materials on the situation in Europe, especially in Germany, which receives the largest number of refugees. Such materials highlight the pitiful future of the host countries and form a negative attitude towards refugees in the reader.

A. Sidorchik's article is one of them, in which each phrase causes fear in the audience not only of refugees who visited Germany during the refugee crisis, but also of the Muslim diaspora living there. It cannot be said that such materials in Russian Internet editions do not affect the opinion of the German population. It is known that many people of Russian origin live in Germany, especially on the territory of the former GDR. They follow the materials of the Russian-language Internet media and share what they read with their relatives and others. Therefore, the content of materials on the problem of refugees in Russian Internet publications is much more negative than in the media in Germany and similar countries, which in fact accept thousands of refugees. The Italian *La Stampa* edition commented on the attitude of the Russian media to the problem during the refugee crisis in Europe: "Russian media are carrying out anti-immigrant propaganda".

However, in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic in Russia, a negative attitude of society towards migrants arose sharply: they were viewed as carriers of the disease. In this case, the specific approach of the media can mitigate or aggravate the situation. The *Caravansera* website described the approach of the Russian media as "an attempt by the Russian media to incite hatred of migrants".

As of June 2020, the number of materials in the Aif.ru edition concerning the life of labor migrants, coronavirus and migration in the context of the pandemic are 3. Among them there are materials with a positive approach, in which through interviews with migrants it is covered the fact that during this period they were unemployed and penniless, and sick migrants did not receive medical care. At the same time, not all materials on migration topic published on the Aif.ru website can be classified as negative. Among them there are those based on a neutral approach. These materials discuss the assistance provided to migrants, the possibility of finding a good job. Another article argues that migrants are beneficial for the economy and producers, that those who come to Russia intend to work in Russia, that migrants can receive the same wages as local residents, and that they do not affect domestic demand labor force. Materials with such content are mainly presented in the form of messages or news.

The headlines of materials on Aif.ru are often presented in the form of questions. The headings of 2/3 of the articles analyzed above are given in this way. In general, the approaches and trends in coverage of migration topic on this resource have not changed over the past five years. The content of the materials is practically the same: migrants are the main force of crime, terrorism, Muslim migrants are dangerous, their entry into the country should be limited before it is quite late. By the end of 2019, the number of materials on migration issues was relatively smaller, and some materials used a neutral approach. The Aif.ru edition observes that journalists specialize in the problem of migration. For example, Georgy Zotov mainly covers immigration processes in Europe, and Natalia Kojina covers the problem of emigrants. Since 2019, the Aif.ru online edition has increased the number of materials that emphasize the need to involve the local population in the "black" work of migrants, for which they need to pay high salaries.

The Iz.ru online edition of *Izvestia* newspaper takes a neutral position in relation to Aif.ru in its coverage of migration. For example, President V. Putin also touched upon the problem of migration in his speech on the occasion of the amendments to the Russian Constitution in 2020. In this regard, it is specifically stated in a post titled "Putin has declared Russia's interest in the influx of migrants" in Iz.ru that Putin is interested in young and educated migrants and that the rights of local residents in their home will not be violated. Aif.ru also published an article entitled "Why does Russia need migrants?" based on Putin's speech. It emphasizes that migrants will not create inconveniences for the indigenous population; moreover, there is an interest in the visit of those who have

Russian nationality, Russian-speaking and cultural people. The headline on Iz.ru is neutral, while Aif.ru uses an intriguing question.

There are twice as many reports on the life of labor migrants during the pandemic on Iz.ru than on Aif.ru. The materials focus on the economic aspects of the problem, while noting that the population of the Central Asian countries lives off the money sent by migrants. It says that remittances have plummeted as a result of the pandemic, many migrants have returned home, and as a result, the "army of the unemployed" has grown in these countries. At the same time, as of July 17, 2020, it was established that there were no materials about the health status of migrants, their conditions during the pandemic.

