

**MINISTRY OF SCIENCE AND HIGHER EDUCATION OF THE  
RUSSIAN FEDERATION FEDERAL STATE AUTONOMOUS  
EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION "KAZAN  
(VOLGA REGION) FEDERAL UNIVERSITY"**

**INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL-PHILOSOPHICAL SCIENCES AND MASS  
COMMUNICATIONS**

**DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE**

Direction of training: 41.04.04 – “Political Science”  
Profile: Regional and Ethnopolitics

**MASTER'S THESIS**

**THE PROBLEM of RUSSIA MIGRATION POLICY in THE  
DISCOURSE OF THE CENTRAL ASIAN MEDIA**

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« 07 » July 2025.

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Kazan - 2025

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## PART I

**Relevance of the research topic.** Russia's migration policy has shifted from relatively open migration regulations in the early 1990s to restrictive migration laws in the early 2000s and to "Open Door" migration for citizens of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) in 2007<sup>1</sup>. During the "Open Door" policy period, there was a large-scale migration of citizens from former Soviet countries, especially Ukraine, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and other Central Asian countries<sup>2</sup>. The "Open Door" policy is a special policy that provides convenience for citizens of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), recorded data in 2022 specifically for Central Asian countries there were 5.99 million foreign immigrants living in Russia, Central Asia is the largest group followed by immigrants from Uzbekistan with a population of 1,626,308 people and followed by immigrants from Tajikistan as many as 1,262,695 people and from Kyrgyzstan as many as 681,165 people<sup>3</sup>.

So far according to Sergey V. Ryazantsev's research<sup>4</sup> Russia's migration policy throughout most of its modern history (after the collapse of the Soviet Union) has been the target of justified criticism from domestic and foreign experts. The Russian migration problem has been characterized by a controversial and inconsistent policy in which Russia's interest in attracting permanent migrants in general and in particular was verbally stated, but there were numerous administrative barriers to new arrivals<sup>5</sup>. Coupled with the problem of social conflict such as xenophobia or anti-immigrant sentiment expressed by local communities towards immigrants<sup>6</sup>.

Central Asian migrants are one of the groups that experience many problems due to Russia's migration policies, such as three-year entry bans, registration and visa paperwork, and even deportation<sup>7</sup>. Added to this is the issue of Russia's controversial policies toward immigrants because of the Russia-Ukraine war, according to the Congressional Research Service<sup>8</sup>, The Russian government introduced incentives to encourage Central Asian

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<sup>1</sup> Ivakhnyuk I. The Russian Migration Policy and its Impact on Human Development // UNDP (United Nations Development Programme). 2009.

<sup>2</sup> Woo P.K. Russia's Migration Policy and Response of Civil Society // International Area Review. 2007. Vol. 10, № 1. P. 109–130.

<sup>3</sup> Wikipedia Contributors. Commonwealth of Independent States [Electronic resource]. 2022

<sup>4</sup> Ryazantsev S. FOREIGN MIGRATION POLICY OF RUSSIA // International Trends / Mezhdunarodnye protsessy. 2017. Vol. 14, № 4(47).

<sup>5</sup> Gurieva L.K. PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS OF RUSSIA'S MIGRATION POLICY // Science Almanac of Black Sea Region Countries. 2019. Vol. 20, № 4. P. 42–49.

<sup>6</sup> Slater W. [The problem of immigration in Russia]. // Polit Etrang. 1994. Vol. 59, № 3. P. 749–759.

<sup>7</sup> Kubal A. Entry Bar as Surreptitious Deportation? Zapret na v'ezd in Russian Immigration Law and Practice: A Comparative Perspective // Law & Social Inquiry. [American Bar Foundation, Wiley], 2017. Vol. 42, № 3. P. 744–768.

<sup>8</sup> Congressional Research Service. Central Asia: Implications of Russia's War in Ukraine. 2023

immigrants to join the military as a recruitment target. After that, there was a terrorist attack in Moscow with one of the perpetrators being an immigrant from a Central Asian country<sup>9</sup>, resulting in Russia's migration policy being tightened, creating new challenges for Central Asian immigrants.

There is no doubt that Russia's response to the migration policy issues facing Central Asian immigrants is largely mediated by the discourses reproduced in various media coverage. Thus, the role of the media is very significant in framing discourse on various migration policy issues. Research by the Institute for Strategic Dialogue<sup>10</sup> Russian Online – Hate and Discrimination against Central Asian Migrants Challenges and the Way Forward, various news and social media coverage finds in terms of the perception of immigrants as a social threat, being the target of discrimination, stigma and even hate crimes.

Furthermore, the issue of Russia's migration policy has also been addressed by governments from Central Asia, since the Russian invasion in February 2022, the governments of Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan have issued warnings to their citizens not to fight in foreign wars. Further response from the Kyrgyz government through the United Nations Human Rights Commission<sup>11</sup>. The government visited Russia to discuss the repatriation of Kyrgyz citizens related to the participation of its citizens in the military zone. The next case that the Tajik government responded to was related to thousands of Tajik immigrants who returned to Russia after mass deportations<sup>12</sup>.

Given that Central Asian citizens are one of the largest immigrants in Russia and often encounter migration problems, both formal legal and informal social problems. Thus, this study aims to analyze how media in Central Asian countries frame or discourse on Russian migration policy, especially in describing the problems and challenges faced by Central Asian immigrants. This study will also examine the extent to which the media reflects or influences public perceptions in the countries of origin towards Russian migration policy.

**Object Research:** News originating from the Central Asian country entries, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan. The object of this research is empirical in the form of news texts.

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<sup>9</sup> Umarov T. Moscow Terror Attack Spotlights Russia-Tajikistan Ties // Cergeie Politika. 2024.

<sup>10</sup> Institute For Strategic Dialogue. Online Russian-DIALOGUE Hate And Discriminatio Againts Central Asian Migrants. 2021

<sup>11</sup> United Nation Human Rights. Experts of the Committee on the Rights of Migrant Workers Commend Kyrgyzstan on Trafficking Legislation, Ask about Kyrgyz Migrants in Russia and the Children of Migrant Parents. 2023

<sup>12</sup> Samilov O. Tajikistan's government misses the real problem of labor migrants. 2015.

**Subject Research;** Discourse on Russian migration policy as represented in media coverage in Central Asia.

**Research purposes;** to analyze how media in Central Asian countries frame or discourse on Russian migration policy, especially in describing the problems and challenges faced by Central Asian immigrants.

1. To characterize the theoretical and conceptual foundations of this research, including a review of contemporary literature in the fields of migration policy, discourse analysis, and media framing.
2. To collect an empirical data corpus by systematically gathering news materials published in the media of Central Asian countries related to Russian migration policy.
3. To clean the data for analytical processing and ensure its suitability for the application of computational text analysis methods.
4. To conduct a comprehensive data analysis and visualization using modern digital humanities methods, including:
  - a. Latent Dirichlet Allocation (LDA) to identify hidden thematic structures.
  - b. Extraction of key phrases and bigrams reflecting dominant narratives.
  - c. Construction of narrative relations and topic interactions.
  - d. Analysis of text polarity and subjectivity to assess the emotional and evaluative nature of news content.

## **Theoretical Framework**

To understand how the media distributes and selects ideas, it is important to have knowledge about media framing. According to Robert N. Entman<sup>13</sup> about Media Framing is the use of individuals to identify, understand, clarify issues, stories, and topics in various ways. In this way, features, evaluation and policy orientation are highlighted <sup>14,15</sup>, Through media

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<sup>13</sup> Entman R.M. Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm // Journal of Communication. 1993. Vol. 43, № 4. P. 51–58

<sup>14</sup> Lecheler S., de Vreese C.H. News Framing and Public Opinion // Journal Mass Commun Q. 2012. Vol. 89, № 2. P. 185–204

<sup>15</sup> Baden C. Reconstructing Frames from Intertextual News Discourse // Doing News Framing Analysis II. Routledge, 2018. P. 3–26

framing, many studies show that Western media usually depicts immigrants negatively and is mostly full of prejudice<sup>16,17,18</sup>.

This research is based on the theoretical framework proposed by Julia Mendelsohn<sup>19</sup>, which highlights how policy-making is influenced by public opinion, with the public playing a key role in disseminating certain frames. In this study, using the issue genetic framework that focuses on aspects of migration policy, including the issue of immigrants' socio-economic welfare, through compliance with international laws and standards, ensuring immigrants' rights and better governance of migration policies<sup>20</sup>.

## Issue: Migration

### Policy

<i>Frame</i>	<b>Descriptions Problem Policy</b>
Economy	Financial problems; remittances, low wages, economic growth
Capacity & Resources	Physical resources and human resources
Morality & Ethic	Perspective driven by religion or sense of ethics
Justice & Equality	Inequality in the redistribution of law and punishment
Crime & Punishment	Court cases, consequences of breaking the law and implications of threats
Safety	Safety of a policy issue
Quality Life	Impact on life and life routines
Culture Identity	Assimilation/Integration efforts and customs
Public Sentiment	Social norms, sentiments of prejudice, good and bad
Political Implication	Policy decisions, migrant involvement in migration policy
External Regulator	Agreements and intergovernmental relations.

**Table 1.** Issue Migration Policy

<sup>16</sup> Igartua J.J. et al. El tratamiento informativo de la inmigración en los medios de comunicación españoles. Un análisis de contenido desde la Teoría del Framing // Estudios sobre el Mensaje Periodístico. 2007. P. 91–110

<sup>17</sup> Múñiz C., Igartua J.J., Otero J.A. Imágenes de la inmigración a través de la fotografía de prensa. un análisis de contenido // Communication & Society. 1970. Vol. 19, № 1. P. 103–128

<sup>18</sup> Zhang X., Hellmueller L. Visual framing of the European refugee crisis in *Der Spiegel* and *CNN International* : Global journalism in news photographs // Int Commun Gaz. 2017. Vol. 79, № 5. P. 483–510

<sup>19</sup> Mendelsohn J., Budak C., Jurgens D. Modeling Framing in Immigration Discourse on Social Media // Proceedings of the 2021 Conference of the North American Chapter of the Association for Computational Linguistics: Human Language Technologies. Stroudsburg, PA, USA: Association for Computational Linguistics, 2021. P. 2219–2263

<sup>20</sup> Card D. et al. The Media Frames Corpus: Annotations of Frames Across Issues // Annual Meeting of the Association for Computational Linguistics. 2015

From the table, the Migration Policy issue has specific frame. In the Migration Policy issue, for example, the Justice & Equality and Health & Safety frames show that many immigrants enjoy things that are not equal to citizens in the country<sup>21</sup>. In the book *The Challenge of Immigration – a Radical Solution*<sup>22</sup> which mostly describes the problem of migration policy such as the influx of large-scale immigrants in addition to increasing the economy but also increasing the number of violations of the law such as crime and illegal immigrants.

In addition, the economic aspect cannot be separated from the issue of migration; several studies, such as those conducted by Muhammad Azam Khan<sup>23</sup> in *The Impact of Remittances on Economic Development*, show that remittance flows have a significant impact on the education and health sectors in developing countries. However, remittances have been shown to drive economic growth. For example, in several African countries, there has been a substantial spike in remittances from the diaspora to their home countries. This has encouraged the formation of policies that expand the mechanisms of diaspora involvement to the sub-national and supranational<sup>24,25</sup>.

However, the economic framework in migration policy also has a negative side. Andersson's study<sup>26</sup> noted that between 1995 and 2017, refugees only contributed to the growth of low-wage employment. This finding is reinforced by the research of Tual Sawn Khai Asaduzzaman<sup>27</sup>, which shows that there are still migrants who experience financial exploitation by employers, indicating structural inequality in labor protection.

Furthermore, the challenge in resource management is also a major concern. The Capacity and resources frame is related to the Human Capital theory, which assumes that experience is translated into knowledge and skills<sup>28</sup>. There is a discourse on “Brain Drain,”

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<sup>21</sup> Trummer U., Krasnik A. Migrant health: the economic argument // *Eur J Public Health*. 2017. Vol. 27, № 4. P. 590–591

<sup>22</sup> Becker G.S., Coyle D. *The Challenge of Immigration: A Radical Solution* // *SSRN Electronic Journal*. 2011.

<sup>23</sup> Khan M.A. The impact of migrant remittances on economic development: empirical evidence from the developing world // *Journal of Social and Economic Development*. 2025. Vol. 27, № 1. P. 323–351.

<sup>24</sup> Kacou K.Y.T. et al. Examining the sustainable development approach of migrants' remittances and financial development in sub-Saharan African countries // *Sustainable Development*. 2022. Vol. 30, № 5. P. 804–816.

<sup>25</sup> Loshkariov I.D., Kopytsev I.S. Migrant remittances and diaspora policies in Africa // *MGIMO Review of International Relations*. 2023. Vol. 16, № 5. P. 126–154

<sup>26</sup> Andersson L.F., Eriksson R., Scocco S. Refugee immigration and the growth of low-wage work in the EU15 // *Comp Migr Stud*. 2019. Vol. 7, № 1. P. 39

<sup>27</sup> Khai T.S., Asaduzzaman M. Daily challenges and coping strategies of Chin irregular migrant workers in Malaysia: A qualitative study on health and well-being // *Int J Soc Welf*. 2025. Vol. 34, № 3

<sup>28</sup> Frese M., Rauch A. *Entrepreneurship, Psychology of* // *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences*. Elsevier, 2001. P. 4552–4556

‘Brain Bak’ and ‘Brain Circulation’ describing migrating workers must have a stock of knowledge, skills, abilities, and total capacity<sup>29,30</sup>.

Several studies show that skills are strategic in migrating; Eunbi Kim's research<sup>31</sup> conducted a study on 500 Chief Executive Officers (CEOs) of companies who make strategic decisions in pursuing company interests. CEOs tend to employ more skilled migrants. Workers in the and resurrector indicate this Capacity & Resource case, Charl; Charleneey & Dilloand Newton's<sup>32</sup> research surveyed 773 international nurses living in the UK, the f; thegs of most nurses identified professional skills and experience for career development. In another case of Indonesian medical personnel, especially nurses as one of the active migration players to the Japanese market, they must have several stages to improve their skills, namely succeeding in an exam recognized as a professional nurse in a foreign country, then learning new knowledge in the field of nursing in Japan<sup>33</sup>.

In the social and cultural context, the issue of migration also touches on moral and ethical dimensions. The Morality & Ethnic Frame that focuses on migrants, David A. Kideckel & Rogers Brubaker<sup>34</sup> Everyday Ethnicity reveals the perspective of social norms and ethics embedded in migrant culture that are very influential in infecting everyday life. For example, caregivers with a migrant background tend to express obligations of filial piety, reciprocity, and moral obligations<sup>35</sup>. Thus, many caregivers have migrant backgrounds<sup>36</sup>.

For example, Sunita Shrestha and Sanjana Arora's<sup>37</sup> research conducted observations from migrant family caregivers from Pakistan in Norway; the care practices carried out by migrants from Pakistan they associate with cultural and religious norms to achieve and

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<sup>29</sup> Lien D., Wang Y. Brain drain or brain gain: A revisit // J Popul Econ. 2005. Vol. 18, № 1. P. 153–163

<sup>30</sup> Errecassari J.-P. Theorising Return Migration: The Conceptual Approach to Return Migrants Revisited. 2010

<sup>31</sup> Kim E. Racial minority CEOs, board characteristics, and skilled migrant hiring // Human Relations. 2024.

