

**SUBSTANTIVE POLITICAL AGENDA SETTING  
EFFECT OF MEDIA IN THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION:  
CASE STUDIES RELATED TO THE QUESTION OF  
MIGRANTS**

By

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## **Abstract**

This paper tries to see if changes in the amount of coverage on migrants in the media of the Russian Federation have an effect on the amount of migrant related legislation projects registered in the State Duma. It does so to find out if media in the Russian Federation has a substantive political agenda setting effect. To answer its research question the study compares the amount of coverage on migrants of two internet news sites: Ria.ru and Vesti.ru to the number of migrant related legislation projects registered in the State Duma for four migrant related “crisis” cases. This work finds that there is no connection between changes in the amount of coverage on migrants and the number of migrant related legislation projects registered in the State Duma. Additionally, the paper tries to explain why there was an increase in the coverage on migrants in the Russian media near to the end of year 2013.

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## INTRODUCTION

This study tried to see if media in Russia does have an effect on legislation of the State Duma of the Russian Federation. It did so by taking the issue of migrants that got more salient near to the end of year 2013, and taking four migrant related “crisis” cases to compare migrant related coverage of media to the number of legislative projects registered in the State Duma. The study used the ideas of Political Agenda Setting Theory to help in the endeavor. The study chose to analyze the issue of migrants in the Russian Federation because it saw evidences of symbolic agenda setting effect of media in the question of migrants, and wanted to examine if substantive political agenda setting effect would be revealed in the process of this analysis.

This study took the coverage from two state owned internet news sites and tried to analyze the amount of migrant related coverage and then compare it to the legislation. The Russian case was interesting because state owned media in the Russian Federation can be seen as a very carefully developed political tool that helps in controlling and shaping public opinion of citizens in Russia. Also, it is very much controlled, and it is under censorship. State controlled television more and more gives place to the internet in general and to state controlled internet news sites with it. (Oates 2013; “Putin and the Media: Dreams about Russia.” 2014) This thesis expects state owned internet news sites to have the same aim as the state television, i.e. to control and shape public opinion via its coverage. So, if any link would be found between the coverage and the legislation it would leave questions that would be needed to be addressed, like what is the real direction of causality between media and the State Duma. Can the media control the legislation, or the coverage is controlled for purposes of the government of the Russian Federation? First, the study had to see if a connection between the two existed at all.

Thus, the study came up with its research question to help to reveal if there was a connection between the two in the easiest way. That is, the research question was constructed in a way that would suppose that media might have an impact on the legislation to try to see if there was any connection at all. The research question that this study came with was formulated as follows: “Do changes in the amount of coverage on migrants in the media of the Russian Federation have an effect on the amount of migrant related legislation projects registered in the State Duma?”

In helping to answer the research question, the study had two hypotheses: the first hypothesis regarding the coverage and the second hypothesis regarding the legislation. The coverage hypothesis: The amount of coverage on migrants in the media of the Russian Federation will increase after a migrant related crisis. The legislation hypothesis: The number of migrant related legislation projects registered in the State Duma of the Russian Federation will increase due to increase in the coverage. In each case, the study tried to confirm the first hypothesis, and if confirmed then, the study proceeded to confirming the second hypothesis.

Thus, the study was interested in whether a quantitative effect of the media coverage on the legislation of the State Duma existed in the Russian Federation. The work did not set as its aim to see if a symbolic political agenda setting effect exists (i.e. if changes in the amount of the coverage have an effect on the amount of public speeches of politicians), but was interested in whether a substantive political agenda setting effect of media in the Russian Federation exists. Also, the study did not set as its aim to see if the media coverage had any qualitative effects on the migrant related legislation of the State Duma.

## Chapter 1. Theory

This work is written with the help of the ideas presented by Political Agenda Setting Theory. Political Agenda Setting Theory implies that media does have an impact on political agenda. According to the literature on Political Agenda Setting Theory there is no “general discussion or real theory on the media’s political agenda setting power” (Walgrave and Van Aelst 2006), but the main idea behind the theory tells that the mechanism under the process might be as follows. Political agenda which is constructed by politicians might be affected by media due to three reasons. First, politicians themselves might be affected by media coverage. (Pritchard 1992) Second, politicians might be communicating with each other via media; thus the media might have an effect on them. Third, politicians might think of the media as covering those subjects that are of importance to ordinary people, thus would be more likely to want to do something about the prominent issue or at least show their concern about the issue. Politicians might be willing to react by either increasing their number of speeches and statements concerning the question or they may react by proposing legislation projects and offering measures to deal with issues. Scholars studying the theory divide the aforementioned acts into symbolic political agenda setting, and substantive political agenda setting. (Walgrave and Van Aelst 2006; Walgrave, Soroka, and Nuytemans 2008)

Symbolic political agenda setting might be seen as an effect of media which results in politicians starting to talk more frequently about the issue that is prominent in the media, thus putting it on the agenda, but not doing anything substantive with it. So, everything starting from a press-release of a politician to his or her public speech without any action done regarding a prominent issue is a symbolic political agenda. Studies that focus on symbolic political agenda usually find more evidence to prove that the changes in symbolic political agendas due to changes in saliences of political issues exist. (Cobb, Ross, and Ross 1976;



Bartels 1996; III and Wood 1999; Soroka 2002) Studies that focus on substantive political agenda, on the other hand, try to find out if media attention on salient issues has any substantive effect. For example effect on budgets, be it - increase in allocations or the other way around also called as resource agenda, or increase in the amount of proposed legislation projects, bills. Usually, studies that focus on substantive political agenda setting find less evidence of substantive political agenda changing due to changes in saliences of political issues. (Pritchard and Berkowitz 1993)

Next, this thesis will show examples of the symbolic political agenda and tie it to the question under study; this study provides the coverage of speeches regarding the question of migrants of several deputies of the State Duma of the Russian Federation. The following is a translation of an article from 13.10.2013, 22:03; it is taken from Ria Novosti's news feed. The original article is in the footnote that follows.

Deputy of the State Duma Mikhail Starshinov (Edinaya Rossiya) directed inquiries to Procurator General Yuriy Chaika and to the chairman of the Committee of Inquiry Alexander Bastrykin, with a request to find out the reasons of origination of the situation in Birulevo. Also, the deputy suggested thinking about the question of the creation of the municipal police. (Mikhail Starshinov)

...She believes that the Procuracy should make a complex investigation which would also take under its scope deputies, and people from the force to show what was the reason of the accumulation of the critical mass of discontent that led to the events. Yarovaya noted that this story one more time confirms that no half measures are acceptable in the migration politics. The task that the President set must be done. Committing illicit acts is a result, but we should be looking for the reasons – said the Head of the Committee. (Irina Yarovaya - Head of the Committee of the State Duma on Security and Countermeasures to Corruption)

...Assistant Director of the Committee of Nationalities Tamara Pletneva stated to RIA Novosti that the Ministry with the same name should appear because the worst thing that can happen to the Russian Federation is fomentation of national animosity...

... She stressed that now Investigating Committee must reveal and find the criminal. Criminals need to be caught and punished, and for people to talk about this, and for people to know about this, that no crime here would go unpunished – whoever commits the crime, whichever nationality – concluded Assistant Director of the Duma Committee. (Tamara Pletneva - Assistant Director of the Committee of Nationalities)<sup>1</sup>

It is because this thesis was aware of the symbolic political agenda that was covered in Russian media; that it wanted to examine if there was any substantive political agenda setting effect of Russian media. So this is why the research question of the study is interested in finding if the amount of migrant related legislation projects registered in the State Duma might be affected by media.

Another idea that political agenda setting theory gives is that it is more likely for political agenda setting effect to take place if a pervasive crisis or a focusing event happens.

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<sup>1</sup> В ГД призывают тщательно расследовать преступление в Бирюлево

...Депутат Госдумы Михаил Старшинов ("Единая Россия") направил запросы генеральному прокурору Юрию Чайке и председателю Следственного комитета Александру Бастрыкину с просьбой изучить причины возникновения подобной ситуации в Бирюлево и предложил подумать над вопросом о создании муниципальной полиции...

... Она убеждена, что органы прокуратуры должны провести комплексную проверку, которая коснулась бы и чиновников, и силовиков, чтобы понять, в чем причина накопившейся критической массы раздражения людей. Яровая отметила, что эта история еще раз подтверждает, что никаких полутонов в миграционной политике быть не может. "Задача, которую поставил президент, должна быть неукоснительно исполнена. Совершение противоправных действий — это уже результат. А нам нужно разбираться в причинах", — сказала глава комитета...

... Зампред комитета по делам национальностей Тамара Плетнева заявила РИА Новости, что министерство с созвучным названием обязательно должно появиться, потому как самое страшное, что может произойти с нашей страной — это разжигание национальной розни...

...Она подчеркнула, что сейчас Следственный комитет должен разобраться и найти преступника. "Надо, чтобы преступник был найден и наказан, и чтобы об этом говорили, чтобы люди знали, что ни одно преступление у нас не остается безнаказанным, кто бы его ни совершал, какой национальности", — заключила зампред думского комитета.

<http://ria.ru/society/20131013/969729035.html#14007946935164&message=resize&relto=login&action=removeClass&value=registration#ixzz32U2uM2Eu>

(Eilders 2000; Walgrave and Van Aelst 2006) That is why this paper chose to have “crisis” situations since they would attract media attention, and as this study deems, news sites will be able to cover everything that the other messengers would cover. Thus, when analyzing internet resources, the study is sure that if any coverage of a big internet resource goes high on a particular theme, then all other resources should at least mention the particular subjects in their coverage too.

## **Chapter 2. Data and Methodology**

Data and methodology part consists of three big parts. First part is describing what data was used, how it was selected, and how the interpretation of the data on the coverage regarding migrants was handled. So, the first big part of this chapter is on the coverage regarding migrants. Second part of this chapter is on the legislation regarding migrants. Third part of this thesis is on the selection of cases process that this thesis went through to take up the cases for the study.

### ***2.1. Coverage***

#### ***2.1.1. Internet resources selection***

Internet resources, coverage of which this study uses was chosen on two criteria. First, the internet resources had to be credible in the eyes of citizens of the Russian Federation. Second, these resources had to have broad readership/viewership, thus having a large population of people on whom the coverage might have an effect. Based on the two above-mentioned criteria the online news websites Ria.ru and Vesti.ru were selected. In the following part, the justification of the choice of these two resources is given.

##### ***2.1.1.1.Credibility***

###### ***2.1.1.1.1. Credibility of Ria.ru***

Today Rossiya Segodnya is an international multimedia news agency. It has a long and stable history: from 1941 and up to now. This might be seen as one out of many factors that might increase and keep the agency's credibility very high in the eyes of the citizens of the Russian Federation today. Since generations of people were brought up having this source of information as one of their main sources, so the consecutive generations were more likely to use the source like their predecessors. The history of the agency is very long, so this paper tries to provide only the most important milestones and the most relevant facts about the

agency so as to try to briefly show the agency's history. The work divided the history into two parts that have information on two periods of the agency: the Soviet Union period and the Russian Federation period.

The history of the agency begins long back in 1941, on 24 June - only two days after the start of the Great Patriotic War. On that day, by the decree of the Government of the Soviet Union on the creation and the objectives of the Soviet Bureau of Information, Sovinformbureau was created. It continued to exist until 1961. On 21 February 1961 Sovinformbureau was reformed into Press Agency "Novosti." Press Agency "Novosti" existed until 1990, when by the decree of that time's President of the Soviet Union Mikhail Gorbachev on the creation of the Agency of Information Novosti, Press Agency Novosti became the Agency of Information Novosti. Here, the Soviet Union period of the history of the agency ends. Next are the most important milestones and facts of the history of the agency in the Russian Federation period.