The report, entitled "The Moscow City Hall saw no increase in crime among migrants during the pandemic," says the number of crimes committed by migrants did not increase despite unemployment during the pandemic. This shows that this is a common stereotype according to which migrants commit crimes. In this sense, according to the New York Times website, "Russian media portray Central Asian migrants as unwanted aliens ... arguing that they have no choice but to form different groups and rob ethnic Russians because of unemployment".

A striking feature highlighted in the Russian media is the fact that if the government does not have warm relations with a particular country, this is definitely reflected in the media. For example, Iz.ru criticizes the plight of refugees and migrants on the border with Colombia during the pandemic and the lack of medical assistance from the US government. The same picture is observed with refugees in Syria. This shows that the Russian media approach the problem of migration proceeding from the country's policy. Researcher R. Gabdulkhakov rightly notes that "the Russian media are less sympathetic to refugees fleeing the war, and this is aimed at justifying the government's military actions in Syria".

Iz.ru writes about the situation with migrants in the European Union during the pandemic: "This is happening on the territory of the richest association in the world - the EU ... there are all the means, a group of doctors and specialists, that is, everything to radically change the situation. EU chose not to do this". Although, in Russia, many Central Asian labor migrants found themselves in a similar situation due to quarantine as well. Among the analyzed editions, no analytical or critical materials were found that the Russian government did not provide them with assistance. "The problem of refugees: the UN is sounding the alarm", refugees in Europe are depicted in a deplorable state, while in Russia a Ukrainian refugee is in a separate room with her child, in good condition.

The content of materials on the topic of migration on the Lenta.ru website is the same as on the pages of Iz.ru and Aif.Ru. In particular, special attention is paid to the crimes committed by migrant workers, the removal of their money by migrants from the country, the fact that they take jobs of local residents, as well as the possible increase in crime by migrant workers during a pandemic. However, Lenta.ru's approach does not reflect a harsh negative reaction to the coverage of these issues.

In this edition it can also be found materials with a positive approach, which is not typical for Russian Internet media. At a time when opinions spread that crime would become more frequent during a pandemic, in the Lenta.ru online edition, in the analytical material based on an interview with an expert in this field, there was an attempt to scientifically substantiate the situation, positive reviews were given about migrants. One can cite as an example such materials with a similar approach about migrants, such as "We can live in the same yard, but not notice them" (2020), "We live with them in parallel worlds" (2019). In an interview with an expert, such opinions were revealed that the increase in the number of illegal migrants in Russia is caused by the laws of the country, and that the fear of migrants in the country is unfounded and strong.

Materials "Schizoids, Sociopaths, Sadists. Who Cuts, Beats and Shoots Migrants" (2017), "The Color of Violence. The stories of migrants who survived the attack in Russia" (2016) differ from the usual materials in approach and style. In it, the theme is revealed not only through words, but also through pictures. The materials speak of xenophobic attitudes towards migrants, that they are victims of many attacks, and that

they are depressed and fearful under the influence of the attitude of the local population. Russian online media often cover crimes committed by migrants. Violence against migrants remains behind the scenes. Although these two materials do not fully cover the problem, they try to give the reader an objective picture. Materials of such content help the student to correctly assess the situation, to form a tolerant attitude towards migrants. However, among the studied Internet publications, only Lenta.ru has materials with this approach, which are also published once a year.

In 2015, during the ongoing migration crisis in the EU, Lenta.ru published materials analyzing the situation in Germany, which received the largest number of refugees in the EU. They have a neutral approach to the interpretation of the topic, in contrast to aif.ru.