<sup>32</sup> Pressley C. et al. International Nurse Migration Experience of the First Two Years: A Mixed Methods Study // J Adv Nurs. 2025. Vol. 81, № 5. P. 2672–2686.

<sup>33</sup> Haryanto J. et al. Indonesian Nurses' Journey in Passing the Japan National Nursing Licensure Examination // J Multidiscip Healthc. 2022. Vol. Volume 15. P. 2903–2912.

<sup>34</sup> Kideckel D.A. Nationalist Politics and Everyday Ethnicity in a Transylvanian Town. By Rogers Brubaker, Margit Feischmidt, Jon Fox, and Liana Grancea. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006. xxiii, 439 pp. Appendixes. Notes. Bibliography. Index. Plates. Photographs. Figures. Tables. Maps. \$35.00, hard bound. // Slavic Rev. 2007. Vol. 66, № 3. P. 509–512

<sup>35</sup> Shrestha S. et al. Changing dynamics of caregiving: a meta-ethnography study of informal caregivers' experiences with older immigrant family members in Europe // BMC Health Serv Res. 2023. Vol. 23, № 1. P. 43

<sup>36</sup> De Tavernier W., Draulans V. Negotiating informal elder care, migration and exclusion: the case of a Turkish immigrant community in Belgium // International Journal of Ageing and Later Life. 2019. Vol. 12, № 2. P. 89–117

<sup>37</sup> Shrestha S. et al. The Morality of Care: Female Family Caregivers' Motivations for Providing Care to Older Migrants // Qual Health Res. 2024



maintain moral identity. The next case in Ghana that highlights migrant women who create a moral community economy creates social relationships among women, which are framed in kinship idioms and reflect social hierarchies based on age and experience. Morals play an important role in building and creating livelihoods<sup>38</sup>.

Patti Tama Lenard's<sup>39</sup> study examines morally how migrant-sending countries are limited in protecting their citizens' rights while they work abroad. One strategy implemented by some sending countries is the implementation of an 'emigration ban,' with the Philippines being particularly successful in this regard. This is because, in 1988, the Philippine government received many reports of violations of the rights of domestic workers<sup>40</sup>.

Next, the Justice and equality frame issue highlights social justice and respect for human rights. The world is migrating wrong with barriers, increased exploitation, and deadly violence against immigrants and refugees<sup>41</sup>. Countries that have invested in enforcing workers' rights have even less incentive to protect refugee workers who are not citizens or constituents. At the same time, global supply chains and labor markets are often not regulated in a way that rewards and even relies on exploitation, so individual entrepreneurs often cannot resist injustice if they want to remain profitable<sup>42</sup>.

Data from MIPEX (Migrant Integration Policy Index)<sup>43</sup> Sweden, Canada, and New Zealand are considered very concerned about the issue of equality and justice for immigrants because some of the policies that provide legal assistance for immigrants have strong anti-discrimination policies and guarantee equal social and economic rights. In Sweden, national identity has been associated with a welfare model, creating a unique society based on equality, solidarity, and modernism<sup>44</sup>. It can be said that the Swedish idea has historically been about "women friendly" and "refugee friendly"<sup>45</sup>.

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<sup>38</sup> Tufuor T. et al. Extending the moral economy beyond households: Gendered livelihood strategies of single migrant women in Accra, Ghana // *Womens Stud Int Forum*. 2015. Vol. 50. P. 20–29.

<sup>39</sup> Lenard P.T. Restricting emigration for their protection? Exit controls and the protection of (women) migrant workers // *Migr Stud*. 2022. Vol. 10, № 3. P. 510–527

<sup>40</sup> Shivakoti R., Henderson S., Withers M. The migration ban policy cycle: a comparative analysis of restrictions on the emigration of women domestic workers // *Comp Migr Stud*. 2021. Vol. 9, № 1. P. 36

<sup>41</sup> Taran P. Migration, Human Rights & Sustainable Economies: A Century 21 Agenda // *Revista Tecnológica - ESPOL*. 2022. Vol. 34, № 1. P. 193–217.

<sup>42</sup> Fernandez A. Beyond Access: Refugees' Rights and Justice at Work. 2024.

<sup>43</sup> Migrant Integration Policy Index. Migrant Integration Policy Index [Electronic resource] // 2020.

<sup>44</sup> Edenborg E. Endangered Swedish Values: Immigration, Gender Equality, and "Migrants' Sexual Violence". 2020. P. 101–117

<sup>45</sup> Norocel O.C. Populist radical right protectors of the *folkhem*: Welfare chauvinism in Sweden // *Crit Soc Policy*. 2016. Vol. 36, № 3. P. 371–390

The document of the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs, by Viera Spanikova<sup>46</sup> entitled Sweden: Selected Migration Policies, explains that since 2015, Sweden has used fast-track programs to attract jobs with labor shortages; the purpose of the fast track is to help employers find opportunities to get people with the right skills, the three fast-track programs prioritized by Sweden are "integrating asylum seekers with a residence permit into the labor market within two years, then using the skills in the right way and supporting the financial sector facing labor shortages for certain jobs or skills.

Frame Crime & Punishment is the problem of the relationship between crime migration and punishment; with the background of socio-economic globalization and the increase in migration flows that simultaneously filter the trends of interest in the early 20th century, the United States has a policy designed to protect its citizens, they create tough and stricter legal provisions on immigration, intensifying the criminalization of undocumented migrants<sup>47</sup>, Crime, Punishment, and Migration, immigrants have become the subject of fear, contempt, and marginalization in the United States.

Walter A. Ewing's<sup>48</sup> research has confirmed that immigrants are less likely to commit serious crimes or be incarcerated than natives. This applies to both legal and illegal immigrants. The case is strengthened by Lidia E. Nuno's<sup>49</sup> thesis, which identified 1,990 prisoners in Arizona, United States, that immigrants tend to commit fewer crimes than US citizens; furthermore, illegal immigrants are significantly less likely than US citizens to be involved in property crimes, violent crimes, drug sales, and drug users.

The case study of Mexican migrants by Aaron Chalfin<sup>50</sup> found that an increase in Mexican migrants was associated with lower property crimes and assaults. Overall, Aaron Chalfin's research data indicates that it is difficult to find evidence of a positive relationship between migrants and crime in panel data. Carl H.D Steinmetz's<sup>51</sup> study of crime among European immigrants also found no evidence of an increase in crime as a result of newcomers; even newcomer immigrants were more often victims of crime than natives

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<sup>46</sup> Spanikova V. Sweden: Selected Migration Policies. 2019

<sup>47</sup> Luis Abiuso F. Crime, Punishment and Migration. By D. Melossi (London: Sage, 2015, 128 pp. \$33.00/£27.00 // Br J Criminol. 2018. Vol. 58, № 3. P. 763–765

<sup>48</sup> Ewing W.A., Martinez D. The Criminalization of Immigration in the United States // SSRN. 2015

<sup>49</sup> Nuno L. Do Illegal Immigrants Commit More Crime? : Thesis. Arizona, 2011

<sup>50</sup> Chalfin A. The Long-Run Effect of Mexican Immigration on Crime in US Cities: Evidence from Variation in Mexican Fertility Rates // American Economic Review. 2015. Vol. 105, № 5. P. 220–225

<sup>51</sup> Hermann Dino Steinmetz C. Unravelling Relations Between Immigration, Crime and Superdiversity in the United States of America, Europe, Australia and New Zealand // Humanities and Social Sciences. 2020. Vol. 8, № 1. P. 7.

In some cases, the standard classical economic theory of crime, as experienced by Becker<sup>52</sup> and Ehrlich<sup>53</sup>, has concluded the criminal behavior of immigrants. Migrants are assumed to decide whether to engage in illegal activities after they arrive in the destination country. Because lower legitimate earning opportunities than natives characterize immigrants, this approach assumes a greater propensity to commit crimes than natives. Such results have been contradicted by empirical evidence.

The issue of migrant safety has become an important part of the development of international security studies. The International Organization for Migration (IOM) is actively involved in efforts to combat human trafficking and protect migrants from various forms of violence and exploitation. The approach taken by IOM views migrants as a group that is vulnerable to the risk of violence, human trafficking, human rights violations, and victims of war.

In the Safety issue, this study discusses the safety of migrants related to fraud in several Southeast Asian countries because this issue is very recent and has become a serious concern involving human trafficking and forced labor. The ASEAN - Australia Counter Trafficking Report<sup>54</sup> identified Cambodia as being hit by a migrant crisis, with 100,000 people from all over Asia and Africa trapped in the area of cyber fraud, which is used for cryptocurrency fraud, fake investments, and illegal gambling. Those who work are subjected to threats, torture, sexual violence, and physical abuse if workers refuse to work and ask to leave the area.

A study by Jingjia Xiao<sup>55</sup> interviewing several Chinese migrants involved in illegal industries in Myanmar said that fear is constantly being spread and distorted, resulting in a narrative among various groups, especially workers active in illegal industries along the border. The workers' future is uncertain; they are faced with a difficult choice between remaining in Myanmar and enduring terrible working conditions or facing severe punishment or death.

The next case is some migrants who are targeted and victims of war, especially in countries experiencing conflict; since World War I and II, migrant workers have often been

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<sup>52</sup> Becker G.S. Crime and Punishment: An Economic Approach // Journal of Political Economy. University of Chicago Press, 1968. Vol. 76, № 2. P. 169–217.

<sup>53</sup> Ehrlich I. Participation in Illegitimate Activities: A Theoretical and Empirical Investigation // Journal of Political Economy. The University of Chicago Press, 1973. Vol. 81, № 3. P. 521–565

<sup>54</sup> ASEAN - Australia Counter Trafficking. Human Trafficking & Forced Labour in Cambodia's Cyber-Scam Industry. 2024

<sup>55</sup> Xiao J., Xiao Q., Luo T. Nowhere Men in the China—Myanmar Borderlands // Made in China Journal. 2024

used as tools of war<sup>56,57</sup>. The case of Civil War in Syria has had an impact on refugees and Syrian female migrants in Jordan<sup>58</sup>. The Russian and Ukrainian war, which began in February 2022, resulted in a large influx of war refugees from Ukraine to Poland; Krzysztof Korzeniewski's<sup>59</sup> research identified Ukrainian refugees and migrants in Poland as posing a health threat in terms of the transmission of infectious diseases.

Furthermore, the issue of Quality of Life, which highlights the quality of daily life of migrants, quality of life regarding the general welfare of migrants, consists of individual and collective expectations about a good life, quality of life starting from physical health, family, education, safety to freedom<sup>60</sup>. A better quality of life area will create a new type of migration, moving to another country in search of a better way of life, namely a happier, more satisfying, and more valuable life, which is beneficial by the principle of moral protection of the way of life<sup>61</sup>.

A study by Parveen Nangand and Kelly Gingrich<sup>62</sup>, on the quality of life of immigrants in Canada found that immigrants are generally satisfied with their financial situation while living in Canada. The next study of migrant life in the metropolitan area of the United States by Micahel Wallace<sup>63</sup> found that the diversity of immigrants has a positive and strong impact on the dimensions of quality of life in urban areas, which is influenced by the size of the quality of life on the diversity of immigrants

The next study by Freas Al Masri<sup>64</sup> studied the quality of life of Syrian refugees in Germany, which assessed four dominant aspects: physical health, psychological health, social relationships, and the environment. The participating Syrian refugees showed low Quality of Life scores compared to the normal population, especially with social and psychological

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<sup>56</sup> Tonak K., Balkan Z. Refugees on the move : crisis and response in Turkey and Europe . New York: Berghahn, 2022

<sup>57</sup> Maguire A., Daly S. Introduction: migration and the First World War // *Immigr Minor*. 2024. Vol. 42, № 3. P. 237–246

<sup>58</sup> Gokce M. The Effects of Civil War and Forced Migration on Intimate Partner Violence among Syrian Refugee Women in Jordan. Istanbul.

<sup>59</sup> Korzeniewski K. et al. Ukrainian war refugees and migrants in Poland: implications for public health // *J Travel Med*. 2024. Vol. 31, № 1

<sup>60</sup> Guliyeva A. Methodological approaches to measuring quality of life // *Brazilian Journal of Political Economy*. 2022. Vol. 42, № 2. P. 364–377

<sup>61</sup> Benson M. Negotiating Privilege in and through Lifestyle Migration // *Understanding Lifestyle Migration*. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2014. P. 47–68

<sup>62</sup> Nangia P., Gingrich K. Quality of Life of Immigrants in Canada // *Can Ethn Stud*. 2020. Vol. 52, № 2. P. 29–51

<sup>63</sup> Wallace M., Wu Q. (Miranda). Immigration and the quality of life in U.S. metropolitan areas // *Soc Sci J*. 2019. Vol. 56, № 4. P. 443–457

<sup>64</sup> Al Masri F. et al. Quality of life among Syrian refugees in Germany: a cross-sectional pilot study // *Archives of Public Health*. 2021. Vol. 79, № 1. P. 213

relationship conditions. The next study by Mihaela Mocanu<sup>65</sup> analyzed the changes in quality of life shown in the situation of Romanian immigrants in Belgium; the immigrants interviewed mentioned having a higher standard of living than their country of origin, changes in residence, financial status, access to health services and the integration of children into the Belgian education system, as well as opportunities to meet individual needs.

The next issue is cultural identity, which highlights how migrants adapt to the dominant culture while maintaining their culture of origin, how migrants maintain ties with their country of origin, and how they interact with their country of origin, such as research conducted by Tineke Fokkema<sup>66</sup> examining pre- and post-migration determinants of the socio-cultural integration of Moroccan and Senegalese migrant groups in Spain, and Egyptian and Ghanaian migrants in Italy. The combined and specific regression analysis results of the migrant group with good education and broad knowledge achieve a high level of socio-cultural integration

The next Social Integration study by Ostap Biletskyi<sup>67</sup> was conducted in the Kyiv region of Ukraine and successfully interviewed 480 respondents selected based on their length of stay in Kyiv, Ukraine. Thus, empirical data shows that migrants show a high tolerance level when they have a positive identity. Migrants do not face opposition from the local population; in fact, many feel adequately supported and assisted by the local population.

The next study by Peshkova V.M.<sup>68</sup> focused on Central Asian migrant families in Russia that changed various aspects of family and marriage, the most striking changes concerning the patriarchal order and gender regime. The next study by Anna Prashizky and Larissa Remennick<sup>69</sup> highlighted the cultural transition of young Russian immigrant women who spent their lives in Israeli cities among the Mizrahi Jewish population; most of the informants spoke of appreciating the positive aspects of Mizrahi customs and changing their lives by adopting the local culture. Then Licach Lev Eri's research compared two groups of Jewish women, native and migrant, living in Brussels, Belgium, through a social network approach; migrant women are less integrated and more separated from the native Jewish culture and closer to non-Jewish culture.