In 1991, after the Soviet Union ceased to exist, Press Agency Novosti was reformed into the Russian Agency of information Novosti (RIA Novosti). Then, by the decree of the President of the Russian Federation – Boris Yeltsin of 15 September 1993 on the Russian Agency of Information Novosti, Russian Agency of Information Novosti became State Information and Analysis Agency. In May 1998 by the Presidential decree on the improvement of the work of State Media, All-Russia State Television and Radio Broadcasting Company (VGTRK) was created. The Agency became part of it, but it was renamed into the Russian Information Agency Vesti but also kept its brand name RIA Novosti. On December 23, 2003, Vesti by governmental decree was put out of All-Russia State Television and Radio Broadcasting Company and got directly under the control of the Ministry of Press, Broadcasting and Mass Communications of the Russian Federation. Since 1 April, 2004 due to state registration of changes that were done in the constituent documents of the agency,

Federal State Unitary Enterprise Russian Information Agency Vesti got renamed into Federal State Unitary Enterprise Russian International Information Agency RIA Novosti. Recently, on 9 December, 2013 the President of the Russian Federation Vladimir Putin signed a decree on the increase of effectiveness of work of state media. The decree ceased the activities of RIA Novosti, and RIA Novosti got under the control of International Multimedia News Agency Rossiya Segodnya. With these changes – first, General Director got changed to Dmitriy Kiselev. Then he changed the chief editor of the entity from Svetlana Mironyuk, who was chief editor of the agency for seven years (from 2006 to 2013) to Margarita Simonyan, who is also chief editor of the RT channel. These were the main milestones in the history of today's Rossiya Segodnya news agency. Next, the work gives information on capabilities and scale of the agency.

Another factor that might influence people's inclination to believe the agency, increasing its credibility in the eyes of citizens of the Russian Federation today aside the long and stable history might be the agency's capacities, size and scale. Since this study analyzes the coverage of the agency from 2012-2013 - a time when the agency was still RIA Novosti under the editorship of Svetlana Mironyuk, this paper will provide information on that time's capacities, size and scale of the agency in the next paragraph.

RIA Novosti at the period from which the coverage is taken for this study was one of the leading multimedia holdings in the Russian Federation. It had more than 40 internet resources on 22 languages, six information agencies, more than 100 news feeds, and correspondents' offices in more than 69 cities in Russia and 49 other countries in the world. The agency had its own design center of information graphics and video information editorial office; thus the agency could provide photo and video news feed, information graphics, etc. RIA Novosti opened up its internet site - Ria.ru, to inform its readership in 2001. (“История Агентства”)

#### **2.1.1.1.2. *Credibility of Vesti.ru***

Vesti.ru internet information resource is a collaborative project of the Information Channel Rossiya-24, Vesti information program of Rossiya Television Channel and the Directorate of Internet Sites of All-Russia State Television and Radio Broadcasting Company. All of the collaborators of the project have their own history, but this history is much shorter than the one of nowadays Rossiya Segodnya information agency. If Rossiya Segodnya agency's history starts and spans from long before - including the USSR times, the history of the entities controlling Vesti.ru project mostly spans for the the Russian Federation period. Next, this thesis will outline the most important milestones of the history of the collaborators of the project, and then relevant facts concerning Vesti.ru internet resource itself.

Channel Rossiya-24 started its work on 1 July, 2006. It is the only Russian information channel which airs in 24 hours format. Next collaborator of the project is Vesti information program. Vesti information program first aired on 13 May, 1991 on Rossiya Television Channel. Vesti information program can certainly be marked as being one of the main information programs in the Russian Federation. As was mentioned before All-Russia State Television and Radio Broadcasting Company was created in May 1998 by the Presidential decree on the improvement of the work of State Media. Thus, Vesti news brand is very likely to have much credibility in the minds of citizens of the Russian Federation today because the history of it spans for as long as does the history of the Russian Federation itself. The internet resource Vesti.ru went online in February, 2002.

Vesti.ru site's capacities are described next. The news feed of the internet resource is being renewed 24 hours a day, 7 days in a week. The news feed is renewed by correspondents that are on service to All-Russia State Television and Radio Broadcasting Company. Visitors of the site are able to watch news in live mode. Also, Vesti.ru site receives photo and video materials from whoever is able and willing to provide it from different places

in which something that is need of coverage occurs. The most interesting, important and up to date materials are published on the site or in the case of video materials - are aired. (“Сайт Вести.Ru”)

#### ***2.1.1.2. Size of the readership/viewership of the sites***

Second factor based on which, this thesis took the internet resources was the number of people that internet news resources might affect (popularity of resources, additional audience/readership).

This thesis estimates the popularity of resources based on unique visitors count that resources have (in a day, in a week, in a month). Unique visitors count – counts not the number of hits that the site gets, but the number of unique visitors that sites have in a given period. Hits count – counts the number of times a resource was accessed, it also counts multiple accesses to a resource by one and the same visitor. By choosing the unique visitors count instead of the hits count to estimate popularity of resources, this study had as its aim to choose resources that might have an effect on the largest number of people. This is why this paper deems that the unique visitors count is the most appropriate choice in estimating popularity of resources for the purposes of this study. To get the data on popularity ratings of the news internet resources this study uses the internet statistics data (from the category Media and News) which is in free access on Liveinternet.ru internet statistics server and Rambler Top-100 internet statistics project. The category in which this study is interested is Media and News, which has data on popularity ratings of Media and News sites in the “.ru” domain.

Since the study does analyzes the coverage on the question of migrants from 12 different time periods in years 2012-2013, getting information on popularity ratings of internet resources out of Media and News category of Liveinternet.ru for each of the periods



seemed to be a very hard objective to achieve. Thus, this work decided to base its choice depending on contemporary popularity ratings. The assumption under this choice was that today's popularity ratings (when compared to other news resources) will not differ very much from 2012 to 2013 ratings. In this case, the assumption was that the popularity of Ria.ru and Vesti.ru internet news resources now would not differ very much from their popularity ratings in years 2012-2013. The following is the data from the two internet statistics sites on the resources themselves and the data on popularity ratings of Ria.ru and Vesti.ru internet news resources.

First the data that was taken from Liveinternet.ru resource will be shown. Statistics server Liveinternet.ru is a leading statistics service which is covering the “.ru” domain. Being one of the biggest statistics servers with the data from the domain, the server collects and processes, then analyzes web traffic data in the domain. (“Сервис Статистики LiveInternet.ru” 2014)

According to the data that Liveinternet.ru resource had on 22.05.2014, in a period of one month, RIA Novosti stood first in the popularity rating and had the largest number of unique visitors when compared to other resources in Media and News category with 17,647,620 unique visitors. Seventy five percent out of the number of unique visitors were from the Russian Federation. In a period of one week, the news resource stood second in the rating with 5,153,323 unique visitors. Seventy seven percent out of the number of unique visitors were from the Russian Federation. In a period of one day, the news resource stood second in the rating with 1,271,272 unique visitors. Eighty one percent out of the number of unique visitors were from the Russian Federation.

According to the data that Liveinternet.ru resource had on 22.05.2014, in a period of one month, Vesti.ru stood third in the popularity rating with 16,000,107 unique visitors. Sixty

nine percent out of the number of unique visitors accessed the site from the Russian Federation. In a period of one week, the news site had third place with 4,655,929 unique visitors; seventy percent out of which accessed the site from the Russian Federation. In a period of one day, Vesti.ru had third popularity rating with 979,153 unique visitors; seventy one percent out of which accessed Vesti.ru from the territory of the Russian Federation. (“Рейтинг Сайтов, Новости И СМИ [Россия]” 2014)

Table 1 shows the count of unique visitors of each of the sites for three different time periods.

Table 1. Unique visitors count according to Liveinternet.ru statistics server

№	News Site	Unique visitors count for one month (22.04.2014-22.05.2014)	Unique visitors count for seven days (15.05.2014-22.05.2014)	Unique visitors count for one day (22.05.2014)
1	Ria.ru	17,647,620	5,153,323	1,271,272
2	Vesti.ru	16,000,107	4,655,929	979,153

Next, the data that was taken from Rambler.ru resource will be shown. Rambler.ru is an internet platform that unites the best Russian media sites and internet services of the “.ru” domain. Rambler.ru is one of the biggest Russian portals with a long history. Rambler is the internet resource which opened the first search engine, the first maps service and the first mail service in the Russian internet space. (“О Компании”) Rambler Top-100 project is which classifies and rates sites that are situated in the Russian internet space. (“О Проекте «Топ100»”)

According to the data that Rambler.ru Top-100 project had on 22.05.2014 RIA Novosti internet news resource stood fourth by its popularity rating when compared to other news and media internet resources in the Russian internet space. For the period of one month RIA

Novosti had 24,386,840 unique visitors. In a week the news site had 7,067,523 unique visitors, and in one day (22 May, 2014) it had 1,548,782 unique visitors.

According to the data that the Top-100 project had on the same date Vesti.ru internet news resource held fifth place in popularity ratings. It had 22,108,414 unique visitors in a month. In a week time the resource had 6,683,356 unique visitors. And in one day the resource had 1,342,577 unique visitors. Since the data was taken not at the end of the day, all of the unique visitors count should be a little bit higher than the numbers given here. (“Новости И СМИ”)

Table 2 shows the count of unique visitors of each of the sites for three different time periods.

Table 2. Unique visitors count according to Rambler Top-100 project

№	News Agency	Unique visitors count for one month (22.04.2014-22.05.2014)	Unique visitors count for seven days (15.05.2014-22.05.2014)	Unique visitors count for one day (22.05.2014)
1	Ria.ru	24,386,840	7,067,523	1,548,782
2	Vesti.ru	22,108,414	6,683,356	1,342,577

However, this data alone does not convey the full picture of how many people might be affected by news feeds of the two sites. The number of people who might be exposed to the news feeds of the two internet news sites is larger than the sum of the counts of unique visitors of the two sites provided above. This is because news aggregators (e.g. Mail.ru news aggregator; Mail.ru being one of the most frequently visited sites in the Russian internet space) include articles/video reports of Ria.ru and Vesti.ru internet news sites into their news feeds. Also, Ria.ru and Vesti.ru have their pages in Social Media like Facebook.com, vk.com, twitter.com, thus increasing the number of people who might be exposed and affected by the news sites’ coverage. Vesti.ru also has applications: Vesti for iPhone, Vesti for iPad. All of

this increases the portion of the public in the Russian Federation that might be exposed to the coverage of the two internet news resources. The data that was presented above is intended to show that Ria.ru and Vesti.ru news sites have largest audience/readership when compared to other similar resources in the Russian internet space, and thus justify the choice to use the coverage of the two internet news sites.

### ***2.1.2. Finding the coverage regarding migrants***

To collect the coverage data, the study had to determine the keywords, frequencies of which would be able to show the fluctuations of the coverage regarding migrants in the media. It was assumed that fluctuations would be able to be seen because the “noise” coverage would cancel itself out if periods of the same length would be compared to each other. To determine the keywords, this analysis went through the coverage regarding migrants for the year 2013 that was available on Vesti.ru internet news site. Not the whole coverage regarding migrants was found out and then searched for the necessary words for this purpose. Only the articles and video materials that the search engine on the site gave as a response to the key word “мигрант” (migrant) query were looked through. As a result of going through the coverage that was given as a response to the search word “мигрант” query for the year 2013, the study was able to choose the following words.