Emigration processes in Russia intensified in 2017. For this reason, online editions have increased the number of articles on smart migration in 2018. In the materials about emigration of Russian Internet editions it is highlighted the reasons why people leave the country, and the life of Russians who have moved to different parts of the world, in their new homeland. It is said in most of the materials that the emigrants really had a good job in Russia ("I had a good job in Moscow, a house in Barnaul", "... I had an excellent job, even a small business", "... left, leaving a high-paying job in Moscow, and moved to the USA"), that they are not very happy with foreign countries ("... a document is being prepared here in any case ... I stood in line for 4 hours", "... it is very good if at school studied for the "three" ... The actions of 13-year-olds are similar to those of 6-year-olds", "Do you think free medicine is bad in Russia? It is even worse in Spain", "... The education system in Finland is strange. ... It is a shame"). At the same time in journalistic performances, questions remain open as to why they do not return to Russia and what prevents them from doing so. These ideas were also reflected in the headlines: "Here you can be crazy with boredom", "Russian woman - about life in Cyprus", "I live in Madrid, I am treated in Moscow. Russian woman about her move to Spain", "Country of poor students and unemployed. Russian woman about life in Italy", "The husband beats, but the consul is silent. How do Slavs live in Turkey?".

Russian Internet media cover the daily life of migrants, emphasizing that they live in basements, in rented one-room houses, where dozens of people live together, and journalists approach the situation with disgust. However, none of the publications explained why migrants live in such conditions (high rents or obstacles for local residents to rent apartments to migrants from Central Asia). This approach to the interpretation of the topic allows us to conclude that Russian Internet editions embody the image of labor migrants as "strangers". As a result, migrants are portrayed as people alien to Russian society, customs and religion, with a different appearance, engaged in low-paid work, and the indigenous population develops a fear of people portrayed as "strangers", an attitude of alienation from them.

Over the past two decades, two stages of coverage of the topic of migration in the Uzbek media can be distinguished. The first stage covers the period from 2010 to 2017, the second period covers the period after 2017. Migration processes in the period up to 2017, in particular, the issues of migrants, are covered on the pages of the specialized magazine "Migrants, labor and security" edited by the famous political journalist Karim Bakhriev. In the first period, views on the topic of migration in the media were negative. The media put forward such ideas as "Your own home, and a grass mattress", "Migrants are lazy". As reported on the Deutsche Welle website, "before the election of Mirziyoyev, the Uzbek media carried out anti-migrant propaganda". It was said that it is dangerous to go to Russia, there they can get infected with various diseases. Through the topic of refugees, attention was paid to peace in Uzbekistan and that one should be grateful.

Most of the material during this period consisted of messages and news about the migration process abroad and refugees in Europe. The number of articles on local migration was not great, and it turned out that those published were only of a positive nature. For example, "In 2015, the migration balance in Uzbekistan decreased by 25%", "The Federal Migration Service of Russia: in 2015, the number of migrants legally

working in Russia increased by more than 30%". In Internet editions, the main news is taken from foreign sources.

Over the past 4 years, the attitude towards this problem has changed dramatically. At a meeting with officials in early 2018, President Shavkat Mirziyoyev said: "They (migrants) are not in vain abroad. We were unable to create jobs for them, so they are abroad ", it raised the essence of measures aimed at finding ways to solve the migration problem to a qualitatively new level. In 2018, Uzbekistan became a member of the International Organization for Migration, which was the first step towards protecting the rights of migrants at the international level. As political journalist Karim Bakhriev rightly said in an interview on the Eurasianet website, "Uzbekistan is radically changing its approach to the problem of labor migration and recognizes the contribution of migrants to the economy of Uzbekistan and the development of the country in which they work". Xabar.uz columnist Firuz Allayev claims that "after Shavkat Mirziyoyev came to power, the government and the media finally started talking openly about the problem of migrants".

At the second stage, it was noted that the attention of online editions to the migration process, in particular to the problem of labor migrants, has increased, and the content of approaches to its coverage differs from the previous period. Now, the journalistic materials reveal the activities of various state and non-state agencies that help people find work abroad, the benefits that migrants bring to the country's economy, their jobs and low wages.