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<sup>65</sup> Mocanu M. et al. The Impact of Migration on Quality of Life: The Case of Romanian Immigrants in Belgium // *East Europ Econ*. 2020. Vol. 58, № 4. P. 360–382

<sup>66</sup> Fokkema T. Pre- and post-migration determinants of socio-cultural integration of African immigrants in Italy and Spain. 2015

<sup>67</sup> BILETSKYI O. et al. Migrant Social Integration: Key Obstacles and Pathways to Effective Adaptation // *Revista de Cercetare si Interventie Sociala*. 2025. № 88. P. 38–54

<sup>68</sup> Peshkova V.M. Семьи мигрантов из Центральной Азии в России: экспертный дискурс // *Мир России*. 2025. Vol. 34, № 1. P. 106–129

<sup>69</sup> Prashizky A., Remennick L. “Today I am a Russian-Moroccan”: Cultural transition among Gen 1.5 immigrant women in Israel’s geo-social periphery // *Womens Stud Int Forum*. 2024. Vol. 104. P. 102910

Then, there is the Public Sentiment frame, a central issue in migration studies and public policy. Many theories and studies examine how opinions are formed and influence migrant policies and integration. Ray Jureidini's<sup>70</sup> research shows that various forms of negative sentiment, such as discrimination, racism, and xenophobia, can be found, which originate from fear of foreigners and social or cultural groups.

Let us read the theory of MacDonald and Jacobs<sup>71</sup>, which defines a deep dislike of foreigners. The definition describes an attitude that manifests in the behavior of the government, the general public, and the media. This then presents a serious challenge for policymakers; there is no doubt that xenophobia, discrimination, and racism disrupt stability and seriously damage the potentially beneficial relationship between international migration<sup>72</sup>.

Cases of sentiment against migrants have been found in many contemporary societies. The targets are different in each country and nation. In 1997, the European Union studied public sentiment towards migrants. It was found that almost 33 percent of the people interviewed mostly revealed the arrival of migrants, fear of unemployment, insecurity in the future, and low confidence in how public authorities and political institutions work in their country<sup>73</sup>.

Mohsen Joshanloo<sup>74</sup> conducted an anti-immigrant attitude index on 151 countries, which concluded that Iraqi society had the highest level of xenophobia. Then, a recent study found four countries superior to Iraq in terms of xenophobic attitudes, namely North Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, and Thailand. The study showed that countries with high xenophobia tend to have lower levels of general trust, individualism, phallocentrism, psychological well-being, and peace. Therefore, in terms of public sentiment towards migrants, the government does not have to focus more on the well-being of individual identities to further encourage psychology at the macro level rather than only focusing on social and economic factors.

Issue Political Implication for migrants refers to how policies and political dynamics affect the lives of migrants, such as the political exploitation of migrants and the involvement of migrants in political elections and political parties. In countries with high democratic

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<sup>70</sup> Jureidini R. *Migrant Workers and Xenophobia in the Middle East // Racism and Public Policy*. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2005. P. 48–71

<sup>71</sup> Macdonald S. *Propaganda and Information Warfare in the Twenty-First Century: Altered images and deception operations*. taylorfrancis.com, 2006.

<sup>72</sup> Lavner J.A. et al. Racial discrimination and relationship functioning among African American couples. // *Journal of Family Psychology*. 2018. Vol. 32, № 5. P. 686–691

<sup>73</sup> Shindondola H.K. *Xenophobia in South Africa: the views, opinions and experiences of international students at the Rand Afrikaans University: Thesis*. Johannesburg: University of Johannesburg, 2008

<sup>74</sup> Joshanloo M. A global index of anti-immigrant xenophobia: associations with cultural dimensions, national well-being, and economic indicators in 151 nations // *Polit Groups Identities*. 2024. Vol. 12, № 2. P. 494–503

freedoms, documenting the territoriality of migrants in involvement in political representation, then recognizing the constitution of emigrants, what political parties do during and between elections, and their activities in Parliament on behalf of immigrants constitution<sup>75,76</sup>.

Alonso's<sup>77</sup> research on Immigration Left and Right identified the Case of Political Parties, namely the conservative Christian Democratic Union (CDU) and the far-right Alternative for Germany (AfD) in Germany, which opposed dual citizenship and the granting of local political rights to foreigners in the run-up to the 2017 parliamentary elections, then the Social Democratic Party, the left-wing Green Party supported the move.

Finally, regarding the issue of External Regulators, migration is regulated by individual states and external actors in the context of migration, which refers to the role of intergovernmental organizations and cooperation between countries in regulating the mechanism of migrant movement. For example, ASEAN countries promote labor and protection of migrant rights.

Chanida & Sheue Li's<sup>78</sup> Immigration - Trade Relationship in ASEAN research reveals that ASEAN countries should not limit or ignore the migration path of unskilled workers. Policy coordination is needed to balance the interests of the countries of origin and destination of unskilled migrant workers. Cooperation between ASEAN countries seeks to link migration and trade policies.

Indonesia and Singapore have officially established diplomatic relations since 1967, and bilateral relations continue to grow today, including investment and labor<sup>79</sup>. Indonesian domestic migrants in Singapore have access to information and communication that creates a high level of supervision and regulation, and access to communication technology by domestic workers and employers creates a greater sense of agency in their daily lives<sup>80</sup>.

Tabled is the explanation of the migration policy issue from various theories and several research cases, which provides a comprehensive conceptual basis for understanding the migration issue from various socio-political dimensions. This framework will be used to determine indicators and analysis variables in this study.

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<sup>75</sup> Østergaard-Nielsen E., Camatarri S. Styles of Representation in Constituencies in the Homeland and Abroad: The Case of Italy // *Parliam Aff.* 2022. Vol. 75, № 1. P. 195–216

<sup>76</sup> Turcu A., Urbatsch R. Emigrants vs. rural politics: Cosmopolitan outlooks and electoral opposition to agrarian parties // *J Rural Stud.* 2020. Vol. 77. P. 138–147

<sup>77</sup> Alonso S., Fonseca S.C. da. Immigration, left and right // *Party Politics.* 2012. Vol. 18, № 6. P. 865–884

<sup>78</sup> Ekakkararungroj C., Ong S.L., Devadason E.S. Immigration-Trade Relationship in ASEAN: What Does the Evidence Show? // *SSRN Electronic Journal.* 2021

<sup>79</sup> Manurung H., Hendarwoto Y. Indonesia -Singapore Bilateral Relations in Southeast Asia. 2025

<sup>80</sup> Platt M. et al. Renegotiating migration experiences: Indonesian domestic workers in Singapore and use of information communication technologies // *New Media Soc.* 2016. Vol. 18, № 10. P. 2207–2223

**Degree of scientific development;** The study of migration discourse in a critical framework is often shaped by social hierarchy<sup>81</sup> & Eberl<sup>82</sup> in his research summarizes the literature on migrant discourse which is often depicted as criminals and does not comply with societal norms. Hartevelde, Schaper, De Lange dan Van Der Brug<sup>83</sup> found that high visibility of the refugee crisis in the media increased Euro-skepticism of citizens, media effects can even have a further impact, influencing audiences. Such discourse can influence people's behavior which will lead to more votes for anti-immigrant groups.

However, in some cases, the visibility of immigration in the media can also have a positive effect on attitudes towards immigrants<sup>84</sup> Such as the European mainstream media that conveys a vision of solidarity that supports refugees<sup>85</sup>, but not all and not always, such as coverage from CNN tends to present a more humanist vision asylum seekers. In positive discourse, immigrants are always depicted as the key to a country's economy and a demographic resource bonus<sup>86</sup>.

This study highlights the importance of focusing on suboptimal migration policies in managing immigrants, which have the potential to trigger inequality and social conflict. This study hopes to find new narratives in migration policy discourse, which can be used as a paradigm for analyzing public messages, by emphasizing that immigration issues are inseparable from migration policy issues themselves. For example, unfair immigration policies can actually increase the chances of threatening anti-immigrant reactions. In some cases, this reflects the difficulties faced in designing effective migration policies<sup>87</sup>.

This research literature review uses keyword mapping based on the analysis of 1,258 previous research articles on *Discourse Migration Policy*. Through VOSviewer, researchers map *Occurrences* and keywords, then clean the data to produce 32 main keywords.

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<sup>81</sup> Fuller J.M. Media discourses of migration: A focus on Europe // *Lang Linguist Compass*. 2024. Vol. 18, № 4

<sup>82</sup> Eberl J.-M. et al. The European media discourse on immigration and its effects: a literature review // *Ann Int Commun Assoc*. 2018. Vol. 42, № 3. P. 207–223

<sup>83</sup> Hartevelde E. et al. Blaming Brussels? The Impact of (News about) the Refugee Crisis on Attitudes towards the EU and National Politics // *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*. 2018. Vol. 56, № 1. P. 157–177

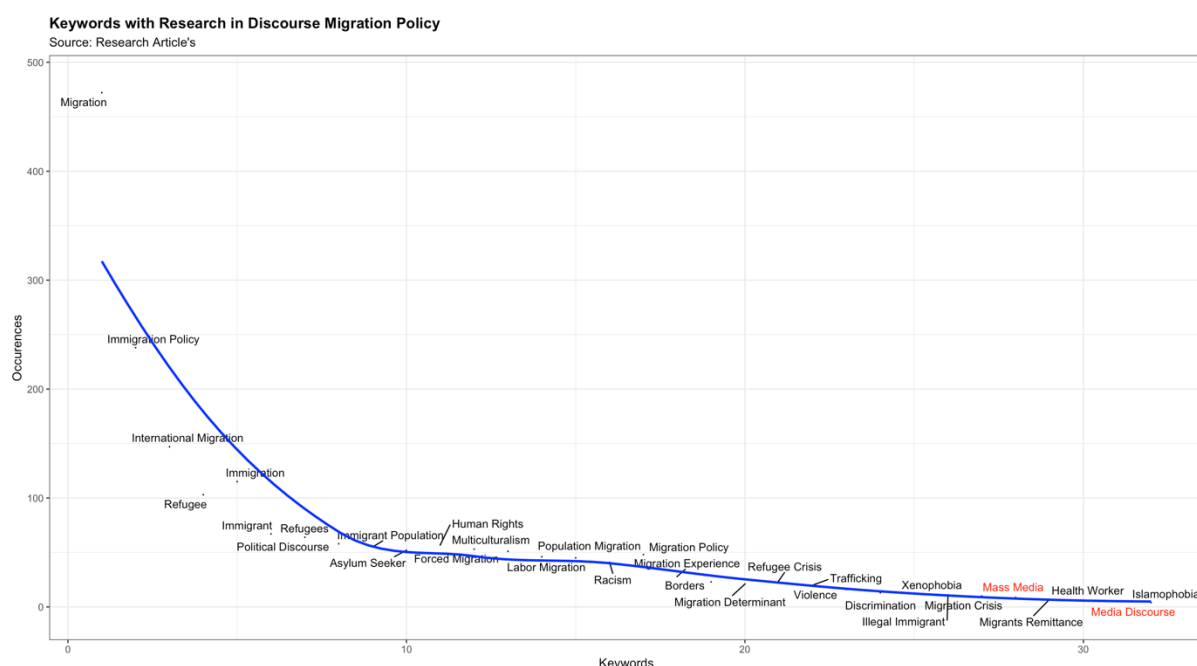
<sup>84</sup> Koopmans R. Explaining the rise of racist and extreme right violence in Western Europe: Grievances or opportunities? // *Eur J Polit Res*. 1996. Vol. 30, № 2. P. 185–216

<sup>85</sup> Del Ramo J.L., Humanes M.-L.H. Análisis del framing visual y sus componentes en el tratamiento fotográfico de la crisis de los refugiados sirios en medios de prensa internacional // *Scire: representación y organización del conocimiento*. 2016. P. 87–97

<sup>86</sup> Dhëmbo E., Çaro E., Hoxha J. “Our migrant” and “the other migrant”: migration discourse in the Albanian media, 2015–2018 // *Humanit Soc Sci Commun*. 2021. Vol. 8, № 1. P. 317

<sup>87</sup> Kapelner Z. Anti-immigrant backlash: the Democratic Dilemma for immigration policy // *Comp Migr Stud*. 2024. Vol. 12, № 1. P. 12.





**Picture 1.** Keywords with Research in Discourse Migration Policy

The results of this keyword analysis show that previous research on Discourse Migration Policy is dominated by research themes such as *Migration*, *Immigration Policy*, and *International Migration*. So that the use of this research keyword map is to identify gaps in migration discourse related to *Media Discourse* and *Mass Media* issues, which have not been widely discussed in previous research.

Figure one presents several studies relevant to the migration policy discourse hat. First, research by Firas Meshhal Abduljabbar<sup>88</sup>, entitled Security of Immigration and Refugee Policy in Contemporary Islamic Politics and International Law, shows that many Muslim-majority countries have tightened border controls and restricted access for migrants and refugees, often without adequate mechanisms. This study also highlights the increasing practice of externalization, namely the transfer of responsibility for refugee protection to third countries, resulting in reduced host countries' accountability.

Further research by Alezini Loxa<sup>89</sup> entitled An EU Sustainable Migration Institutional Discourse and Migration Politics proposes the relationship between sustainability and migration within the legal and policy framework of the European Union. Loxa argues that

<sup>88</sup> Firas Meshhal Abduljabbar et al. Securitization of Immigration and Refugee Policy in Contemporary Islamic Politics and International Law // MILRev: Metro Islamic Law Review. 2025. Vol. 4, № 1. P. 64–98

<sup>89</sup> Loxa A. An EU Sustainable Migration: Institutional Discourse and Migration Politics // JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies. 2025. Vol. 63, № 1. P. 143–159.

"sustainable migration" has become an important political instrument in forming consensus among member states after the migration crisis.

Meanwhile, In his research, Inken Bartels<sup>90</sup> analyzes the role of the International Organization for Migration (IOM) in framing trade as a widely recognized reality and an important object in managing migration in North Africa. With the concept of capital and symbolic power, Bartels shows how IOM occupies a strategic position as a neutral, objective, and highly moral global actor. Through its symbolic authority, IOM influences moral constructions, reinforces dominant beliefs, and sets rules for managing transnational migration.

Further research by Lisa Marie Borrelli<sup>91</sup> raises how ignorance, specifically in the form of agnotology, is not only a lack of knowledge but also an active political tool used by the Swiss local government on migration issues, empirical findings Swiss federal government enacted a rule linking permanent residency rights to migrants' financial independence, then city governments such as Zurich and Basel took local initiatives that provided alternative financial protection for migrants, even though it was contrary to national law.

The next research by Melih Coban<sup>92</sup> An Analysis of the Religious Solidarity Discourse Regarding the Syrian Refugees in Turkiyee, the article analyzes the discourse of religious solidarity produced by the Turkish government elite in response to the arrival of Syrian refugees after the civil conflict. His research has two main contributions. First, he identifies two main discursive themes, namely the analogy referring to the historical relationship between the Ansar and Muhajiriim during the time of the Prophet Muhammad SAW and the emphasis on the legacy of the Ottoman Empire as a symbol of Islamic unity and moral responsibility. These two articles examine how the discourse is received by society through the crisis of 980 public posts on X, which generally show a positive reception of the narrative constructed by the government.

Two recent studies criticize the development of progressive global and regional migration policies that contain internal contradictions. Giuseppe Gambazza<sup>93</sup> highlights the inconsistency between rhetoric and implementation in the EU New Pact on Migration and Asylum, which although claimed to be a new beginning. It strengthens the approach like the

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<sup>90</sup> Bartels I. The Symbolic Power of Knowledge Practices: The International Organization for Migration's Anti-Trafficking Politics in North Africa // *Geopolitics*. 2025. P. 1–26

<sup>91</sup> Borrelli L.M. Ignorance As Political Instrument? Integration Discourses on Migrant Welfare Recipients in Switzerland // *Geopolitics*. 2025. Vol. 30, № 3. P. 1150–1172

<sup>92</sup> Çoban M. An Analysis of the Religious Solidarity Discourses Regarding the Syrian Refugees in Türkiye // *Religions* (Basel). 2024. Vol. 15, № 10. P. 1216

<sup>93</sup> Gambazza G. The EU New Pact on Migration and Asylum: policies and discourses for a 'fresh start' // *Space Polity*. 2024. Vol. 28, № 2. P. 289–296

previous policy and fails to guarantee the basic rights of migrants waiting for the asylum process. Meanwhile, Sverre Mollan<sup>94</sup>, through a seven-year ethnography in Southeast Asia, criticized the safe migration policy after the UN Global Compact for Safe, Orderly, and Regular Migration 2019, which tends to be abstract spatially and temporally. He showed that in the field, safe migration interventions rely on informal social networks, making migrants both objects and instruments of policy. These two studies emphasize the importance of a critical approach in reading migration policy narratives that appear normative but often fail in practical application and structural justice.