#### ***2.1.2.1. Selection of keywords***

Initially, fifteen words were chosen since they were used more frequently in the coverage regarding the question of migrants and/or they had a strong connection to the question itself. For example migrant - “мигрант” word is frequently used in the coverage regarding migrants and this word has a direct connection to the subject. These fifteen words which were chosen are: “нелегал” (illegal), “незаконная” (illegal, unlawful), “иностранцы” (foreigners), “приезжий” (guest/newcomer), “иностранный” (foreign), “пребывание” (stay, sojourn), “депортация” (deportation), “гость” (guest), “задержание” (capture), “мигрант”

(migrant), “миграция” (migration), “гастарбайтер” (guest worker), “трудова” (work, labor), “чернорабочий” (unskilled laborer), “разнорабочий” (odd-job laborer). Next, this analysis tried to check if the words were able to give the needed coverage.

To see if the fifteen words that were initially chosen were good enough to be looked for and then counted, this study made a search using the specified keywords to obtain the coverage and see if the coverage was mainly related to the problem of migrants. Ria.ru site was chosen for this purpose, each word was entered into the search engine of the site, and then results of queries were examined. As a result of this process, five words were deemed as inviting too much noise and having stronger connections to other subjects. These words were: “нелегальная” (illegal), “иностранный” (foreign), “гость” (guest), “задержание” (capture), “трудова” (labor). Because of this the words were dropped from the keywords list. The final key words list chosen was as follows: “нелегал” (illegal), “приезжий” (newcomer/guest), “иностранец” (foreigner), “мигрант” (migrant), “гастарбайтер” (guest-worker), “чернорабочий” (unskilled laborer), and “разнорабочий”(odd-job laborer), “депортация” (deportation), “миграция” (migration), “пребывание” (stay). First seven keywords are nouns by which migrants could be referred to in the coverage. The last three words describe actions that can be related to migrants. So, just before collecting the coverage this analysis had to decide on the duration of time periods for which the coverage should be collected.

#### ***2.1.2.2. Coverage time periods***

To collect the coverage, this paper had to choose time periods for which to collect the frequencies of the specified words. Since, by the assumption that the amount of media coverage regarding the problem of migrants might affect the number of registered legislation, be it passed or declined, the study wanted to take cases that might increase the amount of coverage. Thus, I decided to take “crisis cases” (instances where something relating to migrants happened). To see if the amount of the coverage increased or not the study chose to

use time periods immediately before and after a crisis. Additionally the work decided to use for the analysis time periods that would be like the periods after a crisis but from the year before. This was done to check if maybe the increase in the coverage might be just a natural increase which happens at a particular time. The duration of each time period that this study set was ten days to lessen the amount of noise, and to presumably take the coverage on any particular incident in connection with migrants. All in all, since the study took four cases, in sum it has twelve time periods. After determining the duration of time periods, this thesis was prepared to collect the coverage.

### ***2.1.3. Data collection process***

When the work chose the keywords, it used search engines of the two news sites for each of the three time periods of four cases. When the study was collecting the coverage via Ria.ru news site's search engine, the following peculiarity of the search engine revealed itself: the search engine did not search for the plural form of the specified words (“нелегал” (illegal) “иностранец” (foreigner)). So in addition to searching singular forms of the specified words the study searched for plural forms of them (“нелегалы”, “иностранцы”) to be able to take all the searched for coverage. The coverage was documented in a way that ensured that the frequencies of searched for words would not be exaggerated. Then all of the frequencies were counted and documented. Next, the study proceeded to making statistical tests.

### ***2.1.4. Statistical procedures with the coverage data***

After the frequencies were recorded, they were inputted into the Deducer Graphical User Interface that uses R language that is used for statistical computing. (“Deducer Manual”) With the help of the interface, sixteen paired sample t-tests were conducted. So in each case a time period after a crisis was compared to a time period before a crisis, and then to a time period after a crisis but from the year before. So, for one case the study made four paired sample t-tests (two tests for each news site's coverage), and in sum for four cases 16 tests

were conducted. All tests are two tailed paired sample t-tests, with alpha level .95, done to reject in each test the null hypothesis: The amount of coverage on migrants in the media of the Russian Federation will not increase after a migrant related crisis situation.

## **2.2. Legislation**

### **2.2.1. Finding migrant related legislation**

To collect the legislation of the State Duma on migrants, I first went through all of the changes that were done in the Legislation on Migration (“Миграционное Законодательство”) in the year 2013<sup>2</sup>. These changes are documented and can be found on the site of the Migration Service of the Russian Federation (“Новое В Миграционном Законодательстве”). What this paper was able to find was that the State Duma can control the legislation by introducing changes into the Federal Law on the Legal Position of Foreign Citizens in the Russian Federation (Федеральный закон “О правовом положении иностранных граждан в Российской Федерации”). And also by decreeing federal laws introducing changes into other laws with the aim of improving the legislation on migration (“О внесении изменений в отдельные законодательные акты Российской Федерации в целях совершенствования миграционного законодательства...”). Also, the legislation on migration might be controlled by the Migration Service of the Russian Federation, by the decrees that the Service can issue (“Приказ Федеральной миграционной службы”). However since the study is interested in the possible effects of media coverage on the amount of registered legislations (those that passed and those that did not pass) of the State Duma, these changes by the Migration Service were not searched for and were not counted. Moreover, there is no available information on decrees’ propositions that the Migration

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<sup>2</sup> Legislation on Migration 01.01.2013 – 30.06.2013

<http://www.fms-nso.ru/upload/iblock/e36/Arhiv%20za%202013-1.doc> (accessed 22 May, 2014)

Legislation on Migration 01.07.2013 – 30.12.2013

[http://www.fms-nso.ru/upload/iblock/f98/izm\\_npa\\_01.07.-31.12.doc](http://www.fms-nso.ru/upload/iblock/f98/izm_npa_01.07.-31.12.doc) (accessed 22 May, 2014)

The documents are in Russian, no English translation can be provided.

Service looked through; thus it would not be possible to see the number of total legislative changes that were proposed to the Service. In the end, the study chose to look for the registered legislations in the State Duma that would have as its aim to propose changes into first - the Federal Law on the Legal Position of Foreign Citizens in the Russian Federation (Федеральный закон “О правовом положении иностранных граждан в Российской Федерации”), and second – the changes into the Legislation on Migration (“Миграционное Законодательство”). Before the collection of legislation data, this paper had to determine for what time period to collect the data.

#### ***2.2.1.1. Legislation time periods***

This study determined to have two month-long time periods when searching for migrant related legislation. The reason for this is given next. Initially, this paper was interested in the case of killing in Birulevo and the unrest that followed (fourth case that the work takes). Hence, the study was following the case and everything related to it; the study noticed that the proposition to shorten the stay for migrants that was voiced only seven days after the killing got registered in the State Duma only forty days after the proposition itself. So, seven days after the killing of Egor Sherbakov that happened on 10.10.2013, in the State Duma Irina Yarovaya proposed to shorten the time that is allowed for people from visa non-requiring countries to stay. Translation of an article covering this proposition follows with the original article given in the following footnote.

The article was published on 17.10.2013 at 13:22 (it was edited later that day at 13:24). The article is taken from the news feed of Ria.ru.

Yarovaya proposes to shorten the time that is allowed for people from visa non-requiring countries to stay.



According to the Head of the Committee of the State Duma on Security and Countermeasures to Corruption the time period of 90 days is long enough, and there is no need for such a long stay time to be allowed.

We propose to shorten the period by two times. The propositions are already formulated – told Yarovaya on Thursday on a press-conference in RIA Novosti...<sup>3</sup>

This proposition was voiced in the State Duma in the wake of the killing. Reformulated, it got officially registered on 27.11.2013. Translation of title of the proposition is given next, the original title is given in the following footnote.

The legislation project was registered on 27.11.2013 at 16:54

Legislation project 395543-6

On the introduction of changes into the article 27 of the Federal law on exit from the Russian Federation and entrance into the Russian Federation and the article 5 of the Federal law on the Legal Position of Foreign Citizens in the Russian Federation.

(On shortening the permitted term of stay in the Russian Federation for foreign citizens, for whom it is not required to acquire a visa for entrance, down to 90 days out of 180).<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Яровая предлагает сократить срок пребывания в РФ по безвизовому режиму 13:22 17.10.2013 (обновлено: 13:24 17.10.2013) 1046

По словам главы комитета Госдумы по безопасности Ирины Яровой, срок в 90 дней достаточно большой и в этом нет необходимости.

МОСКВА, 17 окт — РИА Новости. Глава комитета Госдумы по безопасности Ирина Яровая (ЕР) предлагает вдвое сократить 90-дневный срок пребывания в России в рамках безвизового режима.

"Предлагаем сократить вдвое. Такие предложения нами уже сформированы", — сказала Яровая в четверг на пресс-конференции в РИА Новости...

<http://ria.ru/world/20131017/970718407.html#14015600584693&message=resize&relto=register&action=addClass&value=registration#ixzz33JoCMw00>

<sup>4</sup> Законопроект № 395543-6

О внесении изменений в статью 27 Федерального закона "О порядке выезда из Российской Федерации и въезда в Российскую Федерацию" и статью 5 Федерального закона "О правовом положении иностранных граждан в Российской Федерации"

This paper deems that the proposition is in direct connection to the events because the proposition originally was voiced in the State Duma only seven days after the killing, and four days after the unrest started, thus coming as a quick response to the events. Additionally, the speech by Yarovaya itself addresses the killing and the unrest that ensued, it proposes the measures that target migrants. In general, all of the speeches and propositions voiced in the State Duma at that time targeting migrants can be seen as a symbolic political agenda connected to the events that got a lot of media attention. Considering that the reformulated version of the proposition got registered forty-eight days after the killing, the study chose to search for the legislation regarding migrants for the time span of sixty days. This long time period was chosen for it to be able to cover all the possible legislation projects that might come as a response to a crisis and the coverage related to the crisis. So, as in the case with the coverage, this study has three time periods for each case: before a crisis time period, after a crisis time period, and before a crisis but from the year before time period. In sum, there are (as in the case with the coverage) twelve time periods during which the legislation is looked for in the State Duma's legislation automatic support system. Next, the process of collecting the legislation is described.

### ***2.2.2. Legislation data collection***

Having determined what to search for to get the migrants related legislation, and having determined the time periods in which to look for the legislation, the study went on to collect the necessary data. Legislation support automated system site of the State Duma of the Russian Federation (“Автоматизированная Система Обеспечения Законодательной Деятельности”) was used in the search of the migrant related legislation. In the search engine of the site the following queries were inputted: “О правовом положении иностранных

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(об ограничении срока временного пребывания в Российской Федерации иностранных граждан, прибывших в Российскую Федерацию в порядке, не требующем получения визы, периодом в 90 дней из каждые 180 суток)

[http://asozd2.duma.gov.ru/main.nsf/\(SpravkaNew\)?OpenAgent&RN=395543-6&02](http://asozd2.duma.gov.ru/main.nsf/(SpravkaNew)?OpenAgent&RN=395543-6&02)

граждан в Российской Федерации” (Federal Law on the Legal Position of Foreign Citizens in the Russian Federation) and “Миграционное Законодательство” (Legislation on Migration). Search results were documented. This concludes the legislation part of the chapter. Next part is on the selection of cases.

### ***2.3. Selection of cases***

#### ***2.3.1. Roles of migrants in the coverage***

This part of the thesis was partly written before for Political Communication class.<sup>5</sup> Cases with crisis situations were picked up by the following criteria: first, they had to include action; second, they had to have migrants as one of the actors in that action. Here, action can be defined as any act by a person or a group of people. In the media coverage migrants could be seen as having three different roles: first, when migrants are the ones acting; second, when migrants are the people towards whom an action is directed; and third, when migrants are both actors and recipients of an action at the same time. To better clarify the criteria, the work will give translations of excerpts from articles out of migrants related media coverage by *Vesti.ru* of the year 2013.