The BBC website assessed the approach of Uzbek Internet editions to migrants in 2015 as follows: "nothing is said about the departure of millions of Uzbeks to Russia, the ordeals there and the economic factors of the situation". Today, the problem of migrants is openly and widely discussed in the Internet editions of Uzbekistan, and many materials show the economic and financial reasons why people are forced to work abroad.

Until 2017, Uzbek journalists reflected the traditional view of labor migration, including female migration: it is absolutely dangerous for a woman to travel abroad, many women abroad are not following the right path, etc., therefore, an analysis of the root of economic, legal and social problems was not carried out. By 2018, online editions also began to pay attention to the topic of women migrants. Turkey is one of the countries with the largest number of female migrants from Uzbekistan. There, migrants are mainly engaged in caring for the elderly and children, housekeeping and trade.

The death of Nodira Kadyrova, a labor migrant from Turkey who worked as a housekeeper, sparked a lot of discussion on the Internet. Among online editions, Qalampir.uz paid special attention to this issue and regularly published a series of materials. One of these materials with the headline "Was Nodira Kadyrova killed or did she commit suicide? The results of the examination have been made public", it contains quotes from the opinions of different parties, excerpts from interviews with various personalities, photographs are appropriately given. As is typical for online editions, the chronology of events is briefly described at the beginning of the text as a reminder to the reader. Excerpts from interviews and testimonies of the deceased's brother, friend, lawyer, representative of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Turkey, owner of the house where the deceased worked are given to clarify the situation. This approach made it possible to bring this material closer to journalistic investigation, but the editorial office did not specifically conduct its own investigation.

The article also cites the editorial staff's attitude and this is their position: "Shirin Unal will expel Hilala from the country or leave if he wants". It was openly stated that Kadyrova's death was suspicious and that Shirin Unal was abusing his parliamentary powers. At the end of the article, the editorial office said that it had contacted the Uzbek prosecutor's office and asked: "Why does the Prosecutor General's Office not cooperate with foreign law enforcement agencies? Will Uzbek citizens just die abroad?". However, the issue of women migrants has been found to be underreported in the media. Uzbek online media also frequently report local migration, as well as expressions of government officials about migration.

At the same time, there are many materials about the killings or persecution of migrants. For example, in messages such as “A citizen of Uzbekistan found in Russia in critical condition” (“Xabar.uz”, 29.08.2019), “An Uzbek woman died of frostbite in St. Petersburg” (“Xabar.uz”, 10.01.2019), “In St. Petersburg, unknown persons stabbed a citizen of Uzbekistan with a knife” (“Xabar.uz”, 10.09.2019), “New information has been received about two migrants who died tragically in Russia” (“Qalampir.uz”, 09.02.2019), it is talked about the tragic fate of our compatriots, who were killed in the process of migration, tragically died, were persecuted. The regular publication of such materials creates the feeling that the state bodies are not working in this regard and, ultimately, a mood of distrust arises in the ongoing reforms: “I follow the news about Uzbekistan. Although not every day, but every other day I read that the Uzbeks died somewhere in Russia. The question arises: why do Uzbeks live? To die like a dog?” (“Daryo.uz”, 26.01.2018). In addition, such messages can also lead to ethnic conflict. For example, the nationality of the offender is emphasized in the headline of the message “A Tajik migrant had raped a 15-year-old Uzbek girl in Russia for two years” (Daryo.uz, 15.10.2019).

In online editions the topic of labor migrants is covered from two angles. The first is the difficulty on the way to the destination. For example, the story of a migrant who arrived in Russia through Kazakhstan is presented in the materials “On the way there were problems mainly with Uzbek trains. The first problem arose because of the compulsory motor insurance”, “We stayed there for five days because of the intensified inspection on the trains” in the form of a monologue. The text begins with the reasons for the hero's departure to Russia and describes his difficulties on the way, in particular, the repeated collection of duties from migrants on trains, problems with border control, the attitude of Kazakhs towards Uzbek migrants, their use as bait before they arrive at their destination, extortion. Materials with such content are in the minority.