The following two studies explore how anti-immigration discourse is formed and disseminated through media and cross-border ideological networks. Luciano Beccaria<sup>95</sup> analyzes television news coverage in Argentina during the Mauricio Macri administration (2018-2019), showing how political discourse media legitimizes regressive migration policies, including the criminalization of migrants and restrictions on their rights. This study highlights the existence of information gaps that hinder the formation of communicative citizenship for migrants. Meanwhile, Katrine Fangen<sup>96</sup> examines the transnationality of anti-immigration actors in Norway, finding that although they often originate across national borders – either through foreign political figures or alternative media and organic intellectuals.

The study shows how nationalist ideas spread and become mainstream and the importance of critical events and intellectual architects in shaping cultural understandings among structurally disconnected actors. Both articles emphasize the role of media and transnational ideological influences in reinforcing narratives of exclusion against migrants.. The following three studies present contextual and theoretical approaches to understanding xenophobia in different countries. Matthew Beetar<sup>97</sup> traces xenophobic attacks in South Africa in 2008 and 2015 as an inevitable symptom of a nation-building project driven by necropolitics – where discourses of exclusivism define who is worthy of living within national boundaries and who is sacrificed. This perspective highlights that violence against migrants is not an aberration but the result of power structures that limit solidarity with native citizens.

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<sup>94</sup> Mollan S. Safe migration: Re-embedding as anticipatory, de-territorial governance // *Popul Space Place*. 2024. Vol. 30, № 5

<sup>95</sup> Beccaria L. Mediatización de discursos políticos: brecha informativa, criminalización y restricción de derechos migratorios en Argentina (2018-2019) // *Migraciones internacionales*. 2024. Vol. 15. P. 0

<sup>96</sup> Fangen K. The transnationalist nationalists: the joint curriculum of anti-immigration actors in Norway // *Journal of Political Ideologies*. 2024. P. 1–21

<sup>97</sup> Beetar M. A contextualisation of the 2008 and 2015 xenophobic attacks: Tracing South African necropolitics // *Current Sociology*. 2019. Vol. 67, № 1. P. 122–140

Meanwhile, Pidong Yang<sup>98</sup> uses a Lacanian psychoanalytic lens to analyze foreign policy in Singapore. He shows that highly competitive migrants are positioned as objects of desire and deficiency in the symbolic imagination of residents, which creates ambivalence and anti-immigrant sentiment. In a different context, Angeles Cea<sup>99</sup> the changing patterns of xenophobia in Spain over two decades based on a longitudinal survey. He argues that perceived threats to the economy and culture drive xenophobia, both in times of crisis and growth, depending on the representation of migrants in the media and political discourse. These three studies highlight that xenophobia is not merely a spontaneous response but is structured in historical, psychological, and institutional narratives.

From the twelve studies presented, it is clear that studies on migration policy cannot be separated from the involvement of various discursive actors - the state, international organizations, or civil society - who produce meaning around migration through institutional, political, and symbolic discourses. However, one common thread that emerges is the important role of the media as a medium for disseminating policies and as an actor in shaping public perception. Continuing this thread, this study will focus on how the mass media, as a space for producing meaning, frames migration policy. Specifically, this study will analyze various media through dominant discourses on migration.

**The scientific novelty lies in the fact that;** This study is the first to examine Russian migration policy based on media discourse in Central Asian countries in the two decades following their separation from the Soviet Union.

**Method Research;** Study uses the quantification method approach in discourse studies, which allows the analysis of large amounts of data that can be reproduced in multiple languages<sup>100</sup>.

This method is widely used, especially in Japan, to transform qualitative data into quantitative data through the categorization process<sup>101</sup>. Since the 1970s, the quantification method has developed into a lexicometry approach that supports political discourse analysis<sup>102</sup>.

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<sup>98</sup> Yang P. Desiring 'foreign talent': lack and Lacan in anti-immigrant sentiments in Singapore // *J Ethn Migr Stud.* 2018. Vol. 44, № 6. P. 1015–1031

<sup>99</sup> Cea D'Ancona M.Á. Immigration as a Threat: Explaining the Changing Pattern of Xenophobia in Spain // *J Int Migr Integr.* 2016. Vol. 17, № 2. P. 569–591

<sup>100</sup> Scholz R., Mattissek A. Zwischen Exzellenz und Bildungsstreik. 2014. P. 774–800

<sup>101</sup> Tanaka Y. Review of the methods of quantification. // *Environ Health Perspect.* 1979. Vol. 32. P. 113–123

<sup>102</sup> Bonnafeous S., Tournier M. Analyse du discours, lexicométrie, communication et politique // *Langages* (Paris). PERSÉE : Université de Lyon, CNRS & ENS de Lyon, 1995. Vol. 29, № 117. P. 67–81

Psychometric methods have very large data frequencies, so they can be studied using quantitative methods that produce statistics<sup>103</sup>.

This study uses a quantification analysis approach, where qualitative or unstructured data is converted into quantitative data using deep learning and machine learning techniques. The analysis was carried out in four stages: the first (1) Latent Dirichlet Allocation (LDA) to identify dominant topics in the news<sup>104</sup>, the second stage text search analysis with the Bigram model to identify key phrases in news discourse<sup>105</sup>, the third discourse relationship analysis to reveal the relationship between news, and the fourth stage sentiment analysis based on Natural Language Processing (NLP) to extract subjective and objective information in news discourse<sup>106</sup>.

### **Process data empirical collection;**

This study successfully collected 411 news items about the discourse of Russian migration policy issues in various media in Central Asian countries. The data collection process was mostly carried out using web scraping techniques to detect news titles and narratives. Of the total data, 391 news items were successfully processed through the system, while 20 news items failed during processing (errors), failed data (errors) were caused by problems with news websites that were not found or in deleted news. After the data was collected, this study clarified it based on the news titles and narratives, then grouped it into the Issue Migration Policy framework that corresponds to the frame in table 1.

<b>Frameworks</b>	<b>Frequency News</b>
External Regulator	59
Political Implication	59
Safety	47
Crime and Punishment	45
Justice and Equality	38
Capacity and Resources	36
Public Sentiment	30

<sup>103</sup> Lafon P. Statistique et lexicométrie : position des problèmes // Langue et histoire. Paris: Éditions de la Sorbonne, 2012. P. 153–166

<sup>104</sup> Sharma C., Sharma S., Sakshi. Latent DIRICHLET allocation (LDA) based information modelling on BLOCKCHAIN technology: a review of trends and research patterns used in integration // Multimed Tools Appl. 2022. Vol. 81, № 25. P. 36805–36831

<sup>105</sup> Johnson D., Malhotra V., Vamplew P. More Effective Web Search Using Bigrams and Trigrams // Webology. 2006. Vol. 3, № 4.

<sup>106</sup> Pozzi F.A. et al. Challenges of Sentiment Analysis in Social Networks // Sentiment Analysis in Social Networks. Elsevier, 2017. P. 1–11

Economy	32
Quality Life	21
Culture Identity	17
Morality and Ethnic	7

**Table 2.** Number of News Data in Frame

Of the 411 news items, the frames with the highest frequency are *External Regulator* and *Political implication*. The second position is occupied by *Safety* and *Crime and Punishment* with almost the same frequency. In the *External Regulator* and *Political Implication* frames, the news highlights bilateral cooperation between Central Asian countries and Russia regarding migration policy. The *Political Implication* frame also focuses on Russia's internal migration policy regulations, such as the implementation of registration, visas and fingerprints.

Meanwhile, the *Safety* frame highlights the security of immigrants as victims of conflict, especially related to the Russian invasion of Ukraine. This frame also discusses conflicts involving immigrants, which often cause chaos in local Russian society. Therefore, the *Safety* frame is closely related to *Crime and Punishment*, which highlights cases of punishment, crime, and security threats involving immigrants.

This study uses classification reports on over-sampling to identify news narrative content classified into framework categories. The aim is to analyze diagnostics and predict the accuracy of each news frame. The results of data accuracy of 0.97 (97%) indicate that the model has high performance in predicting all data.

	Precision	Recall	F1-Score	Support
Capacity and Resources	1.00	1.00	1.00	36
Crime and Punishment	0.98	0.98	0.98	45
Culture Identity	1.00	1.00	1.00	17
Economy	1.00	0.97	0.98	32
External and Regulator	0.93	0.97	0.95	59
Justice and Equality	1.00	0.92	0.96	38
Morality and Ethic	0.88	1.00	0.97	7
Political Implication	1.00	0.97	0.98	59
Public Sentiment	0.94	1.00	0.97	30
Quality Life	0.95	0.95	0.95	21
Safety	0.96	0.98	0.97	47

<b>Accuracy</b>			<b>0.97</b>	<b>391</b>
Marco Avg	0.97	0.98	0.97	391
Weighted Avg	0.97	0.97	0.97	391

**Table 3.** Classification Report Oversampling

The *precision* results in the classification report show that almost all frames have values close to 1.00 (100%), which means that the model is rarely wrong in predicting frames. *Recall* also shows a high ability to detect news in each frame. *F1-score* reflects the optimal balance between precision and recall. By applying over sampling, even frames with the lowest data such as *Culture Identity* 17 data and *Morality and Ethic* only 7 data, can be predicted effectively.

In the method section, it has been explained that sentiment analysis of discourse in the news is carried out using two main parameters, namely polarity and subjectivity. The aim is to measure the extent to which the news is opinion or data-based, and to determine whether the sentiment is positive or negative. From the 391 news items analyzed, a subjectivity value of 0.27 and a polarity of -0.00 were obtained. A more detailed explanation of this sentiment analysis will be presented in the results analysis section.

After oversampling the classification reports and measuring the polarity and subjectivity parameters, the study analyzed 391 collected news stories. The most news stories came from Kyrgyzstan, which was 101 stories, followed by Uzbekistan with 98 stories, Tajikistan with 81 stories, Turkmenistan with 66 stories and the least was Kazakhstan with 45 stories. The stories were grouped into various frameworks to illustrate the main themes frequently covered by Central Asian media regarding Migration Policy in Russia.



**Picture 2.** Distribution Theme Each Country

The analysis results show that the main categories that often appear are Political Implication, External regulator, and Safety. All countries generally highlight Political Implication and External Regulator as the main themes, indicating that the impact of political implications is a crucial issue in Russia's migration policy. Meanwhile, the second and third categories in each country reflect variations in the focus and priorities of news coverage based on their respective national contexts



## PART II: RESULT ANALYSIS

### RUSSIAN MIGRATION POLICY IN THE NEWS CENTRAL ASIAN COUNTRY

Using the Latent Dirichlet Allocation (LDA) method, this study analyzes using machine learning to produce the most dominant news distribution patterns. With an approach such as coherence score (n\_components) that measures the topic narrative related to the framework. The higher the coherence score, the more relevant the narrative in one news.



**Picture 3.** Russian Migration Policy in the News Central Asia Country

The results of the study show that the most dominant topic is *Political Implications*, which is the main focus of almost all Central Asian countries except Kazakhstan. Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan have a more even distribution of frameworks compared to Kyrgyzstan, where Political Implications are very dominant. The case shows that Russian policies have a direct impact on all aspects of migrants' lives.

Seeing the highest *Safety* Framework in Uzbekistan indicates that there are Uzbek citizens who are called to fight in Russia, so is involvement from the Foreign Migration Agency of the

Russian Federation to stop military operations involving foreign citizens and appeal to Uzbek citizens to work in the Russia-Ukraine conflict area<sup>107,108,109</sup>.

The following framework is *Crime and Punishment*, which is covered extensively by the Kyrgyz and Tajik media. Tajik media highlighted Russia's new migration policy passed by the State Duma (the lower house of the Russian parliament), which criminalizes illegal migration as a serious crime, in article 61 (1) of the Russian Criminal Code -- if an unlawful migrant enters Russia and commits any violation, they will be punished severely<sup>110</sup>. After that, the Russian Duma passed a bill authorizing the police for administrative expulsion (deportation) of foreign citizens in Russia after the terrorist attack at Crocus Hall<sup>111</sup>.

News coverage in Turkmenistan and Kazakhstan is more likely to discuss cooperation and regulations such as the Federal Law on the adoption of the Charter of the International Organization for Migration (IOM) by the Russian Federation which regulates migration flows and improves the international regime for managing migration processes, providing assistance, resolving migration issues, and supporting socio-economic development through migration<sup>112</sup>. There is a gap in the *Morality and Ethic* framework, which is almost absent in Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan, indicating that the ethical aspects of migration are rarely highlighted in the news.

The following data analysis using the Bigram model aims to identify patterns and dominant word groups from all news. This model groups words that appear frequently (frequency) to simplify the narrative<sup>113</sup>. In this study, the Bigram process effectively connects the framework with the news narrative.

