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Multiculturalism in modern mass media: analysis of stereotypes

Мультикультурність у сучасних ЗМІ: аналіз стереотипів

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Written by:

Oksana Chaika¹<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4317-9456>**Natalia Sharmanova²**<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4820-3619>**Natalia Maliuga³**<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7956-6987>**Inna Savytska⁴**<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3795-0427>

Abstract

The article aims to consider multicultural discourse through the prism of media coverage. Contemporary media are characterized from the political engagement perspective, and that of its resources and media presentation of news related to multicultural issues. The study adopts a content analysis method of media resources and displays ways of presenting the information. Finally, the study tests hypotheses that explain acculturation and intercultural relations in multicultural societies. The current cultural situation is characterized by the global development of media resources, the acceleration of creating and distributing global communication tools via national and transnational media. The results showed that perceived security, intercultural contacts, adoption of a multicultural ideology, acculturation strategies, and expectations significantly impact mutual acculturation and relations of the host population, migrants, and other social categories of society. Therefore, efforts through the media to improve relations between representatives of different cultures, communities, and population segments should aim at increasing the basic sense of security and adopting a multicultural ideology. In addition, there is a need to understand the essence of

Анотація

У статті розглянуто проблему мультикультурного дискурсу крізь призму висвітлення в ЗМІ. Автори характеризують сучасні медіа з позиції репрезентації політичної заангажованості, їх ресурсів і подання новин, пов'язаних із мультикультурною тематикою. У дослідженні представлено метод контент-аналізу медіаресурсів і способи інтерпретації інформації. Підтверджено гіпотези, які пояснюють акультурацію та міжкультурні відносини в мультикультурних суспільствах. Сучасна культурна ситуація характеризується глобальним розвитком медіаресурсів, прискоренням процесів створення й поширення глобальних засобів комунікації, національних і транснаціональних ЗМІ. Результати показали, що відчуття безпеки, міжкультурні контакти, прийняття мультикультурної ідеології, стратегії акультурації та очікування суттєво впливають на взаємну акультурацію та стосунки між населенням, яке приймає «інших», мігрантами й іншими соціальними категоріями суспільства. Зусилля за допомогою засобів масової інформації для покращення відносин між представниками різних культур, спільнот і верств населення мають бути спрямовані на

¹ PhD in Linguistics, Associate Professor, Department of Foreign Philology and Translation, Faculty of Humanities, Social Sciences and Education, National University of Life and Environmental Sciences of Ukraine, Kyiv, Ukraine; Visiting Researcher, Luxembourg Center for Educational Testing, University of Luxembourg, Esch-sur-Alzette, Luxembourg.

² PhD in Linguistics, Associate Professor, Department of Ukrainian Language, Kryvyi Rih State Pedagogical University, Kryvyi Rih, Ukraine.

³ PhD in Linguistics, Associate Professor, Department of Ukrainian Language, Kryvyi Rih State Pedagogical University, Kryvyi Rih, Ukraine.

⁴ PhD in Philosophy, Associate Professor, Department of Philosophy and International Communication, Dean at Faculty of Humanities, Social Sciences and Education, National University of Life and Environmental Sciences of Ukraine, Kyiv, Ukraine.



tolerance, respect for 'the other' and recognition in multiculturalism and the role of the media in shaping ways of relating to other people and peoples.

Keywords: modern media, media resource, modern culture, multiculturalism, hypothesis of multiculturalism, stereotype.

Introduction

Some researchers view globalization as a negative phenomenon. Proponents of this interpretation want to avoid seeing the obvious: the modern world is a multitude of peoples, religions, and cultures, all intensively interacting. Therefore, the specificity of these interactions requires, on the one hand, building open relations between representatives of different cultures (Halse, 2022). However, on the other hand, each nation faces the goals of preserving its identity. Thus, the strategy of interethnic, interfaith communication in a globalizing world should be under new legal, moral, and social norms that regulate this complex area of human relations. It is believed they should be based on multiculturalism and tolerance instead of chauvinism and confrontation. At the same time, a way to solve the issue may go with the emphasis on multiculturalism, and some researchers assume that it may start with multicultural education propelling tolerance, respect to the other(s) and recognition of equality (Chaika et al., 2021b). This concept usually refers to a set of ideas and actions of various social actors (state and other organizations) aimed at the equal development of different cultures, overcoming discrimination against multiple groups of the population in all spheres of public life, ensuring equal chances for employment and education, the abolition of hidden and apparent obstacles in an administrative career (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2011).