The second perspective is a detailed description of the difficulties and tragedies faced by migrants in a foreign land. For example, the messages “The bull gored and trampled the migrant. As a result of the attack by a bull, a citizen of Uzbekistan was wounded and died on the spot” (“Kun.uz”, 14.10.2019), “An Uzbek migrant worker fell from the 10th floor in St. Petersburg and survived” (“Kun.uz”, 17.09.02), “The body of an Uzbek woman was found in the Chungnam province of South Korea” (“Kun.uz”, 29.07.2019) are provided based on information from foreign sources or the information service of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Messages and news with such content make up the majority of the information published in Internet editions.

For example, in November 2019, Kun.uz published 28 articles on the topic of migration. 4 of them are presented in the analytical genre, the rest are in the news. 2 articles give advice to Uzbeks in South Korea, and in the 2 ones it is talked about receiving letters from Uzbek migrants in Russia and there reporters studied their problems. This approach of the publication to the coverage of the topic, of course, significantly increases the effectiveness of the media in this area as a social and political institution.

In 2020, Kun.uz became the resource that most of all turned to the problems of migrants, among other online editions. In journalistic speeches in various genres, the situation of patentless migrants in Russia, cases of imprisoning migrants, incriminating them, the activities of private employment agencies are highlighted, and thus those who are going to go abroad are called to be vigilant. The materials contain the opinion of representatives of the Agency for External Labor Migration, deceived citizens. At the same time, the authors did not contact migrants, indigenous people, representatives of Russian law enforcement agencies, private employment agencies to find a solution to the problem.

After the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic, migration issues began to be addressed in the context of the spread of the coronavirus. On social networks, tourist migration was named as the cause of the virus penetration into the country. The first symptoms of coronavirus were detected in a citizen who entered Uzbekistan from France. On the pages of social networks, offensive and hateful comments about this citizen have

become more frequent. After that, the question of repatriating the compatriots who remained abroad was raised. The audience of social networks formed 2 different opinions: 1) to withdraw those who remained in difficult conditions; 2) migrants should not be brought in as they will further increase the spread of the virus. Internet editions expressed the opinion that in this situation it is necessary to return migrants to the country. The solution of the issues raised in the materials "Should the government return migrants abroad?" on the website Qalampir.uz., "Should Uzbekistan open borders for its citizens abroad?" on the Kun.uz website, expressed through discussions between legal scholars. Each expert in the discussion substantiated their point of view with practical examples, giving each reader the opportunity to draw their own conclusions.

The problem of migrants who remained at the borders of Russia and Kazakhstan during the pandemic was also regularly covered. As a result, massive public debate influenced government decisions in this area: several charter flights were organized, and migrants were returned to the country in due course.

Due to the fact that the Eurasian Economic Union is indirectly related to the problem of migrants, the efforts of this organization were widely discussed in online editions in the context of the problem of migrants. The materials were dominated by negative approaches, claiming that the migrants were only an excuse, as a result of which Uzbekistan did not join the organization.

Since 2019, in online editions at least a small amount of materials about migrants awaiting deportation in temporary migrants detention centers (TMD) in Russia have published. These materials cover only the problems of migrants in Russia.

One of them was prepared on the basis of a letter from migrants from temporary detention centers for migrants, which affected the content and quality of the material. The reliability and objectivity of the material would be much higher if the journalist visited such centers and studied the situation himself. In addition, images of situations that are not directly related to the topic and object under consideration are attached to the material. It was stated from the lips of a migrant that migrants in Russia live in "conditions where even animals do not live". Migrants complain that Uzbekistan is not helping them. For this reason, the material continued with an interview with the head of the Moscow office of the Agency for External Labor Migration of the Ministry of Employment and Labor Relations. The head of the office said that migrants exaggerate with the number of migrants. The journalist did not express his opinion on these conflicting views. It is noteworthy that the material contained a relevant law reflecting the tasks of the Agency for External Labor Migration for clarification to migrants. The author also raised the issue of women migrants and provided specific information on the treatment of women in these centers.

