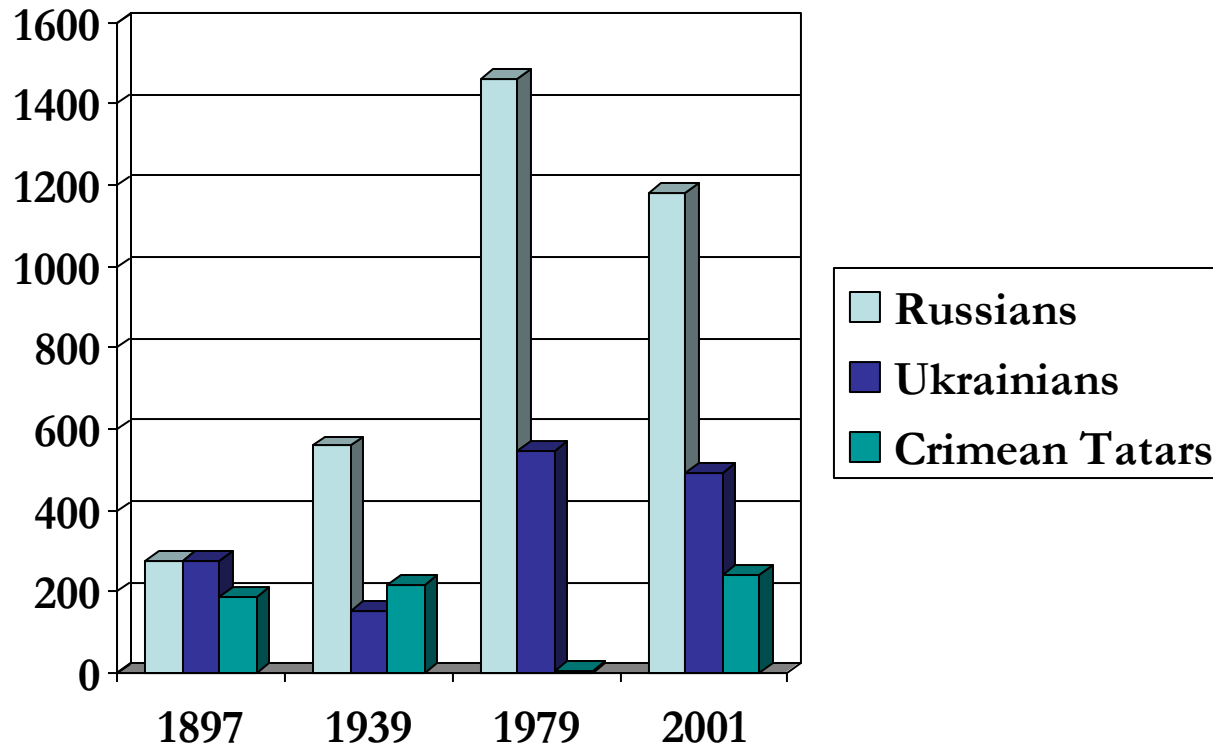


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# **Construction of Identity of the Crimean Tatars in The Ukrainian media discourse**

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# Deportation in 1944 and return en masse since the 1980s



# Research questions

- How is the Crimean Tatar identity being constructed by the Ukrainian media discourse?
- How do the Ukrainian media shape the self-identification of the Crimean Tatars?
- Which narratives of deportation communicated by the media discourse make up the features of the Crimean Tatar national identity?

# Broader context of study

- This study represents a social-constructivist ontological paradigm
- Corresponds to the larger group of critical studies of racism, representation of migrants, ethnic, social minorities and unprivileged populations
- Focuses on power relations and the work of ideology and common sense in the discourse

# Methodology

- Critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, Wodak, van Dijk)
- Narrative analysis (dominant and counter narratives of deportation 1944 in the media)
- Audience analysis (in-depth interviews and focus-groups)

# Levels of text analysis

- National and regional (Crimean) media
- Crimean and national Crimean Tatar media (Rus lang only)
- Broad sample (2010-2012) – all related media texts
- Narrow sample (17-19 May 2007-2012 – deportation commemoration day related texts)