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<sup>107</sup> Uzreport.news. Official information on Uzbeks called up for war in Russia was given [Electronic resource] // Uzreport Axborot Agentligi. 2022

<sup>108</sup> Jamiyat. Warning to Uzbek Workers in Russia [Electronic resource] // Uzreport Axborot Agentligi. 2023

<sup>109</sup> Umurzoqov M. The citizens of Uzbekistan in Russia and Ukraine are called to be cautious // Qalampir Uz. 2023

<sup>110</sup> Asia Plus. Russia classifies illegal migration as a particularly serious crime // Asia Plus. 2024

<sup>111</sup> Asia Plus. 1500 Migrants to be deported, Tajiks banned from entering Moscow, State Duma Passes deportation bill in first reading // Asia Plus. 2024

<sup>112</sup> Kazakhstan Today. Отношения Казахстана и России вышли на высокий уровень стратегического партнерства и динамично развиваются Читать: [https://www.kt.kz/rus/interview/segodnya\\_partnerstvo\\_rossii\\_i\\_kazahstana\\_nosit\\_osobo\\_1377957525.html](https://www.kt.kz/rus/interview/segodnya_partnerstvo_rossii_i_kazahstana_nosit_osobo_1377957525.html) // Kazakhstan Today. 2023

<sup>113</sup> Optimization of Naïve Bayes Classifier By Implemented Unigram, Bigram, Trigram for Sentiment Analysis of Hotel Review // Journal of Soft Computing Exploration. 2020. Vol. 1, № 1

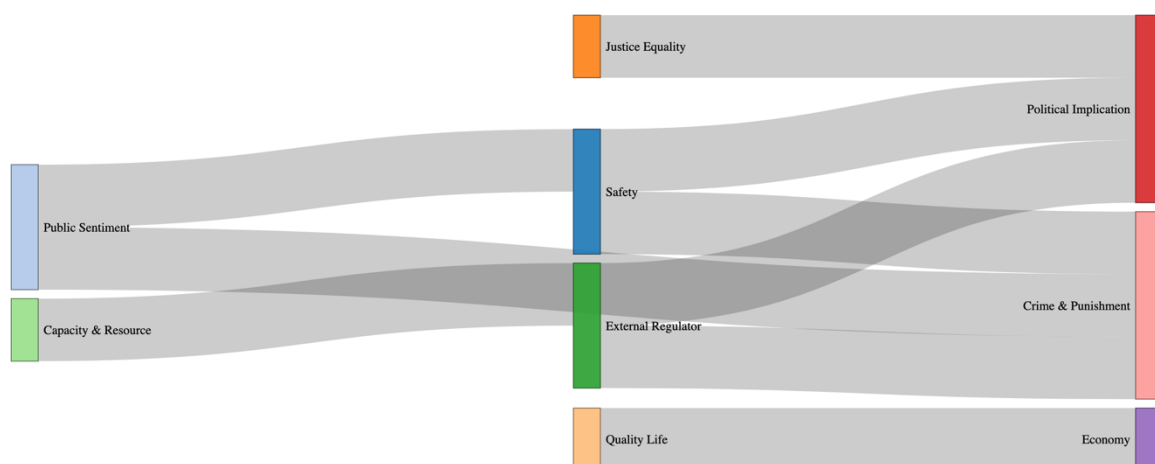
Safety		Political Implication		Crime & Punishment	
Bigram Text	Freq	Bigram Text	Freq	Bigram Text	Freq
terrorist attack crocus city	4	temporary residence permit trp	3	296 foreign citizens illegally	1
caution light recent military	2	2024 services passport visa	2	detected illegal migrants removal	1
terrorist attack 143 people	2	independently notify migration registration	2	citizen illegally stayed territory	1
military service necessary military	1	legislation regarding protection workers	2	crackdown illegal migration day	1
army doing entail sent	1	fight ukraine offering money	1	authorities initiated criminal case	1
join military gain russian	1	submission biometric data foreign	1	discuss human trafficking issues	1
Culture Identity		Public Sentiment		Justice & Equality	
Bigram Text	Freq	Bigram Text	Freq	Bigram Text	Freq
adaptation course labor migrants	1	labor fear increase xenophobia	1	migrants russia legalized right	1
knowledge russian language foreigners	1	antimigrant sentiments society strengthening	1	highlighted protecting workers rights	1
working russia adaption course	1	labor migration positive phenomenon	2	connection violation rights migrant	1
behavior exhibited members migrant	1	fear increase xenophobia society	1	banned entering country years	2
risks multiethnic society russian	1	increase xenophobia society doubting	1	2300 citizens deported russia	1
focusing extremism risks multiethnic	1	consider labor migration positive	2	labor migrants employed service	1
Quality Life		External Regulator		Economy	
Bigram Text	Freq	Bigram Text	Freq	Bigram Text	Freq
noted salaries russia higher	1	inherent kazakhrussian relations held	3	countries highest shares remittances	1
monitoring migrants health status	1	traditionally inherent kazakhrussian relations	3	remittances russia year significant	1
157 migrants receive payments	1	bilateral cooperation exchanged views	3	reports remittances migrants greatly	1
russia regarding hotlines effectiveness	2	mutual understanding openness trust	3	rubles associated increasing	1
2024 quota 10595 permits	1	agreements tajik russian governments	1	labour migration routes developing	1
able count free medical	1	coherently consistently compliance agreements	1	remittances labor migrants constituted	1
Capacity & Resource		Morality & Ethic			
Bigram Text	Freq	Bigram Text	Freq		
human potential strengthening bilatera	3	act identified punished deserve	1		
contributes development human potential	3	sympathy solidarity families friends	1		
89 million labor migrants	1	solidarity families friends victims	1		
labor migrants russia million	1	friends victims extended wishes	1		
foreigners talented young people	1	region tried smuggle migrants	1		
complex foreigners talented young	1	money organized illegal visits	1		

**Table 4.** Bigram Text Analysis

From the results of the Bigram analysis connecting frameworks and news narratives, it was found that the Safety framework had the highest frequency, with narratives such as "*terrorist attack Crocus city*" and "*caution light recent military.*" This shows that this Safety framework is more associated with the issue of terrorism threats and military activities. Meanwhile, the Political Implication framework highlights administrative matters related to migration policies in Russia, such as visas, registration, and biometry. High incentive payments by the Russian government for military activities also made migrants involved in the invasion of Russia - Ukraine.

In the *Economy* framework, the narrative focuses on improving the economy through remittances (sending money by migrants to their home countries), which indirectly strengthens the value of the ruble. The following framework, namely *Quality Life*, highlights attention to the welfare of migrants, such as access to free health services and their high incomes in Russia. In the social context, the *Public Sentiment* framework reveals two phenomena, namely, a positive view of the work of migrants and an increase in xenophobia or anti-migrant sentiment.

The results of the Bigram analysis show a complex relationship between news narratives and the frameworks analyzed. This study found that many frameworks are interconnected through the identified narratives. Because the data is descriptive and all relationships have the same weight, the thickness of the lines in the visualization is also uniform. The framework relationship can be read from left to right or vice versa.



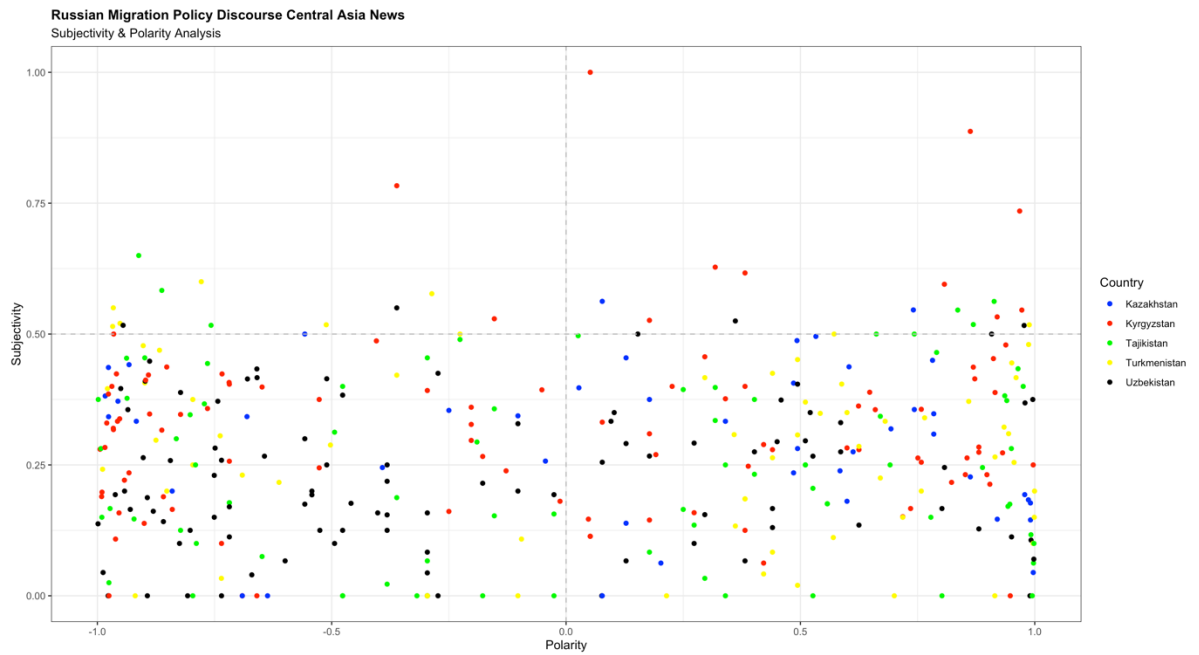
**Picture 4.** Relation Narrative Framework

The Safety framework has a narrative that highlights issues such as the connection between terrorism and the Russian-Ukrainian invasion, for example, “*detecting crime-fighting terrorism*” and “*citizens participating in war Ukraine*.” This narrative is also connected to the Political Implication framework. The Crime & Punishment framework raises narratives such as “*Russian terrorist group basis*” and “*immigrant war Ukraine central*,” which strengthens its connection with security issues.

The *Public Sentiment* framework not only narrates racial issues but also has a relationship with *Safety* and *Crime & Punishment*, with narratives such as “*attack Crocus city hall*” and “*claims illegal detention police*.” Migration policy frameworks, such as *Capacity & Resource*, *External Regulator*, and *Political Implication*, are interconnected and raise narratives such as “*potential strengthening bilateral relations*” and “*creation of digital profile migrants*.”

Some frameworks are only connected to one other framework. For example, *Justice Equality* is only connected to *Political Implications* through the narratives of “*illegal migrants legalized right*” and “*regarding protection workers' rights*.” Likewise, *Quality of Life* is only connected to the *Economy*, with narratives such as “*maximum salary couriers migrants reached*.” Meanwhile, the *Culture Identity*, *Morality & Ethic* frameworks do not have narrative relationships with other frameworks.

In the data collection section, it has been explained that the results of the calculation of all subjectivity data are 0.27 and polarity -0.00. Then, this study displays the results of all calculations from the subjectivity and polarity analysis to understand further how the Central Asian media frames the issue of the Russian Migration Policy. To avoid the value of 0.00, this study uses the VADER compound calculation with a transformer model for the x-polarity axis and subjectivity using TextBlob.



**Picture 5.** Russian Migration Policy Discourse Central Asia News

From the graph, the data is spread across all quadrants, indicating that the news has various points of view, from very negative and objective to very positive and subjective. The majority of the data is around 0 on the x-axis (polarity), indicating that the news has a neutral sentiment. Likewise, in the VADER analysis, the compound subjectivity value is -0.02178, so the text in the data tends to be neutral with a little negative sentiment.

Kazakhstan shows many of its blue dots are in the neutral and objective areas, indicating that the news tends to be informative. Kyrgyzstan has several dots with high subjective positive sentiment. Meanwhile, Tajikistan and Turkmenistan have relatively even dots. Uzbekistan's dots are mainly spread across the negative and objective areas.

### **PART III: INTERPRETATION RESULT ANALYSIS**

## **INTERPRETATION OF RUSSIAN MIGRATION POLICY IN THE NEWS CENTRAL ASIAN COUNTRY**

This study aims not only to describe what Central Asian media reports on Russian migration policy but also to understand how state actors and the media shape, interpret and mobilize narratives. Therefore, interpreting the results is not separated from the ideological, political, and historical context accompanying them

The interpretation of data in this study aims to identify migration policy issues in Russia using a general critique approach that is structured as a synthesis of expert views, including theory and literature review<sup>114,115</sup>. Referring to Wood and Haber<sup>116</sup>, the data interpretation process involves exploring and explaining realities that can be defined theoretically and uncovering the relationships and scientific truths underlying them.

Political Implication has become a dominant topic in almost all countries except Kazakhstan, reflecting the process of securitization as explained by the Securitization Theory, where migration issues can be elevated to the status of a political threat by political elites and the media<sup>117,118</sup>. When the media highlights the political implications of Russian policies, they indirectly shape the narrative that migration is a national security issue, not merely an involvement in social and economic matters.

The high Safety Framework in Uzbekistan reflects concerns about the safety of migrants exposed to armed conflicts. The presence of media narrating the recruitment of Uzbek citizens in the Russia-Ukraine war. As studied by Danilo Mandić<sup>119</sup>, where migration does not occur voluntarily but due to state coercion or conflict. In their study, Forced Migration and Political

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<sup>114</sup> Jenks J.M. The action research method // *Qualitative research in nursing: Advancing the humanistic imperative*. Lippincott Philadelphia, 1999. P. 251–264

<sup>115</sup> Forchuk C., Roberts J. How to critique qualitative research articles // *Can J Nurs Res*. 1993. Vol. 25. P. 47–55; quiz 56

<sup>116</sup> LoBiondo-Wood G., Haber J. *Nursing Research: Methods and Critical Appraisal for Evidence-Based Practice* // *J Nurs Regul*. Elsevier, 2014. Vol. 5, № 1. P. 60

<sup>117</sup> Kilroy R.J. *Securitization* // *Handbook of Security Science*. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2018. P. 1–19

<sup>118</sup> Titilayo Aishat Otukoya. The securitization theory // *International Journal of Science and Research Archive*. 2024. Vol. 11, № 1. P. 1747–1755.

<sup>119</sup> Mandić D. What is the force of forced migration? Diagnosis and critique of a conceptual relativization // *Theory Soc*. 2022. Vol. 51, № 1. P. 61–90

Violence, Stephen Castles<sup>120</sup> and Kerstin Fisk<sup>121</sup>, particularly in authoritarian states, isolated conditions where forced migration leads to various forms of political violence. This reinforces the argument that Russian migration policies can cross borders to become tools of military mobilization.

The dominant reporting on Crime and Punishment in Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan shows that Russia's migration policy is framed through a criminal narrative. The Issue for Critical Criminology states that the state often uses law and criminalization as instruments against vulnerable populations, including migrants<sup>122</sup>. Deportation policies and criminal provisions are classic examples of the criminalization of migration, which are widely discussed in international migration studies<sup>123,124,125</sup>.

The topic of External Regulator in the media of Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan aligns with the literature on Migration Governance, which emphasizes the importance of transnational actors in managing human mobilization<sup>126</sup>. This is seen as migration being used as a tool of diplomacy in soft power<sup>127</sup>. The framing of news that highlights cooperation with Russia can be interpreted as an effort to build a positive image in the eyes of foreign partners while distancing itself from the conflict narrative.

The scarcity of the theme of Morality and Ethnic in various Central Asian countries, even not found in the media of Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan. The ethical issues regarding immigrants or their economic contributions show that this aspect rarely receives attention in public discourse. This reflects the weakness of the normative dimension in the news<sup>128</sup>. According to

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<sup>120</sup> Castles S. Towards a Sociology of Forced Migration and Social Transformation // Sociology. 2003. Vol. 37, № 1. P. 13–34

<sup>121</sup> Fisk K. Forced Migration and Political Violence // Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics. Oxford University Press, 2020

<sup>122</sup> Tosh S., Grimsley E., Rodrigo N. Introduction: The Criminalization-to-Deportation Pipeline in the United States—A Special Issue for Critical Criminology // Crit Criminol. 2024. Vol. 32, № 2. P. 209–215

<sup>123</sup> De Genova N. Spectacles of migrant “illegality”: the scene of exclusion, the. The, 2013.

<sup>124</sup> De Genova N. The “migrant crisis” as racial crisis: do *Black Lives Matter* in Europe? // Ethn Racial Stud. 2018. Vol. 41, № 10. P. 1765–1782

<sup>125</sup> De Genova N.P. Migrant “illegality” and deportability in everyday life // Annu Rev Anthropol. Annual Reviews 4139 El Camino Way, PO Box 10139, Palo Alto, CA 94303-0139, USA, 2002. Vol. 31, № 1. P. 419–447

<sup>126</sup> Geddes A. Migration Governance. 2022. P. 311–323

<sup>127</sup> Nye J.S. Soft Power: The Means To Success In World Politics. Public Affairs, 2004

<sup>128</sup> Facchini G. Media Exposure, Attitudes Towards Migration and the Political Economy of Immigration // Handbook of Labor, Human Resources and Population Economics. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2021. P. 1–20



Tankard<sup>129</sup> and Van Gorp<sup>130</sup>, the absence of ethical representation creates the impression that the issue is irrelevant or less important in the migration discourse.