One of the most notorious incidents involving labor migrants was the burning of 52 Uzbeks in a bus on the Aktobe road and 22 labor migrants who burned alive during a fire in Tomsk. After this disaster, more and more attention was paid to the problem of migrants. After the tragedy in Aktobe, the Internet edition "Daryo.uz" launched the project "The Life of Migrants". It tells in detail about the Uzbek citizens living abroad. Unlike ordinary stories, the materials of the project are presented in the form of a monologue story on behalf of the migrant hero. The articles of the project also highlight important issues that need to be addressed in the country: "Because there are at least small conditions here - gas and electricity, well fed ... I would have to work 25 hours a day in Uzbekistan to earn the money that I earn here" ("Daryo.uz", 26.01.2018).

The project tells the story of compatriots living only in Russia. There is no material about migrants in other countries. 90% of the articles are devoted to tortured migrants in a difficult situation, and only one article tells the story of a migrant who was able to find his place in Russia. Despite the fact that this material is written in a positive spirit, it is important that it also highlights the problems in the field of education in our country, because in many cases, "smart" migration occurs as a result of poor medical, educational, judicial systems.

The problem of "bright minds" was first raised in 2017 during the visit of President Shavkat Mirziyoyev to the UN session in New York. Shavkat Mirziyoyev met with our compatriots, namely doctors, professors, entrepreneurs and lawyers working in the United States, and offered to return to Uzbekistan, promising good conditions and wages.

Before the creation of the non-governmental non-profit organization "Buyuk Kelajak" on the initiative of President Shavkat Mirziyoyev, the media practically did not publish materials about "bright minds" living abroad. Although the professional potential of a journalist is important in returning to the country of "bright minds". Indeed, a journalist who raises topical issues and puts forward reasonable proposals to the government on their solution, timely gives an objective assessment of the situation in the country and thereby contributes to its improvement.

"Kun.uz" published a number of materials about the departure of "bright minds" from the country. It is outlined some of the problems that need to be addressed in the country in order to reduce this type of migration. But do the "bright minds" want to return to their homeland and under what conditions? What prevents them from returning? What motivates the smart ones to migrate? The published materials do not fully reflect the answers to these questions.

In 2020, the online edition "Xabar.uz" covers the activities of our compatriots working in prestigious positions and studying abroad on the basis of the "Compatriots Abroad" project. Since the main heroes of the project are mainly students, undergraduates and doctoral students studying abroad, special attention is paid to problems in the education system of Uzbekistan, which is interpreted as one of the main factors leading to the migration of "smart" ones. These materials were prepared in the genre of interviews, and most of the characters are asked questions such as: "Do foreigners know about Uzbekistan? Why did you choose this country? What reforms can be carried out there in Uzbekistan? What do you do in your free time? Your plans for the future". In materials it is asked questions about the coronavirus pandemic to provide a link to world events. Since the texts of all materials are written in an accessible language, they motivate young people, allow them to compare the problems in the education system and the public administration system with foreign experience.

At the same time, there are practically no critical and analytical approaches to the topic of migration of "smart people" based on specific facts and figures, scientific research. For example, a large number of specialists who returned from abroad as experts of the organization "Buyuk Kelajak" left the organization in the first year of its existence. Although financially they were wealthy in comparison with others, the question of what and who prevented them from staying and living in the country was not studied in detail in the media, and the reasons for the repeated departure of the "bright minds" from Uzbekistan were not disclosed.

Most of the materials related to migration, published on the website of the newspaper "Xalq so'zi" - "xs.uz", is also published in the news genre. Sometimes informational materials are published, but they do not have a journalistic position and an accurate opinion. For example, the title of the material "When the problems in the labor migration system end" does not correspond to the content (the tendency of inconsistency of the title of the material with its content is clearly observed in the activities of the edition). The problem reflected in the title is categorically not disclosed. The question was not answered. Only the normative legal documents adopted on this issue are listed. A similar approach has been used in other publications.