# Critical discourse analysis

- Macro level - discursive practices, silencing, ideological frameworks, media formats/genres
- Textual level – voices, agency, – work of power relations and common sense
- Micro-level – word choice, naming, categorization

# Collective memory of deportation

- History and memory in the media

Patterns of media representation of the commemoration politics – deportation of the Crimean Tatars and other peoples of the Crimea

Dominant (official) discourse of deportation VS Crimean Tatar national alternative

Historical discussion around the reasons for deportation of 1944 – “narod-kolaboratsionist”



# Audience analysis

- Interviews and focus groups with Crimean Tatars and Russians/Ukrainians of the Crimea:
  - dominant channels of information consumption
  - Inhabited and ascribed identities (Blommaert) – family (peer comm.) VS media as primary source of identity
  - Deportation as a central pillar for construction of Crimean Tatar collective identity?

# Preliminary results of analysis

Key features of the media discourse about the Crimean Tatars:

- Not systematic
- Focused on scandals, conflicts
- Lack of analysis of reasons behind protests and possible solutions
- Crimean Tatars' opinions under-represented, voices mostly silenced
- No interest to history and culture, everyday life, education of the Crimean Tatars

# Agency

- Generalization in naming (Crimean Tatar, Crimean Tatar people, land self-seizers, nationalist-extremists, Muslim extremists)
- De-individualization (Crimean-tatar man, representative of the Crimean Tatar people)
- Exclusion of local political, civic and religious leaders as speakers
- Passive voice and victimization

*“Police has swiped off another Crimean Tatars’ protest”*

*Korrespondent.net 21.03.2009*

*“The Crimean Parliament will decide the destiny of the Tatars’ mosque tomorrow”*

*UNIAN, 19.03.2011)*

# Discourse of threat and religious extremism

Headline: “The Tatars will take away Crimea and make new Kosovo”

*Vlasti.net, 9.01. 2008*

Headline: «Al-Qaida is going to help Akhmetov’s party?»:

“...under the label of “autonomous community” lurks the unregistered in Ukraine pseudo-Islamic party “Khizb-ut-Tahrir”,.....Included in the list of terrorist organizations in some countries, this organization is firmly connected with the infamous “Al-Qaida” ....”

*UA Today, 13.08.2007*

Headline: “The Crimean Tatars celebrated the building of the mosque with the killing of the lamb. Beware, cruel scenes!

The first stone of the Djuma-Djami Mosque has been laid in Simferopol.”

*Segodnia, 03.03.2011*

# Exclusion\inclusion of the Crimean Tatars

Exclusion:

*No more concessions to the self-seizers*

*“The Crimean population gets to the core of the land issues, as is reflected in the results of sociological survey. 51% of the Crimean population are irritated by the endless actions of protest of the Crimean Tatars, 22% - are anxious about these, 9% - feel fear. In general, 83% of the Crimean people have a negative attitude to the protest activities of the Crimean Tatars”*

*Krymskaya gazeta, November 27, 2007*

Inclusion:

*Matvienko on the mine-field of the Crimea*

*«the fact that Kyiv’s nominee met Crimean Tatars could be a wise decision, as they represent the most powerful political force in the Crimea...»*

*Gazeta po-kievski, №81, April 28, 2005*

# Othering: “Us-good” VS “them – bad”

*“During 17 years of independence over 1 billion and two hundred million hryvnas have been spent from national and republican budgets on the settlement of the Crimean Tatars, over 40 thousand hectares of lands provided...*

*...But the Crimean Tatars do not value such generosity. As well as the concessions constantly made by the republican and local authorities”.*

*Krymskaya gazeta, November 2007*

# Conclusions

- The most common narratives of the Crimean Tatars in the media influence not only the popular attitudes of the “Slavic majority”, but define political consequences – political rehabilitation of deportees, legal securing of the rights of indigenous population to the Crimea, cultural autonomy of the Crimean Tatars etc.
- The work of implicit forms of racism and their ideological implications is more powerful than overt hate speech – this study focuses on the examination of the “new racism” (Van Dijk, 2001) on the structural level and level of normality and common sense.