After identifying and interpreting the dominant themes in each country, the next step is to interpret the results of the bigram analysis to delve deeper into the discursive meaning of several frameworks. Bigram shows how narratives are formed from pairs of recurring keywords in the news<sup>131</sup>.

The narrative in Political Implication shows that political issues in Central Asian media news primarily focus on administrative migration policies. This aligns with the theoretical framework of The Foucault Effect Studies in Governmentality, which examines how the state shapes control over the population through legal documents, biometric identities, and control of foreign resident registration<sup>132</sup>. Discursive within the framework of Crime and Punishment, which shows how the media associates migration with criminality. Van Dijk<sup>133</sup> finding Discourse and Migration show that media framing of migration often emphasizes security threats and legal violations. Thus, it will cause groups to continuously be labelled as deviant by media institutions, leading to stigmatization and social exclusion<sup>134</sup>.

Let us look at the Sankey Gram analysis image. There is a relationship between "Crime and Punishment" and "Political Implication," highlighting that most narratives tend to frame migrants as criminal actors and political threats. The case aligns with Didier Bigo<sup>135</sup> research on Security and Immigration, where migrants are positioned as objects of surveillance and control through policy.

The Public Sentiment Framework in the fourth image shows that the media reproduces racial and ethnic stereotypes such as "labor fear increases xenophobia" and "anti-migrant sentiments society," which shape public opinion based on fear and prejudice heavily influenced by the way the media frames the news<sup>136</sup>. Meanwhile, the cultural identity framework indicates acculturative pressure, showing that migrants are not only viewed through an economic lens

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<sup>129</sup> Tankard J. *The Empirical Approach to the Study of Media Framing* / ed. Reese S.D., Gandy Jr., Grant A.E. Routledge, 2001

<sup>130</sup> Van Gorp B. The Constructionist Approach to Framing: Bringing Culture Back In // *Journal of Communication*. 2007. Vol. 57, № 1. P. 60–78

<sup>131</sup> Tan C.-M., Wang Y.-F., Lee C.-D. The use of bigrams to enhance text categorization // *Inf Process Manag*. 2002. Vol. 38, № 4. P. 529–546

<sup>132</sup> Burchell G., Gordon C., Miller P. *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*. University of Chicago Press, 1991

<sup>133</sup> van Dijk T.A. *Discourse and Migration*. 2018. P. 227–245

<sup>134</sup> Conyers A., Calhoun T.C. *Labeling Theory* // *The Wiley Blackwell Encyclopedia of Race, Ethnicity, and Nationalism*. Wiley, 2015. P. 1–4

<sup>135</sup> Bigo D. *Security and Immigration: Toward a Critique of the Governmentality of Unease* // *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political*. 2002. Vol. 27, № 1\_suppl. P. 63–92

<sup>136</sup> van Dijk T.A. *Racism and the Press*. Routledge, 2015.

but also through cultural and linguistic perspectives, which often become sources of social exclusivity<sup>137,138</sup>.

The Safety Framework in Bigram's analysis is expanded as a national security threat, not a social or humanitarian issue. Ian Connor<sup>139</sup>, in his book "Refugees and Expellees in Post-War Germany," states that national security is often used as an excuse for deportation or crackdowns on migrants, especially in crises or post-terrorism conditions. Then, in the framework of Justice & Equality, it can be interpreted through the lens of cosmopolitan justice and post national citizenship, which highlight the importance of recognizing universal rights for migrants, amidst the tension between state policies and human rights principles<sup>140,141</sup>.

The scatter plot between subjectivity and polarity, calculated quantitatively, shows that most news from Central Asian media regarding Russian migration policy has low subjectivity (<0.5), indicating a reporting style that tends to be informative with a lack of emotional framing—characterized by a uniform distribution of polarity, centered around a neutral to slightly negative point. This indicates that the news does not overly emphasize a positive tone but does not overly criticize. Although it appears neutral in terms of polarity and subjectivity, according to Van Gorp and Daniel Hallin<sup>142</sup> framing can still occur through the selection of sources by the government because the media is under state influence. Although sentimentally neutral and not subjective, media bias can be recognized not from the emotional news but from quoted sources, the issues highlighted, and the narratives ignored.

From the above interpretation, it can be concluded that Central Asian media play an important role in the institutional discourse of the Russian state on migration. They not only narrate but also shape the meaning of migration as a problem or threat according to the state's interests and where the region's international relations are.

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<sup>137</sup> Hall S. *Essential Essays, Volume 2 Identity and Diaspora* / ed. Morley D. Duke University Press, 2018

<sup>138</sup> Berry J.W. Immigration, Acculturation, and Adaptation // *Applied Psychology*. 1997. Vol. 46, № 1. P. 5–34

<sup>139</sup> Connor I. *Refugees and expellees in post-war Germany*. Manchester University Press, 2017

<sup>140</sup> Benhabib S. Twilight of Sovereignty or the Emergence of Cosmopolitan Norms? Rethinking Citizenship in Volatile Times // *Citizensh Stud*. 2007. Vol. 11, № 1. P. 19–36

<sup>141</sup> Soysal Y.N. *Limits of Citizenship: Migrants and Postnational Membership in Europe*. University of Chicago

<sup>142</sup> Hallin D.C., Mancini P. *Comparing Media Systems*. Cambridge University Press, 2004

## CONCLUSION

The issue of Central Asian migration to Russia is one of the complex geopolitical dynamics, covering security, economic, social, and cultural aspects. So the media plays an important role in framing the migration narrative and influencing public perception and policy. This study highlights how the media from five Central Asian countries construct narratives about Russian migration policy that focus on Migration Policy Theory consisting of eleven problems (External Regulator, Political Implication, Safety, Crime & Punishment, Justice and Equality, Capacity and Resources, Public Sentiment, Economy, Quality of Life, Cultural Identity, Morality, and Ethnic), in table 1.

This study employs a quantification method that transforms qualitative or unstructured data into quantitative information. The data collection technique was carried out using the web scraping technique to detect news titles and narratives, successfully collecting 411 news items about the discourse on the issue of Russian migration policy in various Central Asian media. 391 news items were effectively processed through the system, and 20 other data experienced errors. The analysis happened in four parts: first, using Latent Dirichlet Allocation (LDA); second, examining the text with the Bigram model; third, exploring the connections in the discussion; and finally, assessing the tone and feelings with VADER and a machine learning transformer model. We then conducted a descriptive analysis to interpret the analysis results. The analysis using Latent Dirichlet Allocation (LDA) revealed that key topics in Russian migration policy focus on political implications and external regulations, which are common in nearly all countries. For example, coverage from the Kazakhstan media tends to discuss cooperation and legal regulations related to the migration process.

Countries such as Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan consistently show high scores (>800 points) on political implication. The topics of crime, & Punishment and Safety appear strongly in Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan, indicating concern for migrant security, both as perpetrators and victims. This is in line with the framing in the Sankey Diagram, where public sentiment is connected to crime, punishment, and safety. Topics such as justice & equality and morality & ethics are inconsistent across countries; in Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan, media almost do not display morality as a dominant frame.

Bigram analysis shows phrases in the framework and found several patterns of dominance and framing direction. Bigram phrases such as "terrorist attack Crocus City" in the safety frame show that the narrative with the highest frequency is that there is a tendency for migrants to be perpetrators in the issue of terrorism. Bigrams such as "remittances migrants

greatly" and "contributes development human potential" highlight migrants as productive economic resources.

The dominance of words such as xenophobia, biometric, terrorist, and remittances is so strong that public discourse related to migration is more focused on control, security, and economic functions than on human rights values or humanism.

The results of the subjectivity and polarity analysis show the diversity of emotions and opinion positions in the Russian migration discourse. The main finding is that the distribution of polarity values is quite even from -1 to +1, which indicates that the media contains both negative and positive opinions in a balanced manner. The distribution of points is concentrated in the negative-subjective and positive-subjective quadrants, indicating the high involvement of opinion in the pro and con narratives towards migrants.

The distribution on the y-axis of subjectivity shows that all countries dominate news below 0.50, but with a level of subjectivity above 0.50 to 1.00, indicating that news about migration is often negative but framed with certain opinions, emotions, and interpretations by the media. An example of the results of the tendency per country: Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan have a distribution that is more inclined to the side of 0.0 to 1.0 (positive polarity); on the contrary, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan have a fairly large distribution in the negative and subjective areas.

In addition to quantitative patterns, a qualitative reading of media narratives reveals significant differences in how each Central Asian country frames Russian migration policy. For example, Kazakhstan media tend to adopt a more neutral and institutional tone, emphasizing bilateral agreements, regulatory frameworks, and Kazakhstan–Russia cooperation. This reflects Kazakhstan's relatively stable diplomatic engagement with Russia and a more technocratic media landscape.

Meanwhile, Kyrgyz and Tajik media often include emotional and human dimensions in their reporting, particularly in stories about migrant worker safety and deportation cases. Narratives here tend to portray migrants as vulnerable citizens in need of state protection abroad.

In contrast, Uzbek media often use a lens that focuses on development, remittances, and the larger contributions of its migrants. However, in some cases, there are allusions to concerns about migrants being involved in discrimination and victims of war.

Turkmen media, while less open and limited in their coverage, often use official Russian narratives and rarely portray migrants in a critical or investigative light.

These narrative contrasts reflect differing media freedoms, political relations with Russia, and migration experiences. Although the analysis results are dominated by quantitative aspects, in the qualitative landscape, different framings emerge, adding layers of complexity to how Russian migration policy is socially constructed.

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## APPENDIX

### APPENDIX 1: Keywords and Occurrences in Picture 1

This table presents the 32 most frequent keywords identified in picture 1 using VOSviewer

Selected	Keyword	Occurrences
1	Migration	472
2	Immigration Policy	238
3	International Migration	147
4	Refugee	103
5	Immigration	115
6	Immigrant	67
7	Refugees	64
8	Political Discourse	58
9	Immigrant Population	55
10	Asylum Seeker	52
11	Human Rights	57
12	Forced Migration	53
13	Multiculturalism	51
14	Labor Migration	46
15	Population Migration	45
16	Racism	41
17	Migration Policy	48
18	Migration Experience	28
19	Borders	23
20	Migration Determinant	21
21	Refugee Crisis	24
22	Trafficking	20
23	Violence	16
24	Discrimination	13
25	Xenophobia	12
26	Illegal Immigrant	11
27	Migration Crisis	10
28	Mass Media	9
29	Migrants Remittance	7
30	Health Worker	6
31	Media Discourse	5
32	Islamophobia	4

## APPENDIX 2: R-Studio Code for keyword Visualization in Picture 1

```
library(ggplot2)
library(ggrepel)

ggplot(keywordsmigrationpolicy, aes(x = Selected, y =
Occurrences)) +
  geom_point(aes(color = ifelse(Keyword %in% c("Media
Discourse", "Mass Media"), "red", "black")),
    size = 0) +
  geom_text_repel(aes(label = Keyword, color =
ifelse(Keyword %in% c("Media Discourse", "Mass Media"), "red",
"black")),
    size = 3.5,
    max.overlaps = 30) +
  geom_smooth(method = "loess", se = FALSE, color = "blue")
+
  labs(title = "Keywords with Research in Discourse
Migration Policy",
    subtitle = "Source: Research Article's",
    x = "Keywords",
    y = "Occurrences") +
  ylim(min(keywordsmigrationpolicy$Occurrences) - 10,
    max(keywordsmigrationpolicy$Occurrences) + 10) +
  scale_color_identity() +
  theme_bw() +
  theme(plot.title = element_text(face = "bold"))
```

### APPENDIX 3: Python Code for collection news data (scraped & crawled)

The NewsAPI code provides access to breaking news from thousands of global media sources, this code allows you to retrieve news data in real time or historically, search by keywords and in multiple languages.

```
from newsapi import NewsApiClient

api_key = "0286e44581d845d7ab47770441366ace"
newsapi = NewsApiClient(api_key=api_key)

# Keyword for relevant topic
query = (
    '"Russia migration policy" AND '
    '("Central Asia" OR Kazakhstan OR Kyrgyzstan OR Tajikistan
OR Turkmenistan OR Uzbekistan)'
)

# collection data news
response = newsapi.get_everything(
    q=query,
    language='en',
    sort_by='relevancy',
    page_size=250
)

# showing data
if response['status'] == 'ok':
    articles = response['articles']
    for i, article in enumerate(articles):
        print(f"{i + 1}. Title: {article['title']}")
        print(f"    Description: {article['description']}")
        print(f"    Link: {article['url']}")
        print(f"    Source: {article['source']['name']}\n")
else:
    print("Error:", response.get('message'))
```

#### APPENDIX 4: Full list of news articles and metadata

A total of 411 news articles were successfully collected along with margin errors, then a web page read was performed to retrieve the description and news paragraphs. The results of the analysis were stored in a repository that can be accessed by the public.

The complete dataset is available at:

<https://github.com/Alammahadika/russianmigration/blob/main/allnews.xlsx>

A brief sample 5 entries each country in the appendix;

Country	Title	Description	Framework	Link
Tajikistan	Tajikistan and Russia Discuss Migration Interaction	Today, within the framework of the 18th meeting of the Tajik-Russian Intergovernmental Commission on Economic Cooperation, a large number of issues is being considered, including migration interaction. The issue of migration interaction is one of the constituent parts of joint cooperation between Tajikistan and Russia. This was stated by the Deputy Minister of Labor, Migration and Employment of the Population of Tajikistan Shahnoza Nodiri.	External Regulator	<a href="https://eng.khovar.tj/2022/11/tajikistan-and-russia-discuss-migration-interaction/">https://eng.khovar.tj/2022/11/tajikistan-and-russia-discuss-migration-interaction/</a>
Kyrgyzstan	Embassy warns: Russia tightens migration control	The diplomatic mission asks citizens of Kyrgyzstan to strictly observe the legislation of Russia and remember about the inevitability of punishment for the crimes committed. The Embassy urges compatriots not to use the services of intermediaries when obtaining official documents (passports, driver's licenses) and other permits to stay in Russia (including the so-called «registration»). It is also necessary to register at the actual place of residence within 30 days from the date of entry into the territory of Russia.	Safety	<a href="https://24.kg/english/238826_Embassy_warns_Russia_tightens_migration_control/">https://24.kg/english/238826_Embassy_warns_Russia_tightens_migration_control/</a>
Uzbekistan	Remittances to Uzbekistan increase, Russia's share decreases, says Central Bank	In the first quarter of 2024, the volume of remittances to Uzbekistan increased, as stated by the chairperson of the Central Bank (CBU) Mamarizo Nurmuratov during a press conference on April 25, according to Gazeta.uz correspondent.	Economy	<a href="https://www.gazeta.uz/en/2024/04/25/remittances/">https://www.gazeta.uz/en/2024/04/25/remittances/</a>
Turkmenistan	In a week, Russia made a decision to expel 10 citizens of Turkmenistan who violated the rules of stay	Seven citizens of Turkmenistan who were working illegally at a construction site have been detained in Russia's Smolensk region. They face a fine and deportation from Russia, the publication "Glavnaya Tema" reported on May 21.	Justice & Equality	<a href="https://www.hronikatm.com/2024/05/russia-deporting-migrants/">https://www.hronikatm.com/2024/05/russia-deporting-migrants/</a>
Kazakhstan	Russia introduces new entry rules: what will change for Kazakhstan	At the Mashtakovo border checkpoint in the Orenburg Region on the border with Kazakhstan, a new photo and fingerprint identification procedure for foreigners entering Russia will be launched as part of an experiment, according to Kommersant.	Capacity & Resource	<a href="https://en.tengrinews.kz/world_news/russia-introduces-new-entry-rules-what-will-change-for-264186/">https://en.tengrinews.kz/world_news/russia-introduces-new-entry-rules-what-will-change-for-264186/</a>