The following is an example of a crisis when an action is carried out by migrants. “In Moscow migrants stole a safe with one million rubles. On the east side of Moscow three migrants from Asia stole a safe with one million rubles from a mini-bus Ford Transit belonging to 44 year old courier by hitting the man, and then escaped...”<sup>6</sup> Then, another example when an action is carried out by someone else towards migrants: “On construction market in New Moscow 156 illegals were detained. Policemen, employees of Public

<sup>5</sup> Some parts in selection of cases sub-chapter were written for final paper for Political Communication class, Political Science, CEU, Winter Semester, 2013 – 2014 AY.

<sup>6</sup> В Москве мигранты украли у курьера сейф с миллионом рублей  
На востоке Москвы трое мигрантов из Азии украли сейф с миллионом рублей из микроавтобуса Ford Transit 44-летнего курьера-экспедитора, ударив мужчину по лицу, и скрылись...  
<http://www.vesti.ru/doc.html?id=1098572>

Prosecutor's Office and of the Department of Federal Migration Service with an escort of Special Purpose Police Force ("OMON") soldiers conducted another raid in New-Moscow district of the capital to uncover illegal migrants..."<sup>7</sup> Third example when migrants are both actors and recipients of action: "... Fight between half a hundred guests of the Northern capital happened on the tenth Red Army street in the Admiralty district... Foreigners came with sticks and pikes to the fight."<sup>8</sup> After clarifying the possible roles that migrants might have in the related coverage, this work goes on to identifying some of prevailing themes in the migrant related media coverage by *Vesti.ru*.

### 2.3.2. *Themes of the coverage*

Several of the central themes of the migrant related media coverage were identified for the purposes of choosing cases to study. This analysis was able to reveal four main themes: Public health related issues, Economic issues, Captures and detentions, and Violence. To outline the themes translations of excerpts of some articles pertaining to corresponding themes are going to be given further, with further elaboration that comes after each excerpt translation.

Public health related issues theme: "In Saint Petersburg typhoid fever occurrence was registered... Doctors of fifth children city hospital registered a single occurrence of a very dangerous infectious disease. Little patient – boy native of Tajikistan was delivered to them. After initial analysis, doctors diagnosed the child with typhoid fever. As was found out, parents of the child are working migrants living in Volodarsky village."<sup>9</sup> The theme

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<sup>7</sup> На строительном рынке в Новой Москве отловили сразу 156 нелегалов  
Полицейские, сотрудники прокуратуры и ОФМС при сопровождении бойцов ОМОН провели очередной рейд в Новомосковском округе столицы, чтобы выявить незаконных мигрантов...  
<http://www.vesti.ru/doc.html?id=1087800>

<sup>8</sup> ... Стычка между полусотней гостей Северной столицы произошла на 10-й Красноармейской улице в Адмиралтейском районе... На драку иностранцы пришли с палками и колющими.  
<http://www.vesti.ru/doc.html?id=1087800>

<sup>9</sup> В Петербурге зарегистрирован случай брюшного тифа

emphasizes public health concerns and connects it to migrants. Other examples of this theme might be in articles depicting migrants as repairing cars in the same room where they are cooking food that is for sale, and other articles where migrants might be depicted as ill or are living and working in harmful and dangerous conditions. This theme frames migrants as potential threats to public health, and as not healthy subjects. The next theme is "Economic issues."

Economic issues theme: Pensioner from Moscow area organized a "rubber house" Old woman registered near half a hundred of migrants in an old building with an area of less than 30 square meters..."<sup>10</sup> The theme emphasizes economic concerns and connects it to migrants. Other examples of this theme might be found in articles depicting migrants as earning money to send them out of the Russian Federation, or committing crimes in order to obtain economic benefits. This frame in general decreases trust to migrants. The next theme is "Captures and detentions."

Captures and detention theme: The man who was shooting at children playground in Saint-Petersburg was arrested. October district's court of Saint Petersburg arrested a migrant who was shooting at children's playground in the center of the town. As a result, a girl born in 2006 was hospitalized with a shoulder wound.<sup>11</sup> The theme emphasizes detentions and

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... Единичный случай довольно опасного инфекционного заболевания зафиксировали врачи 5-й детской городской больницы. К ним привезли маленького пациента — мальчик уроженец Таджикистана. После проведенного исследования медики поставили диагноз "брюшной тиф".

Как выяснилось, родители ребенка — трудовые мигранты — проживают в посёлке Володарский.

<http://www.vesti.ru/doc.html?id=1023526>

<sup>10</sup> Подмосковная пенсионерка организовала "резиновый дом"

... В старой постройке площадью меньше 30 квадратных метров пожилая женщина прописала около сотни мигрантов.

<http://www.vesti.ru/videos?vid=479111>

<sup>11</sup> Стрелявший по детской площадке в Петербурге арестован

Октябрьский районный суд Санкт-Петербурга по ходатайству следствия арестовал мигранта, стрелявшего по детской площадке в центре города. В результате девочка 2006 года рождения с ранением плеча была госпитализирована.

<http://www.vesti.ru/doc.html?id=1094279>

captures of migrants. Other examples of articles with the same theme are covering regular detentions of migrants that live on the territory of the Russian Federation illegally, or planned detentions of illegal migrants. The next theme is “Violence.” The “Violence” theme and the current theme are interconnected to an extent.

Violence theme: Assault of a dormitory in Kapotnya: no one expected gun shots. In Moscow area, in Kapotnya, mass fight broke out, in which up to two hundred people participated. Young people tried to take a dormitory in which migrants live by assault, but counter-attack followed... A fight ensued, which ended with gunshots. One young man was shot in the back by a traumatic weapon. One young woman got a head wound; she got to the dormitory by accident that day. She is transported to a hospital.<sup>12</sup> The theme emphasizes violent actions in which migrants participated. Articles with the theme also cover murders, violence that result in physical harm. Some of the previous examples can also be listed as pertaining to the theme of “Violence.” Now, having outlined the roles of migrants in the migrant related media coverage, and having outlined the central themes of the coverage (though not all of the main themes, since proper thematic analysis on the data corpus was not done), it is the time to choose the appropriate criteria with which to choose cases for the study.

### 2.3.3. *Selection criteria*

This study deems that articles where migrants are depicted as actors, when negative themes are used, tend to catch more attention of viewers and readers, when compared to

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<sup>12</sup> Штурм общежития в Капотне: стрельбы никто не ожидал

На московской окраине, в Капотне, случилась массовая драка, в которой сошлись, по разным данным, от нескольких десятков до двух сотен человек. Крепкие молодые люди пытались штурмом взять общежитие, в котором проживают мигранты, а случилась контратака.

...Завязалась драка, которая закончилась выстрелами. Один молодой человек был ранен в спину из травматического оружия. Тяжелую травму головы получила девушка, которая в тот вечер пришла в общежитие совершенно случайно.

<http://www.vesti.ru/doc.html?id=1135524>

articles where migrants are depicted as recipients of action, or where migrants are acting and receiving the action at the same time. It deems this way basing on works on social identity. (Henri Tajfel 1970; H. Tajfel 1982) The works give the idea that in any crisis situations or disputes migrants would be seen as belonging to out-group while citizens, especially of Russian nationality would be seen as people belonging to in-group by citizens of the Russian Federation. (Price 1989) Thus, if a person from the out-group would be portrayed as an actor threatening or harming any person from the in-group it would gain more attention of people who have the in-group social identity. It is so, because people favor and feel closer to people from the in-group, and this can lead to a situation when people would start thinking of themselves as belonging to the in-group, and thus think that they are in conflict with people from the out-group. (Anastasio, Rose, and Chapman 1999) In addition, some of the stories where migrants are depicted as actors are personal stories that make the reader feel for the one who got e.g. punched, or killed, making it more emotional for the reader/viewer, further increasing the closeness of a viewer/reader to the person about whom the coverage tells a story. Articles where migrants are in the other roles do threaten, or make citizens unhappy too, but as this paper deems they catch less attention of the viewers and readers since the in-group is not threatened.

Frames that emphasize violence and thus a threat, as this thesis deems, catch more attention of the viewers and readers. Again the assumptions are based on ideas given in works on social identity theory. (Mols 2012) This thesis deems this way basing on the work of Mols where it is shown that “threat” frame might be the best motivator for people; thus having bigger effect on citizens. Other frames might not invoke the same emotional response as the violence theme since other themes might not contain threat to people from the in-group.

Thus, it would be expedient to expect that articles where: first, migrants attain the role of actors; and second, the articles contain the violence theme – are the articles, which might

provoke more emotional response of readers/viewers, and might have a bigger effect on the readers/viewers than all the other articles. This is why the demand for more migrants related legislation is expected to grow after crisis situations that would have the first and the second criteria at the same time. Moreover, politicians would be interested in making public their position towards migrants (by e.g. proposing more legislation that would deal with migrants, but not only) to satisfy the increased demand, thus earning the support of citizens. The increased number of speeches emphasizing strict policies stance towards migrants can be seen in Sergey Sobyenin's campaign before Moscow's mayor elections in September, 2013.

#### **2.3.4. *The selected cases***

This analysis was able to find several cases when migrants had the role of actors and where the cases included the violence theme. A list of the cases is as follows: rape in Magnitogorsk, shooting in Saint Petersburg, fight in Kapotnya, killing in Birulevo. Four cases are outlined further.

The first case is: detention of a migrant suspected of raping two school girls in Magnitogorsk. The coverage on the detention is provided next.

"... Investigation reports that girls 12 and 13 years old were passing through an abandoned house, where they were assaulted. Tagir Gabdrahmanov, senior investigator of Lenin district inter-district investigating department of the Russian Federation says: He showed a knife by threatening to kill committed forced acts of sexual character... As it was revealed in the course of the investigation, guest from Central Asia was staying in Russia illegally.<sup>13</sup> Shooting in Saint Petersburg article was already given above. Fight in Kapotnya

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<sup>13</sup> ... По данным следствия, девочки 12 и 13 лет проходили мимо заброшенного дома, где на них и было совершено нападение. Тагир Габдрахманов, старший следователь Ленинского межрайонного следственного отдела СУ СК РФ по Челябинской области, сообщает: "Он продемонстрировал нож и, высказывая угрозу убийством, совершил в отношении девочек насильственные действия сексуального характера...". ... Как выяснилось в ходе следствия, гость из Средней Азии пребывал в России незаконно.



article also was already provided above. Killing in Birulevo happened on October 10<sup>th</sup>, 2013. In this case again, a migrant is an actor who committed a violent crime. The story was depicted as a personal story and caused activation of violent ethnocentric nationalist movements as a consequence. Next chapter studies the cases chosen here.

## Chapter 3. Cases

Four cases are going to be presented next. First, the background of the case will be given. Since the study does not have access to official police documents describing what happened in each case, the work gives only the coverage that is provided by the news portals on each case. Then, the results part are given in each case, first, giving frequency tables and then giving results of the statistical tests, and second, giving the results for the legislation. Next, the first case is given.

### *3.1. Case 1: Arrest of a migrant suspected of raping two school girls in Magnitogorsk*

#### *3.1.1. Background*

This article is from Vesti.ru news feed from 26.04.2013, 07:16 by State Television and Radio Company Yuzhniy Ural.

In Magnitogorsk, a man suspected of raping two school girls was detained.

In Magnitogorsk a man from one of Central Asian countries, who was suspected of raping two school girls, was detained.

Investigation reports that girls 12 and 13 years old were passing through an abandoned house when they were assaulted. Tagir Gabdrahmanov – senior investigator of Lenin interregional investigative department of Investigative Department of Investigative Committee of the Russian Federation of Chelyabinsk region says: He showed his knife, and by threatening to kill, committed forceful acts of sexual character to the girls. Girls remembered distinctive marks of the criminal. During the crime, one of the girls managed to escape.