Multiculturalism means promoting the coexistence of different cultures in one country or the whole world. Tolerance is a psychological or socio-psychological characteristic of individuals and social groups, manifested in their interaction with other individuals or social groups (Koopmans, 2013; Chaika et al., 2021a). Thus, multiculturalism and tolerance are closely connected. However, these are not identical concepts. All this gives grounds for the conclusion that multiculturalism is not just an ethical doctrine but also a particular political program and state policy characteristic of

posилення базового вiдчуття безпеки i прийняття мультикультурної iдеологiї. Необiднo зрозумiти сутнiсть толерантностi в мультикультуралiзми та роль ЗМi у формуваннi способiв ставлення до iнших людей.

Ключовi слова: сучаснi медiа, медiаресурс, сучасна культура, мультикультурнiсть, гiпотеза мультикультурностi, стереотип.

countries seeking to promote the formation of an open society.

Due to the growth of migration processes throughout the world, the number of monocultural countries is decreasing, and the ethnic diversity of the population characterizes most societies. At the same time, representatives of various ethnic, cultural, and religious groups live together in the same locality and often in the neighborhood. Therefore, the purpose of the article is to demonstrate multiculturalism in mass media and its influence on people's consciousness and the formation of their attitude toward multitudes of other nations, taking into account the rapid development of communication tools and media resources.

With the development of the Internet, the media network covers even the most remote points of the planet. It truly becomes a state within states, influencing society both within national states and on a global scale. It would seem that national media are no longer subject to absolute control over the flow of information, and no one, including even nationalist regimes, can prevent the population from accessing the Internet to obtain alternative details. Most of the world's media, particularly in the United States, are controlled by extensive media holdings, which are the leading players in the global media market (Holland & Fermor, 2021). *Disney, Viacom (CBS Corporation), Time Warner, Rupert Murdoch's News Corp, Bertelsmann, and General Electric* own nearly 100% of the U.S. media market.

Thus, it is not an exaggeration to say that the media implement policies fully in the interests of the groups that control them. Through the press, the ideological policy is implemented both within the country and abroad. Even the most prominent publications in the USA, which claim to be objective in the presentation of materials, do not open but adhere to particular political views. For example, *The New York Times*, an

influential newspaper, is generally recognized as a left-liberal publication. At the same time, *The Wall Street Journal* leans more towards the right wing of the political spectrum. *Time* and *Newsweek* magazines are moderately leftist, while *U.S. News* is right-wing, although all three publications strive for an objective presentation of materials. For example, *Time* magazine names “Person of the Year”, *U.S. News* publishes annual rankings of American colleges and universities.

Literature Review

Currently, some countries are characterized by hatred towards visitors, a desire to “cleanse the country of foreign filth”, eradicate “non-traditional religions”, etc. There are manifestations of intolerance, terrorism, xenophobia, aggressive nationalism, racism, alienation, and discrimination against national, ethnic, religious, and linguistic minorities, refugees, migrant workers, and socially disadvantaged groups in societies (Alvares & Dahlgren, 2016). In addition, there are instances of violence and intimidation against individuals exercising their right to freedom of opinion and expression. This situation requires the intensification of media activities. It is necessary to form a “system of immunity” to ethnic and religious aggressiveness to stimulate the interest of journalists in the conceptual foundations of the cultural policy of the authorities. With the help of the media, it is possible to ensure the transparency of the decision-making process in the field of cultural policy and the functioning and interaction of national-cultural autonomies (Halse, 2022).

At the turn of the 1980s and 1990s, corporate media brought the issues of multiculturalism and tolerance to attention of the general public in the United States. They accused the academic world – the heirs of the turbulent 60s, who moved from street demonstrations to the audience, of a kind of tyranny of civil rights and political correctness, in discrimination against the white majority, in what they have done from universities mini-states with authoritarian regimes (Downing, 2018). At the same time, the press not only aroused interest in this issue but, in a relatively short period, formed a negative attitude in public. The problem of ethnic stereotyping, and in general, presenting issues related to the culture of minorities, the concepts of race, and ethnicity in the media, has been well studied in Western science. For example, discourse analysis studies have shown that media coverage does shape public opinion about

minorities. Based on a qualitative analysis of interviews with immigrants living in poor neighborhoods in American cities (Horsti & Nikunen, 2013), it was found that the media, along with personal experience and rumors, constitute one of the primary sources of stories about ethnic minorities for the so-called “white” population. Media is a crucial element in appropriating and reproducing general social knowledge about ethnic minorities.