## APPENDIX 5: News Error

URL	Title	Description	First Paragraph
<a href="https://asiaplus.tj/info/en/news/tajikistan/economic/20230127/russian-official-offers-granting-migration-amnesty-to-the-deported-migrant-builders">https://asiaplus.tj/info/en/news/tajikistan/economic/20230127/russian-official-offers-granting-migration-amnesty-to-the-deported-migrant-builders</a>	Error	<urlopen error [Errno 8] nodename nor servname provided, or not known>	Error
<a href="https://asiaplus.tj/info/en/news/tajikistan/society/20230210/russia-to-open-pre-migration-training-center">https://asiaplus.tj/info/en/news/tajikistan/society/20230210/russia-to-open-pre-migration-training-center</a>	Error	<urlopen error [Errno 8] nodename nor servname provided, or not known>	Error
<a href="https://asiaplus.tj/info/en/news/tajikistan/laworder/20230216/the-number-of-crimes-related-to-trafficking-in-persons-for-prostitution-increasing-in-tajikistan">https://asiaplus.tj/info/en/news/tajikistan/laworder/20230216/the-number-of-crimes-related-to-trafficking-in-persons-for-prostitution-increasing-in-tajikistan</a>	Error	<urlopen error [Errno 8] nodename nor servname provided, or not known>	Error
<a href="https://asiaplus.tj/info/en/news/tajikistan/society/20230222/inflow-of-labor-migrants-from-tajikistan-into-russia-reportedly-increasing">https://asiaplus.tj/info/en/news/tajikistan/society/20230222/inflow-of-labor-migrants-from-tajikistan-into-russia-reportedly-increasing</a>	Error	<urlopen error [Errno 8] nodename nor servname provided, or not known>	Error
<a href="https://asiaplus.tj/info/en/news/tajikistan/society/20230227/russia-to-introduce-the-controlled-stay-regime-for-migrants">https://asiaplus.tj/info/en/news/tajikistan/society/20230227/russia-to-introduce-the-controlled-stay-regime-for-migrants</a>	Error	<urlopen error [Errno 8] nodename nor servname provided, or not known>	Error
<a href="https://asiaplus.tj/info/en/news/tajikistan/society/20230307/russian-mps-support-the-proposal-to-grant-migration-amnesty-to-the-deported-labor-migrants">https://asiaplus.tj/info/en/news/tajikistan/society/20230307/russian-mps-support-the-proposal-to-grant-migration-amnesty-to-the-deported-labor-migrants</a>	Error	<urlopen error [Errno 8] nodename nor servname provided, or not known>	Error
<a href="https://asiaplus.tj/info/en/news/tajikistan/society/20230315/russia-plans-to-extend-the-work-patent-term-for-labor-migrants-up-to-three-years">https://asiaplus.tj/info/en/news/tajikistan/society/20230315/russia-plans-to-extend-the-work-patent-term-for-labor-migrants-up-to-three-years</a>	Error	<urlopen error [Errno 8] nodename nor servname provided, or not known>	Error
<a href="https://asiaplus.tj/info/en/news/tajikistan/society/20221007/rights-activists-insist-central-asian-laborers-being-conned-in-russia">https://asiaplus.tj/info/en/news/tajikistan/society/20221007/rights-activists-insist-central-asian-laborers-being-conned-in-russia</a>	Error	<urlopen error [Errno 8] nodename nor servname provided, or not known>	Error
<a href="https://asiaplus.tj/info/en/news/tajikistan/society/20221003/russia-tightens-immigration-control-migrants-were-given-a-deadline-to-leave-until-october-12">https://asiaplus.tj/info/en/news/tajikistan/society/20221003/russia-tightens-immigration-control-migrants-were-given-a-deadline-to-leave-until-october-12</a>	Error	<urlopen error [Errno 8] nodename nor servname provided, or not known>	Error
<a href="https://asiaplus.tj/info/en/news/tajikistan/society/20220830/putin-approved-the-idea-to-open-adaptation-centers-for-migrants">https://asiaplus.tj/info/en/news/tajikistan/society/20220830/putin-approved-the-idea-to-open-adaptation-centers-for-migrants</a>	Error	<urlopen error [Errno 8] nodename nor servname provided, or not known>	Error
<a href="https://asiaplus.tj/info/en/news/tajikistan/society/20220826/moscow-police-bust-group-involved-in-counterfeiting-migration-documents">https://asiaplus.tj/info/en/news/tajikistan/society/20220826/moscow-police-bust-group-involved-in-counterfeiting-migration-documents</a>	Error	<urlopen error [Errno 8] nodename nor servname provided, or not known>	Error
<a href="https://asiaplus.tj/info/en/news/centralasia/20240605/annual-number-of-uzbek-labor-migrants-seeking-work-in-russia-falls-to-about-1-million">https://asiaplus.tj/info/en/news/centralasia/20240605/annual-number-of-uzbek-labor-migrants-seeking-work-in-russia-falls-to-about-1-million</a>	Error	<urlopen error [Errno 8] nodename nor servname provided, or not known>	Error
<a href="https://asiaplus.tj/info/en/news/tajikistan/society/20240605/labor-migrants-families-may-be-required-to-take-out-health-insurance">https://asiaplus.tj/info/en/news/tajikistan/society/20240605/labor-migrants-families-may-be-required-to-take-out-health-insurance</a>	Error	<urlopen error [Errno 8] nodename nor servname provided, or not known>	Error
<a href="https://asiapl.us/info/en/news/tajikistan/society/20240530/about-22000-foreign-nationals-reportedly-deported-from-russia-over-the-first-three-months-this-year">https://asiapl.us/info/en/news/tajikistan/society/20240530/about-22000-foreign-nationals-reportedly-deported-from-russia-over-the-first-three-months-this-year</a>	Error	<urlopen error [Errno 8] nodename nor servname provided, or not known>	Error
<a href="https://asiapl.us/info/en/news/tajikistan/politics/20240527/russia-interior-minister-expected-to-arrive-in-dushanbe-tomorrow">https://asiapl.us/info/en/news/tajikistan/politics/20240527/russia-interior-minister-expected-to-arrive-in-dushanbe-tomorrow</a>	Error	<urlopen error [Errno 8] nodename nor servname provided, or not known>	Error
<a href="https://asiaplus.tj/info/en/news/world/20240522/russian-human-rights-official-calls-for-ban-on-wearing-niqabs-in-russia">https://asiaplus.tj/info/en/news/world/20240522/russian-human-rights-official-calls-for-ban-on-wearing-niqabs-in-russia</a>	Error	<urlopen error [Errno 8] nodename nor servname provided, or not known>	Error
<a href="https://asiaplus.tj/info/en/news/tajikistan/society/20240423/russian-nationalists-target-central-asians-in-siberia-following-the-deadly-terrorist-attack-in-krasnogorsk">https://asiaplus.tj/info/en/news/tajikistan/society/20240423/russian-nationalists-target-central-asians-in-siberia-following-the-deadly-terrorist-attack-in-krasnogorsk</a>	Error	<urlopen error [Errno 8] nodename nor servname provided, or not known>	Error
<a href="https://asiaplustj.info/en/news/tajikistan/society/20221118/moscow-multi-functional-migration-center-launches-website-for-employers-and-potential-labor-migrants">https://asiaplustj.info/en/news/tajikistan/society/20221118/moscow-multi-functional-migration-center-launches-website-for-employers-and-potential-labor-migrants</a>	Tajikistan News ASIA- Plus	No meta description found.	No paragraph found.
<a href="https://news.ivist.kz/news/view/id/174180716">https://news.ivist.kz/news/view/id/174180716</a>	Error	HTTP Error 404: Not Found	Error
<a href="https://en.tengrinews.kz/world_news/russia-introduces-new-entry-rules-what-will-change-for-264186/">https://en.tengrinews.kz/world_news/russia-introduces-new-entry-rules-what-will-change-for-264186/</a>	Error	IncompleteRead(0 bytes read)	Error

## APPENDIX 6: Python code for read web page, reading data pages to collect paragraphs for each news item

```
from urllib.request import urlopen, Request
from bs4 import BeautifulSoup
import pandas as pd

# list URL
urls = [
    "https://daryo.uz/en/2022/12/09/russia-lures-uzbek-migrant-workers-to-its-army-by-offering-fast-track-citizenship",
    "https://daryo.uz/en/2022/10/31/jan-sept-2022-over-300-000-russian-citizens-enter-uzbekistan"
]

# Header for avoid forbidden bot
headers = {'User-Agent': 'Mozilla/5.0 (Windows NT 10.0; Win64; x64) AppleWebKit/537.36 (KHTML, like Gecko) Chrome/111.0.0.0 Safari/537.36'}
# datalist for saved data
data = []
# Loop evry URL
for url in urls:
    try:
        # sent requests
        req = Request(url, headers=headers)
        response = urlopen(req)
        html = response.read()
        # Parsing HTML
        soup = BeautifulSoup(html, 'html.parser')
        # page title
        title = soup.title.string if soup.title else "No title found"
        # get description from meta
        meta_description = soup.find('meta', attrs={'name': 'description'})
        description = meta_description['content'] if meta_description else "No meta description found."
        # collcetion data first paragraph
        paragraph = soup.find('p')
        first_paragraph = paragraph.text if paragraph else "No paragraph found."
        # save result in dictionary
        data.append({
            'URL': url,
            'Title': title,
            'Description': description,
            'First Paragraph': first_paragraph
        })
    except Exception as e:
        print(f"Error processing {url}: {e}")
        data.append({
            'URL': url,
            'Title': "Error",
            'Description': str(e),
            'First Paragraph': "Error"
        })
    })
```

## **APPENDIX 7: Python code** Clarified news title and narratives into Issue Migration Policy framework in Table 2

```
import pandas as pd
df = pd.read_excel("/Users/mymac/Desktop/allnews.xlsx")

import re
from sklearn.feature_extraction.text import TfidfVectorizer

def clean_text(text):
    text = re.sub(r"[^a-zA-Z\s]", "", text) # Hanya ambil
    huruf dan spasi
    text = text.lower() # Ubah menjadi huruf kecil
    return text

df['Paragraph'] = df['Title'].apply(clean_text)

#view cleaned text
print(df[['Paragraph', 'Title']].head())

from sklearn.model_selection import train_test_split
from sklearn.feature_extraction.text import TfidfVectorizer

# TF-IDF
tfidf = TfidfVectorizer(max_features=5000,
stop_words="english")
X = tfidf.fit_transform(df['Paragraph']) # Fitur
y = df['Frameworks'] # Target (frame)

# Split data menjadi training dan testing
X_train, X_test, y_train, y_test = train_test_split(X, y,
test_size=0.2, random_state=42)

from sklearn.linear_model import LogisticRegression #
LogisticRegression
from sklearn.metrics import classification_report,
accuracy_score

# training model
model = LogisticRegression()
model.fit(X_train, y_train)

# predition and evaluation
y_pred = model.predict(X_test)
print("Accuracy:", accuracy_score(y_test, y_pred))
print(classification_report(y_test, y_pred))

# Data Frame Frequency;
frame_counts = df['Frameworks'].value_counts()
print(frame_counts)
```

**APPENDIX 8: Python code** for to see how accurate the text and frameworks are based on Classification report on over – sampling to identity in table 3.

```
from sklearn.linear_model import LogisticRegression
from sklearn.feature_extraction.text import TfidfVectorizer
from sklearn.metrics import classification_report,
accuracy_score
import pandas as pd

# 1. Load Data
df = pd.read_excel("/Users/mymac/Desktop/allnews.xlsx")

# 2. Data Preprocessing
df = df.dropna(subset=['Paragraph', 'Frameworks'])

# Remove classes with less than 2 samples
df = df[df['Frameworks'].map(df['Frameworks'].value_counts())
>= 2]

# 3. TF-IDF Vectorizer
tfidf = TfidfVectorizer(stop_words='english',
max_features=5000)
X = tfidf.fit_transform(df['Paragraph'])
y = df['Frameworks']

# 4. Train Model on All Data
model = LogisticRegression(max_iter=1000,
class_weight='balanced', random_state=42)
model.fit(X, y)

# 5. Predict on the Same Data
y_pred = model.predict(X)

# 6. Evaluate Model
print("Classification Report:")
print(classification_report(y, y_pred))
print(f"Accuracy Score: {accuracy_score(y, y_pred):.2f}")
```

## APPENDIX 9: R-Studio Code for analysis distribution theme each country in Picture 2.

```
# Load Library
library(ggplot2)
library(dplyr)

# Data Frame
data <- data.frame(
  individual = c("Political Implication", "External
Regulator", "Crime and Punishment",
                 "Public Sentiment", "Economy", "Justice and
Equality", "Safety",
                 "Quality Life", "Capacity and Resources",
"Culture Identity",
                 "Political Implication", "Crime and
Punishment", "Safety",
                 "Capacity and Resources", "Justice and
Equality", "External Regulator",
                 "Public Sentiment", "Culture Identity",
"Economy", "Quality Life",
                 "Safety", "Political Implication", "Crime
and Punishment",
                 "Public Sentiment", "Capacity and
Resources", "Justice and Equality",
                 "External Regulator", "Economy", "Quality
Life", "Culture Identity",
                 "Morality and Ethic", "External Regulator",
"Justice and Equality",
                 "Political Implication", "Economy",
"Safety", "Quality Life",
                 "Capacity and Resources", "Morality and
Ethic", "Culture Identity",
                 "Crime and Punishment", "Public Sentiment",
"External Regulator",
                 "Economy", "Justice and Equality",
"Safety", "Capacity and Resources",
                 "Crime and Punishment", "Quality Life",
"Morality and Ethic",
                 "Public Sentiment", "Culture Identity"),
  value = c(22, 14, 10, 9, 8, 4, 4, 4, 3, 3,
            15, 15, 15, 15, 11, 8, 7, 6, 5, 4,
            17, 15, 13, 10, 9, 9, 8, 7, 5, 4,
            1, 18, 8, 7, 6, 6, 5, 4, 4, 3,
            3, 2, 11, 6, 6, 5, 5, 4, 3, 2, 2, 1),
  group = c(rep("Tajikistan", 10), rep("Kyrgyzstan", 10),
            rep("Uzbekistan", 11),
            rep("Turkmenistan", 11), rep("Kazakhstan", 10))
)
```

```

# Add empty bars
empty_bar <- 3
to_add <- data.frame(matrix(NA, empty_bar *
nlevels(as.factor(data$group)), ncol(data)))
colnames(to_add) <- colnames(data)
to_add$group <- rep(levels(as.factor(data$group)), each =
empty_bar)
data <- rbind(data, to_add)
data <- data %>% arrange(group)
data$id <- seq(1, nrow(data))

# Label data preparation
label_data <- data
number_of_bar <- nrow(label_data)
angle <- 90 - 360 * (label_data$id - 0.5) / number_of_bar
label_data$hjust <- ifelse(angle < -90, 1, 0)
label_data$angle <- ifelse(angle < -90, angle + 180, angle)

# Base data for grouping
base_data <- data %>%
  group_by(group) %>%
  summarize(start = min(id), end = max(id) - empty_bar) %>%
  rowwise() %>%
  mutate(title = mean(c(start, end)))

# Grid data for scale lines
grid_data <- base_data
grid_data$end <- grid_data$end[c(nrow(grid_data),
1:nrow(grid_data) - 1)] + 1
grid_data$start <- grid_data$start - 1
grid_data <- grid_data[-1, ]

p <- ggplot(data, aes(x = as.factor(id), y = value, fill =
group)) +
  geom_bar(stat = "identity", alpha = 0.5, fill = "black") +

  # Grid lines
  geom_segment(data = grid_data, aes(x = end, y = 100, xend
= start, yend = 100),
              colour = "black", size = 0.3, inherit.aes =
FALSE) +
  geom_segment(data = grid_data, aes(x = end, y = 80, xend =
start, yend = 80),
              colour = "black", size = 0.3, inherit.aes =
FALSE) +
  geom_segment(data = grid_data, aes(x = end, y = 60, xend =
start, yend = 60),
              colour = "black", size = 0.3, inherit.aes =
FALSE) +

