

Yukhymenko Family Doctoral School of the
NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF “KYIV – MOHYLA ACADEMY”
MOHYLA SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM



DOCTORAL THESIS

REPRESENTATIONS OF THE CRIMEAN TATARS
IN THE UKRAINIAN MEDIA DISCOURSE

by Anastasia Bezverkha

Academic supervisors:

Dr. Volodymyr Kulyk, Institute of Political and Ethnic Studies,
National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Kyiv, Ukraine;
Prof. Marta Dyczok, University of Western Ontario, London, Canada

KYIV 2015

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER 1. THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORKS OF STUDY

1.1 Theoretical framework of study

- 1.1.1. Discourse and discourse analysis
- 1.1.2. Discourse and identity
- 1.1.3. Ethnic and national identity
- 1.1.4. Ethnicity, racism and hate speech
- 1.1.5. Ideology, common sense and power relations
- 1.1.6. Media discourse
- 1.1.7. Media and memory

1.2. Methodological framework of study

- 1.2.1. Methods of data collection
 - 1.2.1.1 Principles of the media texts selection
 - 1.2.1.2. Expert interviews
- 1.2.2. Methods of data analysis
 - 1.2.2.1. Critical discourse analysis
 - 1.2.2.2. Framing and agenda-setting analysis
 - 1.2.2.3. Narrative analysis
- 1.2.3. Research structure
 - 1.2.3.1. Research stages and sampling
 - 1.2.3.2. Limitations of study

1.3. Conclusions

CHAPTER 2. SOCIO-POLITICAL CONTEXT OF STUDY

2.1. Key characteristics of the Ukrainian media landscape

- 2.1.1. Ukrainian media ownership structure
- 2.1.2. General features of the Ukrainian media discourse

2.2 Crimean media landscape

- 2.2.1 Crimean mainstream media
- 2.2.2 Crimean Tatar national media

2.3. Overview of the current studies on the Crimean Tatars

CHAPTER 3. PATTERNS OF MEDIA REPRESENTATION OF THE

CRIMEAN TATARS IN THE UKRAINIAN MEDIA (2010-2012)

3.1. Introduction

3.2. Patterns of representation of the Crimean Tatars in the media discourse

3.2.1. Genres

3.2.2. Topics (themes)

3.2.3 Representations of social actors

3.2.3.1. Wording

3.2.3.2. Agency of social actors

3.2.3.3. Personal representations

3.2.3.4. Representation of the Milli Mejlis

3.2.4. Crimean Tatars in the mediatized political discourse

3.2.4.1. Crimean Tatar's problem

3.2.4.2. Crimean Tatars – 'the unsatisfied'

3.2.5. Discourse of threat

3.2.6. 'Land seizures' VS 'glades of protest'

3.2.7. Strategies of exclusion and inclusion

3.3. Conclusions

CHAPTER 4. NARRATIVES OF DEPORTATION: THE MEDIA REPRESENTATIONS OF THE CRIMEAN TATARS' COLLECTIVE MEMORY (2007-2012)

4.1. Why deportation?

4.2. Dominant and alternative historical narratives in Ukraine

4.3. Narratives of deportation: representation by the national, regional and Crimean Tatar national media

4.3.1. National media on deportation

4.3.1.1. Sample of media texts

4.3.1.2. Media representations of deportation

4.3.1.2.1 Wording

4.3.1.2.2. Genres

4.3.1.2.3. Subjects and sources of reference

4.3.1.2.4. Mediatized political discourse on deportation

4.3.1.3. Conclusions

4.3.2. Narratives of deportation represented in the Crimean mainstream media

4.3.2.1. Sample of media texts

4.3.2.2. Media representations of deportation

4.3.2.2.1. The Crimean Tatars in the Crimean politics of memory

4.3.2.2.2. Narratives of commemoration of the Crimean Tatars' deportation

3.2.2.3. Mediatized political discourse on deportation

4.3.2.3 Conclusions

4.3.3. Deportation through the lens of the Crimean Tatar ethnic media

4.3.3.1. Sample of media texts

4.3.3.2. Media representations of deportation

4.3.3.2.1. Representation of commemoration practices of the Crimean Tatars deportation

4.3.3.2.2. Political discourse: between memory and politics

4.3.3.2.3. Historical narratives

4.3.3.2.4. Personal memories and recollections of deportation

4.3.3.2.5. Narratives of collaboration - "lieux d'oubli"

4.3.3.3. Conclusions

4.4. Conclusions

CONCLUSIONS

REFERENCES

APPENDIX 1. List of interviews

Summary

Crimea is a unique, ethnically diverse region of Ukraine where the Crimean Tatars, live within compact vicinity among the Slavic majority. In 1944 this ethnic group has undergone deportation by the Soviet regime and since the late 1980s started to return en masse to Crimea. Crimean Tatars constitute 14% of the Crimean population, and they are a politically active ethnic group.

Research objectives. Current study seeks to explore the ways in which media discourse reflects and shapes the popular image of the Crimean Tatars in the Ukrainian society. The research is aimed to discuss the key discursive strategies utilized by the media to construct the identity of the group, reflecting the power inequality between the Crimean Tatars and dominant ethnic groups of Ukraine and Crimea.

Methods. The dissertation provides an analysis of the media representation of the Crimean Tatars in the Ukrainian media discourse by theoretical and methodological means of the critical discourse analysis. The study shares the idea of the discursive nature of the social reality and the statement that the collective identities are constructed and constantly (re)negotiated in discursive interactions. In addition, 11 Crimean journalists and media experts were interviewed to contextualize the textual analysis.

Chapter outline. The study comprises of the introduction, four chapters and the conclusion. Chapter two outlines the features of the Ukrainian media landscape and discusses the literature on the Crimean Tatars. Chapter three provides a detailed account of the structure and features of the Crimean Tatars' representations by the national and Crimean mainstream media during the 2010-2012. An additional sample of media texts from 2007-2012 covering the Crimean Tatars' deportation is analyzed in chapter four. The total number of media texts in both samples is 1429.

Research findings and conclusions. The research findings demonstrated that the agency of the Crimean Tatars is mostly suppressed or passivated, they are represented in the less powerful position, as recipients of the state concessions. But in the news about conflicts or street confrontations, the Crimean Tatars are often positioned as an active subject, which “demands” and “criticizes”, rather than “seeks dialogue”.

One of the dominant ideological frames of the media representation of the Crimean Tatars is a frame showing the group “as a problem and burden” for the majority and a source of a potential threat and disorder. The key argument of the study is that the mentioned strategy used by the Ukrainian and Crimean media is part of the larger discursive strategy of the 'positive-self' and 'negative-other' presentation, typical for the discriminatory rhetoric of ethnicism, widely used in the European media against minority groups and studied by the Western scholars (T. van Dijk, N. Fairclough, S. Riggins).

On the other hand, research demonstrated features of the Crimean Tatars' media representation directly related to the post-Soviet political and cultural legacy, which

influences the Crimean public and media discourses. The Russian dominance is manifested in the media representation of the commemoration of the Crimean Tatars' deportation of 1944 (mostly by the indirect and subtle forms) and the Crimean politics of memory remained under ideological influence of the Soviet historical meta-narrative. The Crimean Tatars in turn constructed and promoted their own version of memory of deportation in order to justify their return from exile and reestablish their historical and cultural ties with their land. The research has revealed the elements of the counter-discourse, which aims to undermine the dominant power relations. In this regard, the Crimean Tatar national media put emphasis on publication of the personal narratives of the deportation survivors in order to promote their alternative meaning of deportation.

Key words: discourse analysis, media representation, national identity, the Crimean