According to the American researcher of the media environment, the media focuses on criminal news. As a result, racial stereotypes are created using “fried sensational” facts since people from low-income backgrounds mostly commit crimes (Marrun et al., 2019). Moreover, little attention is paid not to minorities, as multiculturalists believe, but to representatives of the dominant population, who also lose their jobs and commit crimes. This is just the kind of news that could break Americans’ automatic association between minorities and social issues (Atton, 2015). The media have always been considered a mirror of society. On the one hand, if this mirror creates images through which much of social life is interpreted, then there is concern that the images distorted by the mirror may, in turn, generate prejudices in the audience. On the other hand, if discrimination has become widespread in society, and therefore among journalists, then the media will reflect these prejudices (Augoustinos & Every, 2007).

Another critical factor is that the gap between natural and ideological diversity in the media environment is widening because journalism in this area is increasingly associated with multicultural marketing and PR. Although in the 1980s and 1990s, the media were characterized by increasing segmentation and polarization, mass print and electronic media are giving way to publications and channels focused on specific target audiences, among which minorities are far from the last. As a result, the Spanish-language press, TV, and radio channels reach new audiences. Instead of ineffective mass marketing, media structures begin to work along the path of strictly directed targeted marketing. For example, the Spanish-language television network *Univision* has over 600 local affiliates in the United States.

A study by the European Monitoring Center on Racism and Xenophobia in Vienna notes that the image of immigrants and interpretation of ethnic relationships in the media are not necessarily deliberately distorted, but rather the media is an influential component of a more extensive

process of reproduced social representations in the public sphere. Thus, journalists and publications often reproduce forms of ethnic inequality “accidentally”, for example, due to professional routine and restrictions associated with the news production process (Huddleston et al., 2015). Racism in the media is often not blatant. Hidden stereotypes, generalizing or exculpatory statements, or even the absence of the point of view of ethnic minorities in publications and reports give rise to prejudices and the legitimization of segregation practices and hostility towards minorities. It should also not be forgotten that over time, in countries with a strong tradition of ethnic minorities, such as the United States, groups have gained greater access to direct representation in the media, hence, contributing to a more balanced picture of cultural diversity.

Methodology

The content analysis technique aims to identify multiculturalism stereotypes in modern media (Halse, 2021). The methodology is a scheme for deductive content analysis, during the development of which the literature on issues of multiculturalism and interethnic relations was analyzed. Based on a theoretical analysis (Berry, 2011), stereotypes groups of multiculturalism in the news media were formed. The developed scheme allows fixing the display of multiculturalism in the news. Most information about a modern person’s world is not available for direct observation, and it seems essential to study what kind of information people receive through the media. The relevance in studying the image of the world in the media is vital when it comes to interethnic relations and attitudes towards outgroups:

- Immigrants actively use the media to get more information about life in a new country; and
- The ethnic majority learns about the minority and how it should be treated through the media, especially when there are no personal contacts (Ward & Masgoret, 2009).

Prosperous coexistence of representatives of different ethnic groups is possible subject to the following conditions:

- Confidence in one’s own identity, which leads to mutual respect among representatives of different ethnic groups and the reduction of discrimination (Chaika et al., 2022a);

- Participation and involvement of representatives of different ethnic groups both in the life of ethnic communities and in the life of society as a whole, which provides people with the necessary social capital for a prosperous life (Chaika et al., 2022b);
- Contact between representatives of different ethnic groups, which leads to mutual acceptance of groups; and
- The presence of a common identity for representatives of different ethnic groups (Chaika et al., 2022a).

Various state programs should be aimed at observing these conditions, and attention is also paid to multiculturalism in education (Zembylas, 2020). In addition, people’s attitudes towards multiculturalism are being actively explored in Europe and Western countries; Ukraine here makes no exception.

Two main approaches are often distinguished when considering intercultural relations in the media (Bona, N.C., & de Carvalho, 2018). One supports the eventual assimilation of immigrants into the host community, which results in a homogeneous culture and a shared national identity. The other approach is based on the implementation of two goals: (i) The preservation of the cultural characteristics of migrants for generations; and (ii) The equal participation of all groups and individuals in the life of the rest of society.

Canada is the first state in the world in which the policy of multiculturalism acquired an official status (Kalin & Berry, 1982). The Canadian approach to multiculturalism in the media, based on two principles – diversity and equality, has ensured the popularity of the concept, which includes three hypotheses that can be psychologically verified. The fundamental goal of the multicultural policy is to increase the mutual acceptance of each other by members of ethnocultural groups. This goal is achieved through three other essential components in the media:

- The cultural component of the policy is implemented through the provision of support and encouragement for preserving culture and developing all ethnocultural groups.
- The social (intercultural) component characterizes the possibility of positive interaction between representatives of various ethnic groups by ensuring intergroup contact and removing barriers that prevent

equal participation in the daily life of society.