Her parents reported to police. As was discovered in the course of the investigation, guest from a Central Asian country was staying in the Russian Federation illegally. Now, he

is taken into custody. For the committed crimes, the man can get a minimum of fifteen years of prison.<sup>14</sup>

### 3.1.2. Results

#### 3.1.2.1. Coverage

Table 3 presents how many times each of the specified words in the table was used in three different time periods in Ria.ru news portal.

Table 3. Frequency table for the number of times specified words were used in different time periods in Ria.ru news portal

№	Words used in search	Translation of the words	Frequencies (f) for 26.04.2012-06.05.2012 time period	Frequencies (f) for 16.04.2013-26.04.2013 time period	Frequencies (f) for 26.04.2013-06.05.2013 time period
1	Нелегал*	Non-legal migrant	39	44	20
2	Приезжи*	Guest	4	17	20
3	Иностран*	Foreigner	117	216	94
4	Мигрант*	Migrant	45	95	40
5	Гастарбайтер*	Guest-worker	4	8	5
6	Чернорабоч*	Unskilled laborer	0	2	2
7	Разнорабоч*	Odd-job laborer	0	0	1
8	Депортац*	Deportation	8	16	5
9	Миграц*	Migration	81	89	31
10	Пребывани*	Stay	94	82	56
		Total	392	569	274

<sup>14</sup> В Магнитогорске задержан подозреваемый в изнасиловании школьниц мигрант  
26.04.2013 07:16

ГТРК «Южный Урал»

В Магнитогорске по подозрению в изнасиловании двух школьниц задержан гражданин одной из среднеазиатских республик.

По данным следствия, девочки 12 и 13 лет проходили мимо заброшенного дома, где на них и было совершено нападение. Тагир Габдрахманов, старший следователь Ленинского межрайонного следственного отдела СУ СК РФ по Челябинской области, сообщает: "Он продемонстрировал нож и, высказывая угрозу убийством, совершил в отношении девочек насильственные действия сексуального характера. Девочки запомнили приметы преступника. В ходе совершения преступления одной из потерпевших удалось убежать".

Ее родители и сообщили в полицию. Как выяснилось в ходе следствия, гость из Средней Азии пребывал в России незаконно. Сейчас он взят под стражу. За совершенные преступления мужчине грозит как минимум 15 лет лишения свободы.

First, when comparing 26 April, 2013 – 06 May, 2013 time period (the period after the event) to 16 April, 2013 – 26 April, 2013 (the period before the event) this paper concludes that: There was statistically significant change in the amount of coverage on the issue of migrants in the coverage of Ria.ru internet news portal,  $t(9) = -2.36$ ,  $p < .05$ , with the average change of  $M = -29.5$ .

Second, when comparing 26 April, 2013 – 06 May, 2013 time period (the period after the event) to the same period from the previous year 26 April, 2012 – 06 May, 2012 this work concludes that: There is no statistically significant change in the amount of coverage on the issue of migrants in the coverage of Ria.ru internet news portal between these two periods,  $t(9) = -1.83$ ,  $p > .05$ , with the average change of  $M = -11.8$ .

Table 4 shows how many times each of the specified words in the table was used in three different time periods in Vesti.ru news portal.

Table 4. Frequency table for the number of times specified words were used in different time periods in Vesti.ru news portal

№	Words used in search	Translation of the words	Frequencies (f) for 26.04.2012-06.05.2012 time period	Frequencies (f) for 16.04.2013-26.04.2013 time period	Frequencies (f) for 26.04.2013-06.05.2013 time period
1	Нелегал*	Non-legal	6	18	2
2	Приезжи*	Guest	8	7	3
3	Иностран*	Foreigner	34	56	33
4	Мигрант*	Migrant	16	42	19
5	Гастарбайтер*	Guest-worker	6	5	0
6	Чернорабоч*	Unskilled laborer	0	0	0
7	Разнорабоч*	Odd-job laborer	0	0	0
8	Депортац*	Deportation	6	10	0
9	Миграц*	Migration	20	37	12
10	Пребывани*	Stay	19	18	10
		Total	115	193	79

First, when comparing 26 April, 2013 – 06 May, 2013 time period (the period after the event) to 16 April, 2013 – 26 April, 2013 (the period before the event) this study concludes that: There was statistically significant change in the amount of coverage on the issue of migrants in the coverage,  $t(9) = -3.72$ ,  $p < .05$ , with the average change of  $M = -11.4$ .

Second, when comparing 26 April, 2013 – 06 May, 2013 time period (the period after the event) to the same period from the previous year 26 April, 2012 – 06 May, 2012 this work concludes that: There is statistically significant change in the amount of coverage on the question of migrants between these two periods,  $t(9) = -2.9$ ,  $p < .05$ , with the average change of  $M = -3.6$ .

For the first case, for both news sites this analysis was not able to reject the null hypothesis: the amount of coverage on migrants in the media of the Russian Federation will not increase after a migrant related crisis.

### ***3.1.2.2. Legislation***

The study collected the following data on legislation for the three specified time periods. For the time period of 26.04.2012 – 26.06.2012 (after the crisis time period but one year before), there were five legislative projects regarding migrants registered in the State Duma. For the time period of 26.02.2013 – 26.04.2013 (before the crisis time period), four legislative projects regarding migrants were registered in the State Duma of the Russian Federation. During the time period of 26.04.2013 – 26.06.2013 (after the crisis time period) two legislative projects were registered in the State Duma.

## ***3.2. Case 2: Shooting at children's playground in Saint-Petersburg***

### ***3.2.1. Background***

An article that covers the second case is from 13.06.2013, 13:36 (it was edited on the same day at 13:36) and is from Ria Novosti's news feed. There is a thread of articles

regarding the shooting at children's playground and everything related to the shooting. The thread has five articles in total in the news feed of Ria.ru. There are also articles on the incident in the coverage of Vesti.ru news site. The following is a close translation of the article with the original in the footnote that follows.

The person who was shooting at children in Saint Petersburg is taken into custody.

The October Regional Court of Saint-Petersburg on Thursday decreed to take into custody a man from one of Central Asian republics, who on 9<sup>th</sup> of June opened gunfire that was directed on to a children's playground in Admiralty region.

Press service of Procuracy of the city informs that October Regional Court of Saint-Petersburg on Thursday decreed to take into custody Bekzodjan Shukurov, who shot at children from a pneumatic handgun.

The incident happened in Saint-Petersburg on 9<sup>th</sup> of June on Bolwaya Podyacheskaya Street. In the suspicion of shooting at children's playground, a man native of one of Central Asian republics was detained.

The communication of the Procuracy states: The October Regional Court of Saint-Petersburg granted a petition to arrest Bekzodjan Shukurov, who is the suspect in a criminal case that was opened due to the fact of the committed crime in the form of shooting from a pneumatic handgun at underage children.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Стрелявший из пневматики по детям в Петербурге взят под стражу  
Тема: Расследование дела об обстреле детских площадок в Петербурге (5)  
13:19 13.06.2013 (обновлено: 13:36 13.06.2013)

Октябрьский районный суд Петербурга постановил взять под стражу уроженца одной из среднеазиатских республик, устроившего 9 июня стрельбу по детской площадке в Адмиралтейском районе.

С.-ПЕТЕРБУРГ, 13 июн — РИА Новости, Антон Хлыщенко. Октябрьский районный суд Санкт-Петербурга в четверг постановил взять под стражу Бекзоджона Шукурова, стрелявшего из пневматического пистолета по детям, сообщает пресс-служба прокуратуры города.

### 3.2.2. Results

#### 3.2.2.1. Coverage

Table 5 shows how many times each of the specified words in the table was used in three different time periods in Ria.ru news portal.

Table 5. Frequency table for the number of times specified words were used in different time periods in Ria.ru news portal

№	Words used in search	Translation of the words	Frequencies (f) for 13.06.2012-23.06.2012 time period	Frequencies (f) for 03.06.2013-13.06.2013 time period	Frequencies (f) for 13.06.2013-23.06.2013 time period
1	Нелегал*	Non-legal	49	72	48
2	Приезжи*	Guest	10	17	16
3	Иностран*	Foreigner	223	210	269
4	Мигрант*	Migrant	102	145	149
5	Гастарбайтер*	Guest-worker	11	10	17
6	Чернорабоч*	Unskilled laborer	3	0	0
7	Разнорабоч*	Odd-job laborer	0	3	2
8	Депортац*	Deportation	47	16	37
9	Миграц*	Migration	106	126	119
10	Пребывани*	Stay	108	80	81
		Total	659	679	738

First, when comparing 13 June, 2013 – 23 June, 2013 time period (the period after the event) to 03 June, 2013 – 13 June, 2013 (the period before the event) this thesis concludes that: There was no statistically significant change in the amount of coverage on the question of migrants in the coverage,  $t(9) = 0.85$ ,  $p > .05$ , with the average change of  $M = +5.9$ .

Инцидент произошел в Петербурге 9 июня на Большой Подъяческой улице. По подозрению в стрельбе по детской площадке вскоре был задержан уроженец одной из среднеазиатских республик. "Октябрьским районным судом Санкт-Петербурга удовлетворено ходатайство об избрании меры пресечения в виде заключения под стражу в отношении Бекзоджона Шукурова, подозреваемого по уголовному делу, возбужденному <...> по факту совершенного им хулиганства, выразившегося в стрельбе из пневматического пистолета по несовершеннолетним детям", — говорится в сообщении.  
<http://ria.ru/spb/20130613/943113599.html#14007935917323&message=resize&relto=register&action=addCl ass&value=registration#ixzz32Tvv17mS>

Second, when comparing 13 June, 2013 – 23 June, 2013 time period (the period after the event) to the same period from the previous year 13 June, 2012 – 23 June, 2012 this study concludes that: There was no statistically significant change in the amount of coverage on the issue of migrants between these two periods,  $t(9) = 1.08$ ,  $p > .05$ , with the average change of  $M = +7.9$ .

Table 6 presents how many times each of the specified words in the table was used in three different time periods in Vesti.ru news portal.

Table 6. Frequency table for the number of times specified words were used in different time periods in Vesti.ru news portal

№	Words used in search	Translation of the words	Frequencies (f) for 13.06.2012-23.06.2012 time period	Frequencies (f) for 03.06.2013-13.06.2013 time period	Frequencies (f) for 13.06.2013-23.06.2013 time period
1	Нелегал*	Non-legal	9	25	18
2	Приезжи*	Guest	7	9	13
3	Иностран*	Foreigner	46	45	69
4	Мигрант*	Migrant	8	47	37
5	Гастарбайтер*	Guest-worker	4	8	3
6	Чернорабоч*	Unskilled laborer	0	0	0
7	Разнорабоч*	Odd-job laborer	0	1	0
8	Депортац*	Deportation	5	2	9
9	Миграц*	Migration	35	28	24
10	Пребывани*	Stay	28	12	24
		Total	142	177	197

First, when comparing 13 June, 2013 – 23 June, 2013 time period (the period after the event) to 03 June, 2013 – 13 June, 2013 (the period before the event) this analysis was able to find that: There was no statistically significant change in the amount of coverage on the issue of migrants in the coverage,  $t(9) = 0.62$ ,  $p > .05$ , with the average change of  $M = +2$ .



Second, when comparing 13 June, 2013 – 23 June, 2013 time period (the period after the event) to the same period from the previous year 13 June, 2012 – 23 June, 2012 this work concludes that: There was no statistically significant change in the amount of coverage on the question of migrants between these two periods,  $t(9) = 1.42$ ,  $p > .05$ , with the average change of  $M = +5.5$ .

For the second case, this analysis again was not able to reject the null hypothesis stating that: the amount of coverage on migrants in the media of the Russian Federation will not increase after a migrant related crisis.