Another cycle of materials is a report on the work done, and not a study of the tasks. Even during the pandemic, xs.uz only published reports that migrants were brought in on charter flights. Since one of the founders of the publication is the parliament, that is, the Oliy Majlis of the Republic of Uzbekistan, the opinions of the deputies on migration issues were issued. In most of them, there is propaganda for reforms in relation to migration.

4. Conclusion

In conclusion, propaganda is one of the features of the Russian media, which is carried out according to the old form, primitively, in this process a negative attitude towards migrants is clearly demonstrated. In the last decade, Russian Internet editions have paid more attention to migrants from Central Asia, whereas before that, the topic of the Caucasian peoples was in trend. In the materials of the studied editions, Central Asian labor migrants are portrayed as backward, hooligans, prone to crime, those, who take jobs, they are mainly viewed as a threat, and this is the prevailing mood of calling for audience awareness. Government relations with other countries directly affect the coverage of topic of migration. The achievements of migrants, their role in the development of the country and other positive aspects are hardly mentioned. What there it that is provided as a message. This approach, indifference to the problem and the silence of the media undermine the objectivity of modern Russian journalism. In the materials of the studied Internet editions, there was a wide use of emotionally expressive vocabulary, in many cases the hate speech. There is no "migrant-phobia" in the media in relation to Slavic migrants, which indicates that they approach the topic based on the ethnicity of migrants and that they suffer from ethnophobia. Among the editions studied, aif.ru negatively covers the topic of migration, iz.ru takes a relatively neutral position, and Lenta.ru expresses a relatively positive approach.

It should be noted that the attention of the Internet and print media in Uzbekistan to the topic of migration has been steadily growing over the past four years. Earlier, online journalists of our country turned to Russian editions, translated their information and presented it mainly in information genres. At that time, the migration process and the problem of migrants were covered in a more negative light, without an impartial and benevolent attitude towards the subjects of migration. Currently, such online editions as Kun.uz, Daryo.uz, Qalampir.uz cover the problem of migrants and migration more widely than other media outlets. There is a tendency in the materials to touch upon different aspects of the topic, to have an analytical approach and to express the position of the journalist. In the last year, attention has been paid to ensuring the interactivity of these materials. At the same time, the sites of traditional newspapers rarely refer to the topic of migration and study it superficially. There is a sense of good-naturedness towards migrants in the materials, but lacks in-depth analysis, research and scientific data to study the problem. The coverage of the topic is mainly focused on economic factors. The legal factors of the problems faced by migrants abroad are not given as a reason. The materials do not study the opinions of officials and experts on this matter, there are no materials that attract their professional attention and discussion speeches, materials that promote the rights of migrants. This leads to an increase in the number of people who are deceived in a foreign land or find themselves in a difficult life situation.

Uzbek Internet journalists again do not pay attention to the study of the fact that children do not grow up in a full-fledged family as a result of migration, women are involved in "human trafficking" and other similar social problems. The materials also pay little attention to the fact that corruption, bureaucracy and other similar vices are the main causes of migration, especially the migration of "smart" people.

Recently, in the Internet editions "Kun.uz", "Daryo.uz" there has been a tendency to use not only text, but also video recordings when covering the life of migrants. However, newspaper sites continue to cover the issue using traditional journalistic tools. Russian and Uzbek online media undermine the principle of impartiality. The subjective views of the authors and the position of states on this matter are felt in the online editions of both countries.

For effective coverage of this topic in the media, it is advisable to use the opportunity of representatives of international migration organizations in Russia and Uzbekistan and organize special educational trainings for journalists, as well as the preparate scientifically based materials in cooperation with experts in this field, including using the multimedia capabilities of the multimedia capabilities of online media, data

journalism tools, conduct investigative journalism on a regular basis, or develop and implement special projects.

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