- Intercultural communication indicates the need for a standard, official language so that representatives of all ethnic groups can be included in the daily life of society. The inferred relationships between the

components reflect the three hypotheses that were tested in our study (McCay-Peet & Quan-Haase, 2017).

The multiculturalism hypothesis links cultural preservation and security to positive intercultural relationships (Figure 1).

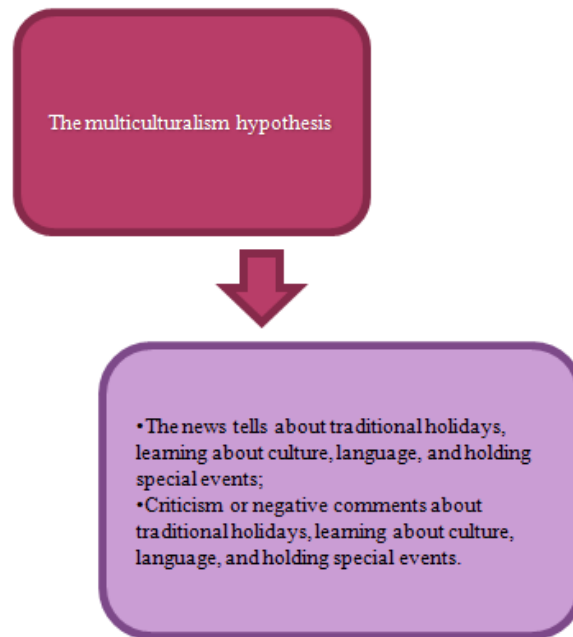


Figure 1. Schematic model of the expressed multiculturalism hypothesis in media. Designed as compiled by the authors

This hypothesis means that if people have a basic sense of security (for example, when there is no threat to their culture and identity), they will accept those who are different from them. This hypothesis is based on the basic premise of the Canadian multicultural policy, which states that if members of society are characterized by confidence and positive cultural identity, then the positiveness of intercultural relations (including the desire to contact representatives of other

cultural groups, respect for others and reduced levels of discrimination) will increase. On the contrary, prejudice and discrimination will increase when people feel their cultural identity is threatened.

The integration hypothesis is the conjugation of maintaining one’s culture (cultural component) and participation in intercultural contacts (intercultural component) (Figure 2).

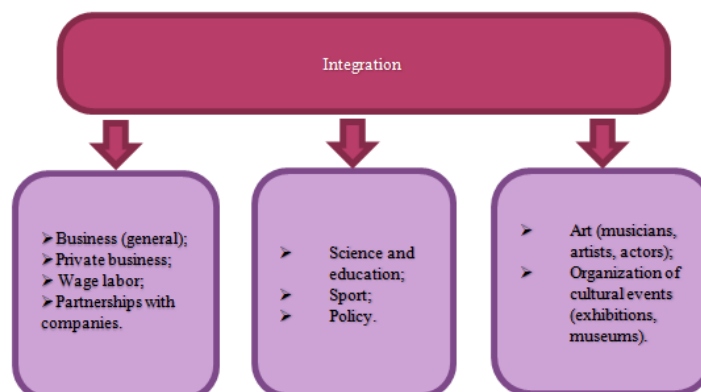


Figure 2. Schematic model of the multiculturalism integration through the realms of life. Designed as compiled by the authors

This hypothesis suggests that when individuals and groups are included in the life of the host society, they do not lose touch with their culture. They will achieve tremendous success in life, including higher sociocultural competence, subjective well-being, and life satisfaction.

The contact hypothesis characterizes the relationship of interethnic, intergroup contacts with the mutual acceptance of representatives of different ethnic groups in a multicultural society (Figure 3).

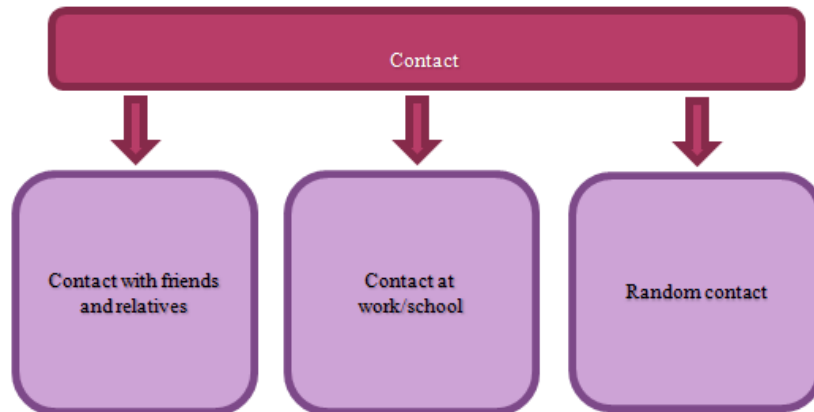


Figure 3. Schematic model of the multiculturalism expression through contacts.
Designed as compiled by the authors

This hypothesis assumes that intercultural contact will promote mutual acceptance under certain conditions, especially equality.