### **3.2.2.2. Legislation**

This work was able to collect the following legislation data. For the time period of 13.06.2012 – 13.08.2012 (after the crisis time period but one year before), there were three legislative projects regarding migrants registered in the State Duma. For the time period of 13.04.2013 – 13.06.2013 (before the crisis time period), four legislative projects regarding migrants were registered in the State Duma of the Russian Federation. During the time period of 13.06.2013 – 13.08.2013 (after the crisis time period) one legislative project was registered in the State Duma.

## **3.3. Case 3: Fight in Moscow's district of Kapotnya**

### **3.3.1. Background**

The following is one of several articles that cover the third case. It is from 28.09.2013, 07:13 (it was edited on the same day at 14:35) and is from Ria Novosti's news feed. Some articles that are covering the fight in Kapotnya are also included into the general thread of articles and video materials on migrants that is called: the situation with illegal migrants. Now, the thread has 172 articles in total in the news feed of Ria.ru. Also, there are several articles and video materials concerning the incident in the coverage of Vesti.ru news site. The

following is a translation of the article with the original article given in the footnote that follows.

60 men were detained and delivered to the police station. A girl born in 1981 was hospitalized from the fight site with a gunshot.

Chief Directorate of the Ministry of Internal Affairs informs that more than half a hundred men were detained and delivered to the police station from a fight site in the capital's district of Kapotnya. Criminal case was opened regarding the fact on a charge of hooliganism.

People in masks were breaking doors and evicting migrants from a dormitory in Kapotnya.

Interlocutor told to the agency that: At 20:24, "02" service (police service) got incoming phone calls from citizens that were informing about the fight near the house number 6 in the first block of Kapotnya district. Police operatives immediately arrived at the fight scene and were able to cease the illegal acts.

According to the information that was provided by the man with whom the agency was speaking, it was possible to find out that to the dormitory – house where workers from different contractual organizations live, at 20.20 a group of approximately 30 young people came. They stated that they came to find out all the people who lived in Moscow city without a registration.

Spokesman of the press service told that: As a result of a quarrel that suddenly broke out, a fight started. One of the people who lives in Moscow without a registration shot several gun shots from a pneumatic weapon, for which (as was found out in consequence) he did not have permission. Now measures are undertaken to find a weapon.

The spokesman also stated that, all in all, 60 people were detained and delivered to the police department. 47 of which were workers from the dormitory. Also, police got a message from the hospital that a young woman born in 1981 was hospitalized with gunshot wounds from the fight scene.

Press service states that: In connection with the facts, a criminal case was opened on a charge of hooliganism. One of the delivered men got detained for 48 hours on a charge that article 91 of Code of Criminal Procedure of the Russian Federation stipulates. Regarding the other participants of the incident, measures of restraint are still being thought of.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Полиция возбудила уголовное дело по факту массовой драки в Капотне

Тема: Ситуация с нелегальными мигрантами (172)

07:13 28.09.2013 (обновлено: 14:35 28.09.2013)

Задержано и доставлено в отдел полиции 60 человек. С места драки была госпитализирована с огнестрельными ранениями девушка 1981 года рождения.

МОСКВА, 28 сен — РИА Новости. Более полусотни человек было задержано и доставлено в отдел полиции с места массовой драки в столичном районе Капотня, возбуждено уголовное дело по статье хулиганство, сообщили РИА Новости в ГУМВД по Москве.

Люди в масках ломали двери и выгоняли мигрантов из общежития в Капотне

"В 20.24 на службу 02 от граждан поступило сообщение о драке у дома 6 в первом квартале Капотни, туда незамедлительно прибыли сотрудники полиции, которые смогли пресечь противоправные действия", — сказал собеседник агентства.

По его словам, было установлено, что к данному дому — общежитию, где проживают рабочие различных подрядных организаций, в 20.20 прибыла группа примерно из 30 молодых людей, которые заявили, что прибыли выявлять тех, кто проживает в Москве без регистрации.

"В результате внезапно возникшая ссора между сторонами переросла в драку, один из граждан, проживающий в Москве без регистрации, произвел несколько выстрелов из травматического оружия, на которое, как было установлено, у него отсутствует лицензия. Сейчас принимаются меры по обнаружению оружия", — сказал представитель пресс-службы.

Он заявил, что всего было задержано и доставлено в отдел полиции 60 человек, из которых 47 — рабочие из общежития. Также в полицию поступило сообщение из медучреждения о том, что с места драки была госпитализирована с огнестрельными ранениями девушка 1981 года рождения.

"По факту произошедшего было возбуждено уголовное дело по части 2 статьи 213 УК РФ "хулиганство". Один из доставленных граждан задержан на 48 часов по статье 91 УПК РФ, в отношении других участников инцидента решается вопрос о мере пресечения", — заявили в пресс-службе.

<http://ria.ru/incidents/20130928/966417680.html#14007938771614&message=resize&relto=login&action=moveClass&value=registration#ixzz32Txbt8m6>

### 3.3.2. Results

#### 3.3.2.1. Coverage

Table 7 shows how many times each of the specified words in the table was used in three different time periods in Ria.ru news portal.

Table 7. Frequency table for the number of times specified words were used in different time periods in Ria.ru news portal

№	Words used in search	Translation of the words	Frequencies (f) for 28.09.2012-08.10.2012 time period	Frequencies (f) for 18.09.2013-28.09.2013 time period	Frequencies (f) for 28.09.2013-08.10.2013 time period
1	Нелегал*	Non-legal	21	80	105
2	Приезжи*	Guest	4	19	28
3	Иностран*	Foreigner	97	336	152
4	Мигрант*	Migrant	81	204	458
5	Гастарбайтер*	Guest-worker	9	15	21
6	Чернорабоч*	Unskilled laborer	2	0	1
7	Разнорабоч*	Odd-job laborer	1	1	2
8	Депортац*	Deportation	10	12	9
9	Миграц*	Migration	90	144	183
10	Пребывани*	Stay	89	86	108
		Total	404	897	1067

First, when comparing 28 September, 2013 – 08 October, 2013 time period (the period after the event) to 18 September, 2013 – 28 September, 2013 (the period before the event) this work was able to find that: There was no statistically significant change in the amount of coverage on the issue of migrants in the coverage,  $t(9) = 0.51$ ,  $p > .05$ , with the average change of  $M = +17$ .

Second, when comparing 28 September, 2013 – 08 October, 2013 time period (the period after the event) to the same period from the previous year 28 September, 2012 – 08 October, 2012 this thesis was able to find that: There was no statistically significant change in

the amount of coverage on the question of migrants between these two periods,  $t(9) = 1.83$ ,  $p > .05$ , with the average change of  $M = +66.3$ .

Table 8 presents how many times each of the specified words in the table was used in three different time periods in Vesti.ru news portal.

Table 8. Frequency table for the number of times specified words were used in different time periods in Vesti.ru news portal

№	Words used in search	Translation of the words	Frequencies (f) for 28.09.2012-08.10.2012 time period	Frequencies (f) for 18.09.2013-28.09.2013 time period	Frequencies (f) for 28.09.2013-08.10.2013 time period
1	Нелегал*	Non-legal	17	55	51
2	Приезжи*	Guest	10	12	15
3	Иностран*	Foreigner	29	55	57
4	Мигрант*	Migrant	22	51	103
5	Гастарбайтер*	Guest-worker	8	6	1
6	Чернорабоч*	Unskilled laborer	0	0	0
7	Разнорабоч*	Odd-job laborer	0	3	0
8	Депортац*	Deportation	2	3	0
9	Миграц*	Migration	20	21	39
10	Пребывани*	Stay	28	13	21
		Total	136	219	287

First, when comparing 28 September, 2013 – 08 October, 2013 time period (the period after the event) to 18 September, 2013 – 28 September, 2013 (the period before the event) this work was able to find that: There was no statistically significant change in the amount of coverage on the issue of migrants in the coverage,  $t(9) = 1.24$ ,  $p > .05$ , with the average change of  $M = +6.8$ .

Second, when comparing 28 September, 2013 – 08 October, 2013 time period (the period after the event) to the same period from the previous year 28 September, 2012 – 08 October, 2012 this analysis was able to find that: There was no statistically significant change

in the amount of coverage on the question of migrants between these two periods,  $t(9) = 1.74$ ,  $p > .05$ , with the average change of  $M = +15.1$ .

For this case, this work was not able to reject the null hypothesis stating that: the amount of coverage on migrants in the media of the Russian Federation will not increase after a migrant related crisis.

### ***3.3.2.2. Legislation***

The study gathered the data on legislation during three periods; this information is presented next. For the time period of 28.09.2012 – 28.11.2012 (after the crisis time period but one year before), there were six legislative projects regarding migrants registered in the State Duma. For the time period of 28.07.2013 – 28.09.2013 (before the crisis time period), three legislative projects regarding migrants were registered in the State Duma of the Russian Federation. During the time period of 28.09.2013 – 28.11.2013 (after the crisis time period) nine legislative projects were registered.

## ***3.4. Case 4: Killing in Moscow's district of Birulevo***

### ***3.4.1. Background***

The following is one of several articles that cover the third case. It is from 13.10.2013, 19:00 (it was edited on the next day - 14.10.2013 at 10:57) and is from Ria Novosti's news feed. Articles covering unrest in Birulevo have their own thread of articles and video materials called: Unrest in Birulevo. Now, the thread has 265 articles in total in the news feed of Ria.ru. Also, there are articles and video materials on the unrest in the coverage of Vesti.ru news site. The following is a translation of the article that covers the happenings on the day of the unrest with the original article given in the footnote that follows. Since the article here is the chronicle of events that occurred on one of the nights of unrest, it will be given not in the

order it is written in the original but in a time chronological order from the earlier events to the later events.

Unrest in Birulevo: The consequences of people's meeting after the killing of a muscovite.

The killing happened at night of 10th of October: an unknown person stabbed young Egor Sherbakov with a knife on the eyes of his girlfriend on Vostrykovskiy passage, and then disappeared. The suspected killer of Sherbakov was recorded on an external video surveillance camera. Chief Directorate of the Ministry of Internal Affairs is preparing the announcement of inclusion of the suspect into the most wanted list.

The people's meeting that ensued because of the killing began as a peaceful meeting near the house on Vostryakovskiy passage where muscovite Egor Sherbakov was killed. People were waiting for officials to come and were bringing flowers to the photograph of the young man.

Later on, part of the crowd who came to the people's gathering broke into a shopping center and set one of the parts of the center on fire. The crowd broke windows and doors in a shopping center in Western Birulevo in the search of the killer of a muscovite Egor Sherbakov.

Suspects in suspicion of hooliganism were detained.

Human rights advocates are going to meet people who came to the people's meeting.

Also, the crowd started a pogrom on a local vegetable base. People were throwing bottles and stones into windows and were breaking vending machines. Policemen tried to cease the unrest. Plan Vulcan was introduced. All Moscow police personnel were put out on

the streets by alarm. As a result of it, the police forces were able to detain minimum of 380 people.

Head of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Russian Federation Vladimir Kolokoltsev conducted an emergency meeting. He obliged the subordinates to bring everything in order.

Every required operative search measures are undertaken. All of the things that laws allow us to do – we are doing it with the only aim to identify the person who committed this crime – said Aleksandr Polovinka, Acting Head of Directorate of Internal Affairs of Southern Administrative District of the Chief Directorate of Internal Affairs of the Russian Federation in Moscow.<sup>17</sup>

For the period of the first half a year of 2013 there were 138 arrests of illegal migrants in Birulevo, but one day on October 14<sup>th</sup> only, there were 1200 arrests of illegal migrants in the same district. (“Социальные Показатели Района Бирюлево Западное” 2014)

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<sup>17</sup> Беспорядки в Бирюлеве: чем обернулся "народный сход" после убийства москвича

Тема: Беспорядки в Бирюлево

19:00 13.10.2013 (обновлено: 10:57 14.10.2013)

В ТЦ в Бирюлево, где проходит сход местных жителей, разбили стекла

Правозащитники встретятся с жителями Бирюлева, вышедшими на сход

Толпа разбила стекла и вышибла дверь в торговом центре в Бирюлево Западное в поисках убийцы москвича

Часть граждан, пришедших на "народный сход", ворвалась в здание торгового центра. Люди разбили витрины и вышибли двери, а также подожгли один из отделов ТЦ. Начинаясь митинг как мирный народный сход во дворе дома на Востряковском проезде, где был убит москвич Егор Щербаков. Люди ждали чиновников и несли цветы к фотографии молодого человека.