Although, on the one hand, the media form a solid opposition to multicultural processes in society; on the other hand, a multicultural society adapts media resources for itself and actively uses them to present and lobby for the pressing problems of minorities (Figure 4).

Results and Discussion

The problem of the media component in multicultural discourse is quite complex.

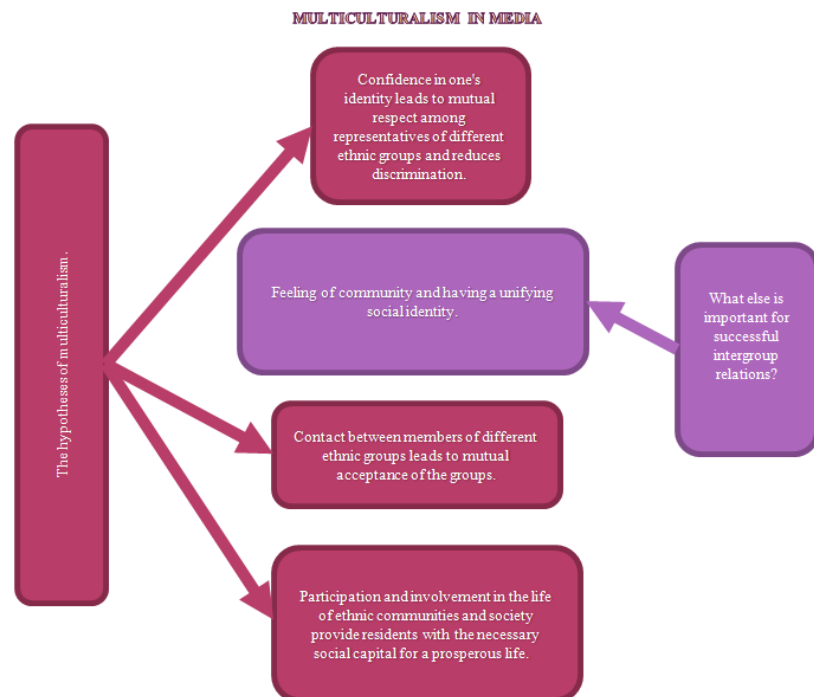


Figure 4. Schematic model of multiculturalism in media.
Designed as compiled by the authors

At the present development stage of society, it can be stated with confidence that the political elite and society have incorporated the ideas of diversity.

Currently, there is empirical evidence for the multiculturalism hypothesis in the media on the example of some countries. When studying the mutual attitudes of domestic migrants, it was found that cultural security predicted tolerance, a preference for integration, and an orientation towards social equality in both groups. It is important to note that the policy of multiculturalism in Canada differs markedly from the multiculturalism proclaimed in other countries (Kalin & Berry, 1982). The peculiarity of Canada is that, firstly, this society was created by the descendants of migrants, i.e., there is no “indigenous” population in this society (except for a relatively small number of Indians). Secondly, there is no numerically superior ethnic group that would be regarded as dominant in society and would be at the top of the ethnic status hierarchy. That is, Canada is a community of migrants. In European countries, the situation is different – they have a historically dominant majority in the country and migrants (Casero-Ripollés, 2019). If multiculturalism proved effective in Canada, it could have been a more successful policy in several European states, which led to its criticism from the heads of these states.

There is a point of view that the policy towards migrants implemented in European countries has been hastily called multicultural. In these countries, cultural diversity was recognized. Still, conditions were not created for the equality of various ethnic groups, the preservation of their cultures, and the implementation of equal status relationships. In European countries, ethnic diversity as a demographic phenomenon is called multiculturalism. However, multiculturalism in the media should also be implemented at the political level, which was fully released in Canada.

Studies on intercultural relations and acculturation found integration strategy most often led to better adaptation of migrants compared with other systems. A possible explanation for this could be that people who are “dual-linked” (with their own culture and the culture of the host society) receive support and resources from two cultures, for instance, the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg. They are also competent in interacting with members of both cultures. The social capital acquired through such multiple social and cultural connections makes it

possible to achieve success using the resources of various communities and groups. Empirical studies have also obtained evidence regarding the association of integration with more successful adaptation.