"Проводятся все необходимые оперативно-розыскные мероприятия. Все то, что нам позволяет законодательство, мы проводим с одной единственной целью – установить лицо, совершившее данное преступление", — рассказал корреспонденту РИА Новости исполняющий обязанности начальника УВД по ЮАО ГУ МВД России по Москве Александр Половинка.

Также толпа устроила погром и на местной овощной базе. Люди кидали бутылки и камни в окна, разбивали торговые автоматы. Полицейские пытались предотвратить беспорядки. В столице был введен план "Вулкан". По тревоге подняли весь состав московской полиции. В результате правоохранители задержали как минимум 380 человек.

Глава МВД России Владимир Колокольцев провел экстренное совещание. Он обязал подчиненных навести порядок.

Громкое убийство произошло в ночь на 10 октября: неизвестный на Востряковском проезде в Москве зарезал молодого человека Егора Щербакова на глазах у его девушки, после чего скрылся.

Предполагаемый убийца Щербакова был снят камерой видеонаблюдения. ГУ МВД готовится объявить подозреваемого в розыск.

[http://ria.ru/tv\\_incidents/20131013/969696728.html#14007943733834&message=resize&relto=login&action=removeClass&value=registration#ixzz32U2Y49mV](http://ria.ru/tv_incidents/20131013/969696728.html#14007943733834&message=resize&relto=login&action=removeClass&value=registration#ixzz32U2Y49mV)



*Coverage having State Officials' Reactions (Symbolic Political Agenda)*

The following is one of several articles that cover the fourth case. It is from 13.10.2013, 22:03 (it was edited on the same day at 23:06) and is from Ria Novosti's news feed. This article is also included into the thread: Unrest in Birulevo. The following is a translation of the article that covers the happenings on the day of the unrest with the original article given in the footnote that follows.

The State Duma calls for very careful investigation of the crime in Birulevo

The State Duma notes a very dangerous tendency when people with extremist views are trying to involve simple citizens into committing crimes. It calls for very careful investigation of the killing in the Moscow district of Birulevo, and also the State Duma asks to immediately take measures not to let similar things happen in the future. In particular, the State Duma deputies have risen the question about the necessity of the creation of the Ministry of Nationalities...<sup>18</sup>

Here is another article that covers the reaction of a visible politician on the Russian political scene – Vladimir Zhirinovsky. It is from 14.10.2013, 09:56. It is taken from Vesti.ru news feed. Translation of the article with the original article given in the footnote follows next.

Unrest in Birulevo: Zhirinovsky proposes to reject migrants' labor.

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<sup>18</sup> В ГД призывают тщательно расследовать преступление в Бирюлево  
Тема: Беспорядки в Бирюлево (264)  
22:03 13.10.2013 (обновлено: 23:06 13.10.2013)1263  
МОСКВА, 13 окт — РИА Новости. В Госдуме отмечают опасную тенденцию, когда экстремистски настроенные люди пытаются втянуть простых граждан в совершение преступлений, и призывают провести тщательное расследование убийства в московском районе Бирюлево, а также срочно принять меры, чтобы не допустить подобного в дальнейшем. В частности, депутаты вновь подняли вопрос о необходимости создания министерства по делам национальностей.  
<http://ria.ru/society/20131013/969729035.html#14007946935164&message=resize&relto=login&action=removeClass&value=registration#ixzz32U2uM2Eu>

The events that happened in the Birulevo district were to be expected because there is no work being done that would target nationalities – so thinks the leader of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia Vladimir Zhirinovskiy. At the same time, the politician suggested creating the conditions for total rejection of migrants' labor.

It is needed to make a program which would be planned for three years, as a result of which it would be possible to fully abandon the idea of using foreign work power; foreign workforce can be very well substituted with the help of people living in Moscow and the vicinity of the city – so the press service of the party communicated the message of its leader.

In the opinion of Zhirinovskiy, registration measures in Moscow should be hardened. The streets where a lot of working migrants live should be constantly patrolled. It is needed to conduct regular searches, and all of those people who would be found possessing firearms or cold weapons should be deported, even if they did not commit any crimes. If a crime would be committed by a migrant who came to a family, like it happened in Pugachevo, then the family should be deported from the city, for people to know whom to invite into their houses, - so suggests the leader of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Беспорядки в Бирюлеве: Жириновский предлагает отказаться от труда мигрантов  
14.10.2013 09:56

Произошедшие в московском районе Бирюлево беспорядки закономерны, так как отсутствует работа с национальными диаспорами, считает лидер ЛДПР Владимир Жириновский. При этом политик предложил создать условия для полного отказа от использования труда мигрантов.

"Необходимо провести программу, рассчитанную на три года, по выполнении которой полностью отказаться от использования иностранной рабочей силы — ее вполне можно заменить москвичами, жителями Подмосковья и соседних областей", — процитировали в пресс-службе партии заявление своего лидера.

По мнению Жириновского, в Москве необходимо ввести новый институт "жесткой прописки", а не регистрации. А улицы города, на которых проживает или работает большое количество трудовых мигрантов, необходимо постоянно патрулировать. "Необходимо производить регулярные обыски, и все, у кого обнаружено огнестрельное или холодное оружие, даже если они еще не совершали преступлений, подлежат высылке независимо от гражданства. Если убийство совершил человек, приехавший в Москву в гости в какую-то семью, как это имело место в Пугачеве, эта семья также подлежит выселению из города, с тем чтобы знали, кого приглашать к себе", — предлагает лидер ЛДПР.  
<http://www.vesti.ru/doc.html?id=1141573>

### 3.4.2. Results

#### 3.4.2.1. Coverage

Table 9 shows how many times each of the specified words in the table was used in three different time periods in Ria.ru news portal.

Table 9. Frequency table for the number of times specified words were used in different time periods in Ria.ru news portal

№	Words used in search	Translation of the words	Frequencies (f) for 10.10.2012-20.10.2012 time period	Frequencies (f) for 01.10.13-10.10.2013 time period	Frequencies (f) for 10.10.2013-20.10.2013 time period
1	Нелегал*	Non-legal	81	106	427
2	Приезжи*	Guest	29	33	82
3	Иностран*	Foreigner	148	177	357
4	Мигрант*	Migrant	240	445	885
5	Гастарбайтер*	Guest-worker	11	17	29
6	Чернорабоч*	Unskilled laborer	0	1	0
7	Разнорабоч*	Odd-job laborer	2	0	1
8	Депортац*	Deportation	4	9	37
9	Миграц*	Migration	117	201	589
10	Пребывани*	Stay	61	121	174
		Total	693	1110	2581

First, when comparing 10 October, 2013 – 20 October, 2013 time period (the period after the event) to 1 October, 2013 – 10 October, 2013 (the period before the event) this paper was able to find that: There was statistically significant change in the amount of coverage on the issue of migrants in the coverage,  $t(9) = 2.68$ ,  $p < .05$ , with the average change of  $M = +147.1$ .

Second, when comparing 10 October, 2013 – 20 October, 2013 time period (the period after the event) to the same period from the previous year 10 October, 2012 – 20 October, 2012 this work was able to find that: There was statistically significant change in the amount

of coverage on the question of migrants between these two periods,  $t(9) = 2.63$ ,  $p < .05$ , with the average change of  $M = +188.8$ .

Table 10 presents how many times each of the specified words in the table was used in three different time periods in Vesti.ru news portal.

Table 10. Frequency table for the number of times specified words were used in different time periods in Vesti.ru news portal

№	Words used in search	Translation of the words	Frequencies (f) for 10.10.2012-20.10.2012 time period	Frequencies (f) for 01.10.13-10.10.2013 time period	Frequencies (f) for 10.10.2013-20.10.2013 time period
1	Нелегал*	Non-legal	37	30	131
2	Приезжи*	Guest	12	33	35
3	Иностран*	Foreigner	28	61	72
4	Мигрант*	Migrant	51	89	218
5	Гастарбайтер*	Guest-worker	5	1	10
6	Чернорабоч*	Unskilled laborer	0	0	0
7	Разнорабоч*	Odd-job laborer	0	0	1
8	Депортац*	Deportation	2	0	12
9	Миграц*	Migration	35	37	124
10	Пребывани*	Stay	21	23	34
		Total	191	274	637

First, when comparing 10 October, 2013 – 20 October, 2013 time period (the period after the event) to 1 October, 2013 – 10 October, 2013 (the period before the event) this work was able to find that: There was statistically significant change in the amount of coverage on the issue of migrants in the coverage,  $t(9) = 2.33$ ,  $p < .05$ , with the average change of  $M = +36.3$ .

Second, when comparing 10 October, 2013 – 20 October, 2013 time period (the period after the event) to the same period from the previous year 10 October, 2012 – 20 October, 2012 this analysis was able to find that: There was statistically significant change in the

amount of coverage on the question of migrants between these two periods,  $t(9) = 2.55$ ,  $p < .05$ , with the average change of  $M = +44.6$ .

Here, for both news sites this thesis was able to reject the null hypothesis having that: the amount of coverage on migrants in the media of the Russian Federation will not increase after a migrant related crisis. Thus, in this case the thesis was able to go on and try to confirm its second hypothesis.

#### ***3.4.2.2. Legislation***

The study gathered the data on legislation during three periods; this information is presented next. For the time period of 10.10.2012 – 10.12.2012 (after the crisis time period but one year before), eight legislative projects regarding migrants were registered in the State Duma. For the time period of 10.08.2013 – 10.10.2013 (before the crisis time period), four legislative projects regarding migrants were registered in the State Duma of the Russian Federation. In the span of the 10.10.2013 – 10.12.2013 time period (after the crisis time period), eight legislative projects were registered.

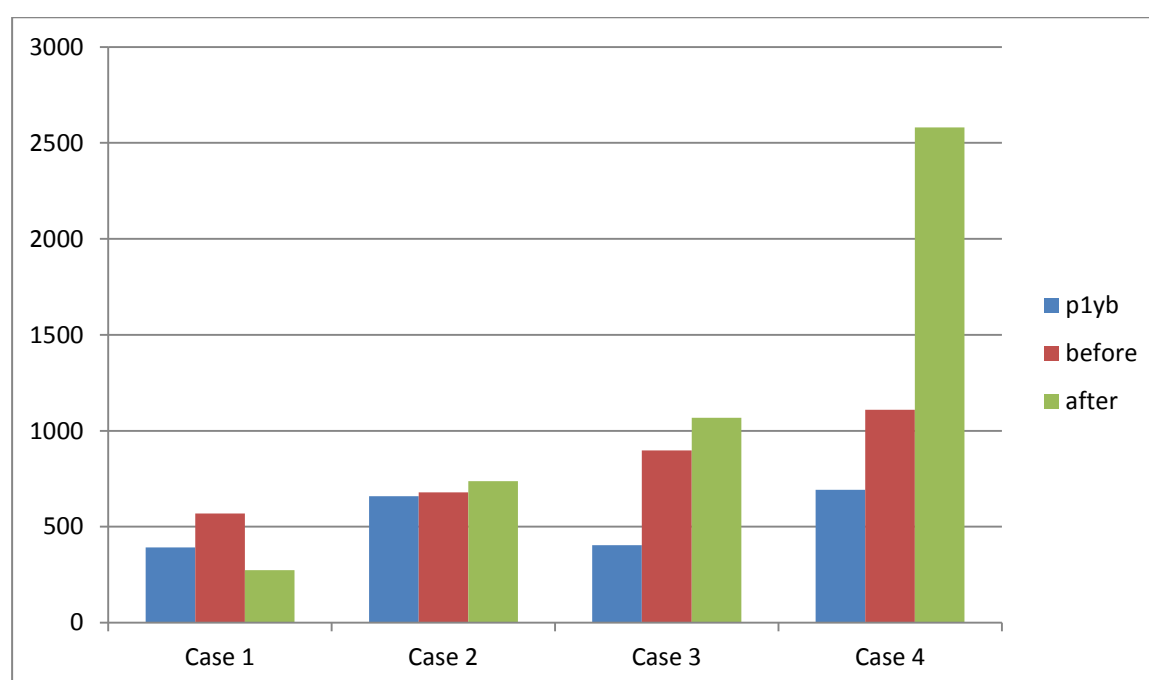
The study was not able to confirm its second hypothesis that: the amount of migrant related legislation projects registered in the State Duma of the Russian Federation will increase due to increase in the coverage – because the “after the crisis” period had exactly the same amount of legislative projects registered in the state Duma as the period “after the crisis but from the year before.”

## DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

First, to better see the results that were presented before, three histograms are given, they depict: first, the total frequencies of the coverage on migrants by Ria.ru site; second, the total frequencies of the coverage on migrants by Vesti.ru site; and third, the number of legislative projects registered in the State Duma of the Russian Federation. All of the histograms include data on all of the four cases, with all the three time periods in each case. Second, the work discusses the results. Third, the study concludes by answering its research question. Next, the histograms are given.

Figure 1 gives the total frequencies of the specified words for all the time periods of all the four cases that this study took, out of the coverage of Ria.ru site.

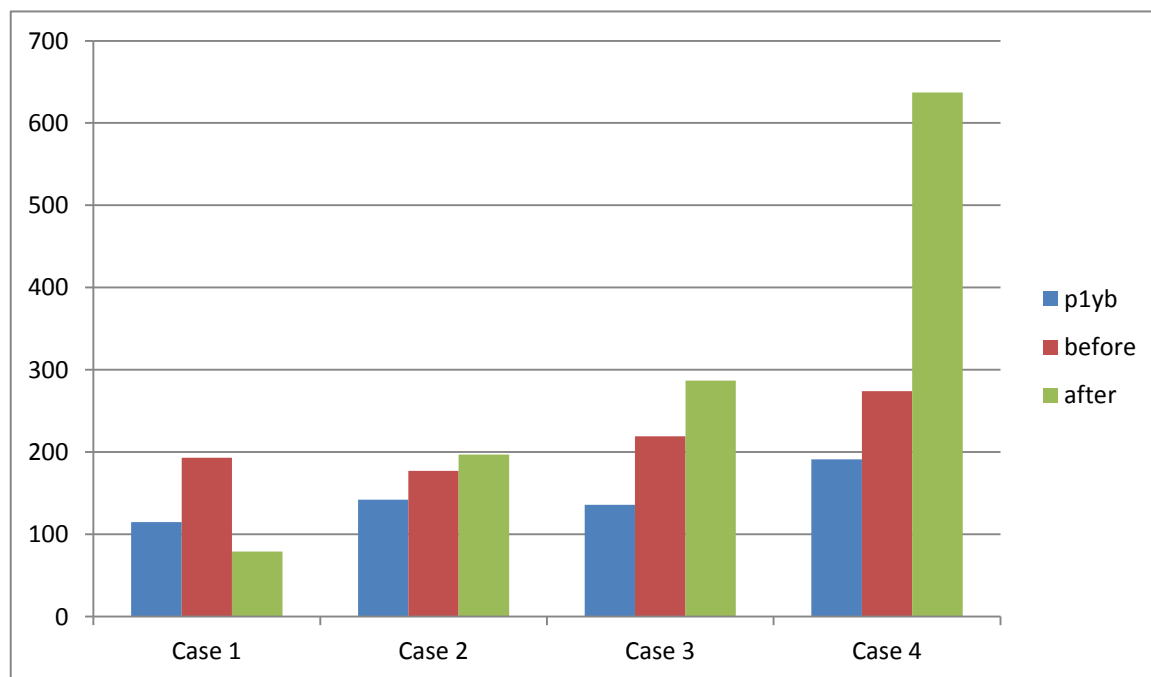
Figure 1. Histogram for the media coverage taken from Ria.ru site



The time periods are given as “p1yb” – the time period after a crisis, but from the year before; “before” – the time period before a crisis; “after” – the time period after a crisis.

Figure 2 shows the total frequencies of the specified words for all the time periods of all the four cases that this paper took, out of the coverage of Vesti.ru site.

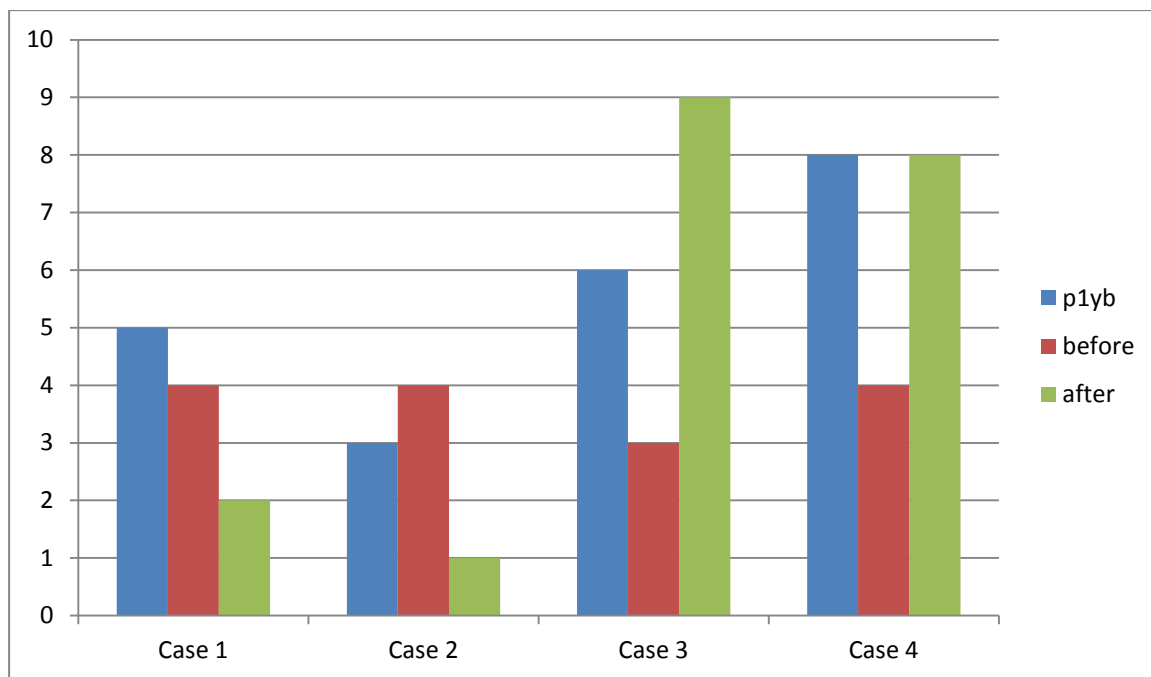
Figure 2. Histogram for the media coverage taken from Vesti.ru site



The time periods are given as “p1yb” – the time period after a crisis, but from the year before; “before” – the time period before a crisis; “after” – the time period after a crisis.

Figure 3 gives the number of legislative projects that were registered in the State Duma for all the time periods of all the four cases that this study took.

Figure 3. Histogram for the State Duma legislation on migrants



The time periods are given as “p1yb” – the time period after a crisis, but from the year before; “before” – the time period before a crisis; “after” – the time period after a crisis.

The study tried to find out if a link exists between the changes in the coverage and the legislation next, basing on the results. As seen in the figures 1 and 2 that depict the total frequencies of the coverage of Ria.ru and Vesti.ru sites respectively, and according to the statistical results presented in the previous chapter, on both Ria.ru and Vesti.ru sites the coverage on migrants did not increase due to crisis situations, with the only exception of the fourth case, which showed statistically significant increase in the coverage.

Case 4: the killing in Birulevo got a lot more attention of the media. This study tries to offer a possible explanation why the fourth case got statistically significant increase in the coverage. Research regarding why the fourth case got this much attention was not done, so the following is given as speculations. The study attributes this increase in the coverage to mayoral campaign in Moscow that occurred in the second part of the year 2013, before 8 September. The now-mayor of Moscow Sergey Sobyenin, according to the coverage that this study collected put big emphasis on his stance against illegal migrants in Moscow, and this



position was frequently covered in media. According to ideas given by agenda setting theory (McCombs 2002), this increase in the migrant related coverage could increase salience of the question of migrants in minds of citizens of the Russian Federation. So when an innocent person – Sherbakov, was killed on 10 October, this killing caused an increased reaction of ordinary citizens because this question got increased salience for them beforehand. This did not happen in the third case that also came after the mayoral campaign because in the third case migrants were attacked first. They were attacked by nationalists with whom ordinary citizens are not close and with whom they can not identify themselves fully, and here, ideas of social identity theory are used. But in the case of Egor Sherbakov as this study deems the heightened in-group social identification of ordinary citizens was invoked. (Henri Tajfel 1970)

Also, this study initially tried to see if the increased coverage of migrants in the fourth case had something to do with the unrest in Ukraine that started at that time. It tried to see if the coverage was artificially increased to try to manipulate public opinion to justify the legislation project # 395543-6 of the State Duma (footnote #4) that affected Ukrainians too for its own purposes. The study deems that the increase in the coverage on migrants and the legislation project that was proposed by Irina Yarovaya on 17.10.2013 (footnote #3) were not a part of public opinion formation strategy regarding the events in Ukraine because that strategy as this paper deems started since 9 December, 2013 when the President of the Russian Federation Vladimir Putin by his decree dissolved RIA Novosti, getting it under direct control of RT and changed the General Director to Dmitriy Kiselev. Due to the changes the chief editor Svetlana Mironyuk was sacked after seven years of work and was substituted by Margarita Simonyan, who was also chief editor of RT. But to be sure of it a qualitative study comparing before and after coverage needs to be done. Having offered the possible

explanations of why there was an increase in the coverage on migrants near to the end of year 2013, this thesis proceeds to conclusions.

In first three cases, the hypothesis regarding the coverage was not confirmed. In all the three cases, the coverage regarding migrants did not increase as was expected due to crisis situations. Thus, the study did not proceed to confirming its legislation hypothesis. In the fourth case, the study was able to reject the coverage related null hypothesis. After rejecting the null hypothesis, it went on to its legislation hypothesis, but the data on legislation from the three periods of the fourth case did not give solid ground to confirm the legislation hypothesis.

So, in answering its research question: “Do changes in the amount of coverage on migrants in the media of the Russian Federation have an effect on the amount of migrant related legislation projects registered in the State Duma?” – the study concluded that the changes in the amount of coverage on migrants in the media of the Russian Federation does not have any effect on the number of migrant related legislation projects registered in the State Duma. With the data that this study managed to obtain, it was not able to find any quantitative effects that the media has on the legislation in the Russian Federation. Thus, it was not able to prove that a quantitative substantive political agenda setting effect of the media exists in the Russian Federation.

The study did not study the question qualitatively so there might be an impact of the media on the legislation that would for example manifest itself in harsher policies regarding migrants, which this thesis did not have the possibility to see. Thus, a qualitative research studying this question needs to be conducted in the future, in order to be able to say whether or not media can have a qualitative substantive effect on legislation in the Russian Federation.

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