Let us talk about the negative impact of the media on creating an audience. When formulating the reasons why materials appear in periodicals that contribute to the spread of extremist sentiments in society, journalists themselves quite often fix the fact that the most powerful incentive in favor of preparing such publications is money. True, sometimes journalists admit that they need a clearer idea of the consequences of their activities. To prevent extremist speeches in the media, according to representatives of the journalistic community, it is necessary to:

- Comply with professional, ethical codes of journalists (Harcup, 2020);
- Introduce the ideas and spirit of tolerance and civic responsibility into the activities of journalists;
- Strengthen the state and local legal framework and ensure its strict implementation.

The media, in order to promote the formation of a tolerant consciousness and prevent the spread of extremism and violence, must form respect among audiences for the existing diversity of cultures, kindly show the variety of values and ideas that different people adhere to, and reveal the anti-social nature of extremism in its various manifestations (Alvares & Dahlgren, 2016). There are three opposing forces in the modern media space. The first position is business, the second is the institution of influence, and the third is the means of dialogue and an institution of civil society.

The first two directions are clearly in the lead. It can be assumed that this is primarily due to the unwillingness of many journalists and heads of media resources to actively participate in the “tolerization” of society. This business needs to be more professional, and the investment of forces and resources in social actions, which in the separate future may bring dividends in the form of a civilized, humanitarian-minded society, is not particularly attractive to today’s workers of the pen and microphone. It follows from this that to strengthen the role of the media in the formation of tolerance and multicultural attitudes in society; it is necessary to change the self-consciousness of journalists and the activities of the structures in the professional journalistic community.

Lowering the level of aggressiveness of the media requires not only the awareness of the importance of this problem by journalists but also the mastery of a fundamentally new toolkit of professional activity that ensures the organization of a mass dialogue between all participants in social processes (Kavada & Poell, 2021). Dialogue is the key to tolerance and, as a result, multiculturalism. In this way, the essence of the new professional culture of journalists can be formulated.

It is important to distinguish between multiculturalism or cultural complexity as a state found in many cultural spaces and multiculturalism as a set of theories and practices for understanding this phenomenon. Multiculturalism is one of the most characteristic manifestations of the actualization of horizontal, rhizomatic cultural interactions that characterize the most important shift in the world culture of postmodernity. Undoubtedly, in its complete form, it was formulated, evaluated, institutionalized, and transferred to the area of mass consumption in the United States. At the same time, according to the exact definition by researchers of multicultural issues in the media field, multiculturalism is not a negation of European culture. However, it opposes Eurocentrism as the still dominant point of view. The world is divided into the West and everything else, and language and thinking are organized around binary oppositions.

Multiculturalism cannot be reduced only to the primitive and fierce struggle of national and ethnic minorities and other “others” for their rights to representation (Lund Bjånesøy, 2019). This phenomenon is much more complex and contradictory and covers almost all aspects of cultural dynamics. This indicates an urgent need to return to understanding the essence of tolerance, multiculturalism, and the role of media in shaping ways of relating to other people.

Analysis of publications in the media environment regarding their influence on the formation of attitudes of tolerant consciousness

A generalization of many studies that have been carried out provides a basis for some generalizations. Clearly expressed intolerant statements are contained in approximately 40 % of the texts published in national and regional media. The principal bearer of bigoted judgments is political themes (Moffitt, 2016); in regional – economics. In the model of reality constructed by the media, there are many stereotypes, which, in turn, fall into several subgroups of varying

degrees of danger. The following stereotypes are cited as “strangers” in the media, especially when referring to the data mainly collected from the Ukrainian media resources:

1. Representatives of the authorities. Officials and current politicians are most often described in a negative light. They (regardless of political, regional, and other affiliations) are selfish and immoral. Busy with satisfying their interests and needs, they do not allow society to develop adequately, “putting a spoke in the wheel” to everyone who seeks a decent existence for themselves and their loved ones. The mass media are pretty critical of the governments of the city, regional, regional republican levels, law enforcement agencies, and the judiciary. According to the press, they are all unprofessional, illiterate, inefficient, and prone to corruption.
2. Representatives of various peoples. The predominantly positive attitude of the media was earned by Ukrainians, British, Americans, Italians, French, and Germans; a negative context accompanies such nationalities as russians, chechens, belarusians, iranians, and other “aggressors” (the names of nationalities and peoples are intentionally spelt from a small letter underlining the widely accepted attitudes by the contemporary Ukrainians to them, for example).
3. The next category is “the rich and the oligarchs”. The rich “have taken over the whole country and are pumping out fabulous profits from the public property,” and the poor, respectively, suffer from economic reforms and theft of those in power. Entrepreneurs are suspected of violations and the sale of low-quality goods.
4. Next in the list of stereotypes is the category “migrants and visitors”. Again, they are described as troublemakers.
5. Stereotypes of various “religious denominations”. There are still many negative publications about Islam. Almost nothing is written about Catholicism, except for informing about events in which the main character is the Pope.
6. In some cases, representatives of disadvantaged social groups act as “stereotypes”: the homeless, alcohol addicts, HIV-infected, etc. As a result, they are described in the media primarily as unpleasant and dangerous “neighbors”.
7. In the media oriented towards an adult audience, “youth and teenagers” can be put forward as “stereotypes,” which, in addition

to addiction to smoking, alcohol, drugs, and promiscuity, are accused of social passivity and a categorical unwillingness to work (Dube & McGiboney, 2018).

The analysis showed that the degree of hostility shown by the media concerning various categories of people is determined, first of all, by the attributed aggressiveness. Intolerant objects carry some danger, such as absorption (economic, demographic, territorial, ideological), or are capable of direct or imaginary aggression (drug addicts, homeless people, alcoholics, criminal groups, migrants who profess other religions, etc.).

Another factor influencing the degree of tolerance of publications and the search for “unacceptable persons” is the ideological paradigm that editorial teams adhere to. We distinguish three main paradigms:

- Social rejection;
- Social survival;
- Social success.

It should immediately be noted that most regional publications adhere to the first two paradigms, and the third paradigm is most common in national publications.

Publications focused on the ideology of social survival are more tolerant of national groups and less intolerant of some social groups that, according to the bearers of this ideology, interfere with survival. Mass media oriented towards the ideology of social success are characterized by a high level of tolerance towards both social and national groups (Ganter & Paulino, 2021). Representatives who profess this paradigm are the least likely to blame their problems on external forces.

Journalistic ways of discrimination in the media

The analysis showed that in journalism, there are four main ways of reproducing the described objects and expressing one’s attitude to the things of description.

- A. The *first way* is to describe events and processes such expressive means that subtly and unobtrusively form in the audience a confident attitude towards the described situation, circumstance, or their participants.
- B. The *second way* is using direct author’s assessments, which unambiguously indicate to the audience the only possible, in the

author’s opinion, attitude towards the described phenomena or situations.

- C. The *third way* uses various explanatory schemes designed to offer the audience a certain logic for understanding the described phenomenon or event.
- D. The *fourth way* is to demonstrate such a behavior model within the described events or situations, which, according to the author, is the most reasonable (Waisbord, 2022).

Journalists often use two main methods to form a specific image of events or phenomena: a toned (specifically colored) description and a direct author’s assessment. Explanatory and primarily behavioral models are used less often. Some texts generally consist of only two components: description and evaluation – no explanations and models of reasonable action are offered. Through words of specific content and emotional coloring, the psychological states of the reading audience are modulated, and good attitudes are formed towards those to whom the “hate speech” is directed (Aslan Ozgul & Veneti, 2021). This achieves a double effect:

- Direct – this is what is the purpose of the research influencing communication;
- Mediated – aimed at the mass consciousness of the reading public.

A continuous discourse is being created that suppresses the individual and forms a totalitarian type of consciousness. A person with contempt for people usually depersonalizes another individual, perceives this person as second-rate, or does not deserve the right to be called a person (Yuen & Leung, 2019).

Studies have shown that the formation of disrespect and contempt is carried out not only by complex “hate speech” – direct and immediate calls for violence but also by the middle one, in which the factual component of the text carries the main emotional and semantic load – the justification of historical cases of violence and discrimination; approval of the historical crimes of a particular ethnic group; an indication, for the purpose of discrediting, of links with mafia and espionage organizations, etc. The relatively mild “hate speech” identified by researchers, characterized as incorrect statements in the media, very subtly affects the formation of the emotion of contempt. It includes mentioning the name of an ethnic or religious group in a derogatory context and citing relevant statements and texts without proper commentary (Charles, 2020).

Most researchers proceed from the fact that media tolerance consists of providing space for public discussion on topical issues and freedom for dialogue. This difference is vital in society. The media should create a space for expressing different positions, involve various participants in discussing topical problems, and thereby implement a strategy of tolerance that represents other points of view both within one publication and in polemics between different publications. Journalists have many ways to convey to readers the diversity of opinions and facts of thought in society. Appropriate technologies have been developed in the theory and practice of journalism: dialogic genres, which include interviews, conversations, etc.

On the importance of media in the formation of multiculturalism

For the media to become an influential resource for the formation of attitudes of tolerance, the institutional foundations for the functioning of the media must be transformed. We are talking about the place of the media in public institutions (Chee, 2012). To date, very primitive models dominate. Media are either a resource of information and communication or intermediaries between the authorities and the population. The time has come to understand that the effectiveness of the media increases many times when they are woven into a dense network of civil society and constitute a necessary element of the processes of self-government and self-development of citizens. It is helpful to distinguish the functions of citizens' participation in adopting and implementing decisions affecting their interests. However, the corresponding institutional forms of social structure processes are more comprehensive than specific types developed in the West in recent decades (public expertise and investigations, environmental impact assessment, etc.). They include such long-known and diverse civil society institutions as local and corporate self-government, professional and social communities, and non-profit organizations.

In civil society, the holders of values, principles, norms, and patterns of behavior, including tolerant ones, are not the media but communities. In this regard, special attention is paid to modern conditions (Tumber & Waisbord, 2017). The number of Internet users in the country is steadily growing. When organizing and filling communication channels with adequate, high-quality information on the issue of tolerance, it is necessary to use social networks around which such communities are formed.

Another factor affecting the effectiveness of the media as a resource for the formation of tolerant attitudes is the independence of the media from government and business, recognized by all public institutions and felt by the audience. At the same time, it is necessary to clarify that the freedom of the media is the freedom to choose a position, and the independence of the media, according to tradition, is paradoxically called their dependence on many different factors, including the possibility of being tied to other political subjects. The diversity and multidirectional of the acting forces, multi-screen, mosaic and internal inconsistency of the overall picture determine its objectivity.

In striving for independence, the journalistic community must clearly understand the measure of its responsibility for the state of society. It is time to stop considering the audience as an object of manipulation or a set of consumers of an information product and see readers, viewers, and listeners as sovereign individuals who turn to the media text to find examples of human abilities and qualities in it. The assimilation of which will allow these individuals to expand their human capabilities. Instead, the media should become a source of ways and methods necessary for the audience to resolve the problems facing people, including showing the ways of personal self-improvement and mastering tolerance technologies.

In order to effectively participate in the formation of attitudes towards tolerance and multiculturalism, the media themselves must master a fundamentally new toolkit of professional activity that ensures the organization of a mass dialogue between all participants in social processes (Palma & Alcaíno, 2020). Dialogue is the key to success in this matter. In this vein, the main direction of the search for scientists and practitioners can be formulated.

The idea of tolerance in multiculturalism fits perfectly into the framework of dialogue thus set. This is natural since the inevitability of coexistence (preferably peaceful) of representatives of different positions finds its expression in the framework idea of dialogue – whether it is about the human race or a student dormitory (Rosenthal et al., 2007). Nevertheless, when meeting with people who are different from ourselves, we inevitably face a dilemma: whether to consider our own position and views as correct ones and the position and ideas of another person as erroneous or to consider both sides by the side, but already private and partial. The choice of the

first path leads to a monologue organization, a struggle against dissidents (which sooner or later necessarily turns into a battle against thinkers and thinking as such); the choice of the second – to dialogue, partnership, or rivalry, but limited by certain limits, in the limiting case – by the frame of law.

Conclusions

Foreign and domestic practice shows the attitude towards tolerance and dialogue, including multiculturalism, which can lead to notorious political correctness. It risks turning dialogue and tolerance into its opposite – a monologue and diktat minorities. At the same time, people lose the ability to truly self-determine: they identify themselves only through group membership, “ours” and “not ours” reappear, and the hierarchy of cultural values is blurred. In order to avoid these far-reaching troubles, tolerance and dialogue in a multicultural context must be limited. Such a limit is set by the frame of law, which is understood in this case as the ultimate frame of communication in conflict situations.

Within the framework of law, there can be no enemies, only opponents, rivals, and opponents. All conflicts can be resolved in this case by political means or judicial procedure. The dialogue framework means recognizing that all people and nations are different, but everyone has the right to their own approaches and views, and no one has reason to declare them the only true ones. The evolution of the multiculturalism phenomenon in the media and its further integration into the broad masses will provide an opportunity for the peaceful coexistence of people and an essential resource for development in the interaction of different approaches, interests, views, and different cultures.

Such an approach makes relatively high demand on journalists, media workers, and the system of relations between the media, government, and society. There is a need for (a) observance by all journalists of professional, ethical codes; (b) introduction of ideas and the spirit of tolerance into the activities of journalists through special seminars, conferences, discussions, pieces of training, etc.; (c) strengthening the legal framework regulating the activities of journalists; (d) creation of various structures that will carry out a professional and expert evaluation of controversial publications. As with any intercultural practice, policies and related programs must consider the political, cultural, social, economic, and historical contexts.

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