```

```

    geom_segment(data = grid_data, aes(x = end, y = 40, xend =
start, yend = 40),
                colour = "black", size = 0.3, inherit.aes =
FALSE) +
    geom_segment(data = grid_data, aes(x = end, y = 20, xend =
start, yend = 20),
                colour = "black", size = 0.3, inherit.aes =
FALSE) +

    # Circular bar plot
    ylim(-100, 120) +
    theme_minimal() +
    theme(
      legend.position = "none",
      axis.text = element_blank(),
      axis.title = element_blank(),
      panel.grid = element_blank(),
      plot.margin = unit(rep(-1, 4), "cm")
    ) +
    coord_polar() +

    # Labels for individual bars
    # point label behind in text
    # add point upper bar
    # label point behind in text label
    geom_text(data = label_data,
              aes(x = id, y = value + 10, label =
paste0(individual, " (", value, ")"), hjust = hjust),
              color = "black", fontface = "bold", alpha = 0.8,
size = 3,
              angle = label_data$angle, inherit.aes = FALSE) +

    # Base lines and group titles
    geom_segment(data = base_data,
                aes(x = start, y = -10, xend = end, yend = -
10),
                colour = "black", size = 0.6, inherit.aes =
FALSE) +
    geom_text(data = base_data,
              aes(x = title, y = -40, label = group), #for y
hjust = 0.5, # Center alignment
vjust = 0.5, # center vertical
colour = "black",
size = 3, fontface = "bold", inherit.aes =
FALSE)

    # Display the plot
P

```

**APPENDIX 10:** Python Code for analysis Latent of Dirichlet Allocation in picture 3 with approach `n_components`. In analysis processed each framework country.

```
import pandas as pd
df = pd.read_excel("/Users/mymac/Desktop/allnews.xlsx")

from sklearn.feature_extraction.text import CountVectorizer
from sklearn.decomposition import LatentDirichletAllocation

# processing text and clening text
def preprocess_text(text):
    text = text.lower() # change small words
    text = re.sub(r'^a-z\s', '', text) # delete number
    return text
df['Paragraph'] = df['Paragraph'].fillna('')
Paragraph = df['Paragraph']

import re
# implementation to columns 'paragraph'
Paragraph = Paragraph.apply(preprocess_text)

# Vectorize teks
vectorizer = CountVectorizer(stop_words='english') # delete
stop words
X = vectorizer.fit_transform(Paragraph) # result bag-of-words

# LDA
lda = LatentDirichletAllocation(n_components=18,
random_state=42) # choose topic
lda.fit(X)

n_top_words = 10 # show dominant topic
feature_names = vectorizer.get_feature_names_out() # words

for topic_idx, topic in enumerate(lda.components_):
    print(f"Topik {topic_idx + 1}:")
    top_words = [feature_names[i] for i in topic.argsort()[::-
n_top_words - 1:-1]]
    print(" ".join(top_words))

# Distribution each topic
theta = lda.transform(X) # n_documents x n_topics
print(pd.DataFrame(theta, columns=[f"Topic {i+1}" for i in
range(lda.n_components)]))

dominant_topics = theta.argmax(axis=1) # Topic indexs with
highest probability
df['Dominant_Topic'] = dominant_topics + 1
print(df[['Paragraph', 'Dominant_Topic']])
```



## APPENDIX 11: result score dominant topic

Framework	Score Dominant	Country	Framework	Score Dominant	Country
Capacity and Resources	456	Uzbekistan	Capacity and Resources	39	Tajikistan
Crime and Punishment	572	Uzbekistan	Crime and Punishment	496	Tajikistan
Culture Identity	285	Uzbekistan	Culture Identity	144	Tajikistan
Economy	337	Uzbekistan	Economy	280	Tajikistan
External and Regulator	377	Uzbekistan	External and Regulator	526	Tajikistan
Justice and Equality	438	Uzbekistan	Justice and Equality	247	Tajikistan
Morality and Ethic	76	Uzbekistan	Morality and Ethic	0	Tajikistan
Political Implication	864	Uzbekistan	Political Implication	897	Tajikistan
Public Sentiment	487	Uzbekistan	Public Sentiment	427	Tajikistan
Quality Life	330	Uzbekistan	Quality Life	113	Tajikistan
Safety	776	Uzbekistan	Safety	140	Tajikistan

<b>Framework</b>	<b>Score Dominant</b>	<b>Country</b>	<b>Framework</b>	<b>Score Dominant</b>	<b>Country</b>
Capacity and Resources	145	Turkmenistan	Capacity and Resources	974	Kyrgyzstan
Crime and Punishment	123	Turkmenistan	Crime and Punishment	945	Kyrgyzstan
Culture Identity	27	Turkmenistan	Culture Identity	268	Kyrgyzstan
Economy	149	Turkmenistan	Economy	169	Kyrgyzstan
External and Regulator	420	Turkmenistan	External and Regulator	438	Kyrgyzstan
Justice and Equality	359	Turkmenistan	Justice and Equality	746	Kyrgyzstan
Morality and Ethic	247	Turkmenistan	Morality and Ethic	0	Kyrgyzstan
Political Implication	177	Turkmenistan	Political Implication	877	Kyrgyzstan
Public Sentiment	56	Turkmenistan	Public Sentiment	390	Kyrgyzstan
Quality Life	251	Turkmenistan	Quality Life	153	Kyrgyzstan
Safety	213	Turkmenistan	Safety	711	Kyrgyzstan

<b>Framework</b>	<b>Score Dominant</b>	<b>Country</b>
Capacity and Resources	144	Kazakhstan
Crime and Punishment	75	Kazakhstan
Culture Identity	13	Kazakhstan
Economy	119	Kazakhstan
External and Regulator	367	Kazakhstan
Justice and Equality	139	Kazakhstan
Morality and Ethic	33	Kazakhstan
Political Implication	0	Kazakhstan
Public Sentiment	36	Kazakhstan
Quality Life	76	Kazakhstan
Safety	60	Kazakhstan

## APPENDIX 12: R-Studio Code for Visualization Heatmap Analysis in Picture 3.

```
library(ggplot2)

ggplot(heatmap, aes(x = Country, y = Framework, fill =
`Score Dominant`))+
  geom_tile(colour = "black", linewidth=1.5)+
  scale_fill_gradient(low = "white", high = "black") +
  geom_text(aes(label = round(`Score Dominant`, 2)), color =
'brown4', size = 3) +
  theme_bw() +
  labs(title = "Russian Migration Policy Topics Dominant in
the News of Every Central Asian Country",
        subtitle = "By: Latent Dirichlet Allocation (LDA)") +
  theme(plot.title = element_text(face = "bold")) +
  theme(plot.title = element_text(face = "bold", size = 12),
        plot.subtitle = element_text(size = 11),
        plot.caption = element_text(size = 10, hjust = 0)) +
  theme(plot.margin = margin(t = 10, r = 10, b = 10, l =
10))
```

## APPENDIX 13: Python Code for Bigram Text Analysis in table 4.

```
import pandas as pd
from sklearn.feature_extraction.text import CountVectorizer
from nltk.corpus import stopwords
import nltk

# stopwords from NLTK (just run once time)
nltk.download('stopwords')

# Dataframe
data =
pd.read_excel("/Users/mymac/Downloads/alldominant.xlsx")
df = pd.DataFrame(data)

# Preprocessing: Lowercase and remove punctuation
df['Paragraph_cleaned'] =
df['Paragraph'].str.lower().str.replace(r'[^\\w\\s]', '',
regex=True)

# Define stopwords
stop_words = stopwords.words('english') # use stopwords dari
NLTK

# Function to extract bigrams
def extract_bigrams(text):
    vectorizer = CountVectorizer(ngram_range=(4, 4),
stop_words='english') # 'english' for as stopwords
    bigrams = vectorizer.fit_transform([text])
    bigram_freq = zip(vectorizer.get_feature_names_out(),
bigrams.toarray()[0])
    return sorted(bigram_freq, key=lambda x: x[1],
reverse=True)

# Apply bigram extraction per Framework
results = {}
for framework in df['Framework'].unique():
    combined_text = " ".join(df[df['Framework'] ==
framework]['Paragraph_cleaned'])
    results[framework] = extract_bigrams(combined_text)

# Display results
for framework, bigrams in results.items():
    print(f"Top bigrams for Framework: {framework}")
    for bigram, freq in bigrams[:5]: #Top 5 bigrams each
framework
        print(f"{bigram}: {freq}")
    print()
```

Top bigrams for Framework: "Public Sentiment"

2008 indicator tripled reports: 2  
47 survey participants russian: 2  
center vtsiom consider labor: 2  
consider labor migration positive: 2  
does need migrants response: 2

Top bigrams for Framework: "Justice and Equality"

banned entering country years: 2  
ministry internal affairs russia: 2  
ministry labor migration employment: 2  
10 50 depending knowledge: 1  
10 turkmen citizens longer: 1

Top bigrams for Framework: "Quality Life"

120000 tajik citizens suspected: 2  
ago russian authorities published: 2  
asiaplust received dozens complaints: 2  
assist population asiaplust received: 2  
authorities published list controlled: 2

Top bigrams for Framework: "Political Implication"

russian president vladimir putin: 5  
foreign citizens stateless persons: 3  
internal affairs russian federation: 3  
ministry internal affairs russia: 3  
temporary residence permit trp: 3

Top bigrams for Framework: "Crime and Punishment"

russian ministry internal affairs: 4  
foreign citizens stateless persons: 3  
black list russian federation: 2  
duma russia's lower chamber: 2  
federal security service fsb: 2

Top bigrams for Framework: "Culture Identity"

16 telegram channel published: 1  
20 focusing extremism risks: 1  
70 population supports stricter: 1  
70minute lecture details reviewed: 1  
according survey conducted allrussian: 1

Top bigrams for Framework: "Safety"

crocus city hall march: 4

22 thousands people came: 3

began shooting people pointblank: 3

building began shooting people: 3

came concert music band: 3

Top bigrams for Framework: "Culture Identity"

minister education russian federation: 2

1000 educational methodological books: 1

1011 appeared portal tests: 1

15 million rubles searches: 1

17 million rubles cash: 1

Top bigrams for Framework: "Economy"

02 mln transferred russia: 1

095 mln outgoing transfers: 1

100 turkmen specialists improved: 1

104 thousand began grow: 1

12 years break period: 1

Top bigrams for Framework: "Capacity and Resources"

applicants opportunity receive higher: 3

bilateral relations russia turkmenistan: 3

charge initiative contributes development: 3

competitive selection register official: 3

contributes development human potential: 3

Top bigrams for Framework: "Morality and Ethic"

20 organizer faces years: 1

2022 regular air traffic: 1

25 passengers dual turkmenrussian: 1

500 thousand tenge newtimeskz: 1

54yearold driver ended dock: 1

Top bigrams for Framework: "External Regulator"

republic kazakhstan russian federation: 4

bilateral cooperation exchanged views: 3

considered prospects deepening bilateral: 3

entire range bilateral cooperation: 3

host regional forum labor: 3

#### APPENDIX 14: R-Studio Code for visual Relation Narrative Framework picture 4.

```
# Data frame between framework
sankey_data <- data.frame(
  source = c("Safety", "Safety", "Public Sentiment", "Public
Sentiment",
            "Justice Equality", "Quality Life", "External
Regulator",
            "External Regulator", "Capacity & Resource"),
  target = c("Political Implication", "Crime & Punishment",
            "Safety", "Crime & Punishment",
            "Political Implication", "Economy",
            "Political Implication", "Crime & Punishment",
            "External Regulator"),
  value = c(1, 1, 1, 1, 1, 1, 1, 1, 1) # all set 1 point
)

# Load library
library(networkD3)

# create draft unique nodes
nodes <- data.frame(name = unique(c(sankey_data$source,
sankey_data$target)))

# Added numeric ID to source and target
sankey_data$source_id <- match(sankey_data$source,
nodes$name) - 1 # ID dimulai dari 0
sankey_data$target_id <- match(sankey_data$target,
nodes$name) - 1

# creatw Sankey Diagram
sankey <- sankeyNetwork(
  Links = sankey_data,
  Nodes = nodes,
  Source = "source_id",
  Target = "target_id",
  Value = "value",
  NodeID = "name",
  fontSize = 14,
  nodeWidth = 20
)

# show diagram
sankey

# save Sankey diagram in file HTML
library(htmlwidgets)
```



## APPENDIX 15: Python Code for analysis Polarity & Subjectivity, Sentiment Vader

```
import pandas as pd
from textblob import TextBlob
from vaderSentiment.vaderSentiment import
SentimentIntensityAnalyzer

analyzer = SentimentIntensityAnalyzer()

def analyze_sentiment_custom(text):
    scores = analyzer.polarity_scores(text)
    polarity = scores['pos'] - scores['neg']
    subjectivity = (scores['pos'] + scores['neg']) /
(scores['pos'] + scores['neg'] + scores['neu'])
    return polarity, subjectivity

df[['polarity', 'subjectivity']] = df['Paragraph'].apply(
    lambda x: pd.Series(analyze_sentiment_custom(x))
)

average_polarity = df['polarity'].mean()
average_subjectivity = df['subjectivity'].mean()

print("Dataframe Polarity & Subjectivity:")
print(df)

print("\na Polarity & Subjectivity:")
print(f"Polarity: {average_polarity:.2f}, Subjectivity:
{average_subjectivity:.2f}")

# VADER
analyzer = SentimentIntensityAnalyzer()

# polarity with VADER
def calculate_polarity_vader(text):
    scores = analyzer.polarity_scores(text)
    return scores['pos'] - scores['neg'] # just - +

# calculate sub with textblob
def calculate_subjectivity_textblob(text):
    blob = TextBlob(text)
    return blob.sentiment.subjectivity

# implementation for polarity dan subjectivity
df['polarity'] =
df['Paragraph'].apply(calculate_polarity_vader)
df['subjectivity'] =
df['Paragraph'].apply(calculate_subjectivity_textblob)

# a polarity dan subjectivity for all dataset
average_polarity = df['polarity'].mean()
```

```

average_subjectivity = df['subjectivity'].mean()

print("Dataframe with Polarity and Subjectivity:")
print(df)

# distribution point sentiment compound
print(df['sentimen_vader_transformers'].value_counts().sort_index())

# point VADER compound
print("\nRata-rata compound VADER:")
print(df['sentimen_vader_transformers'].mean())

# distribution label (NEGATIVE / POSITIVE / NEUTRAL)
print("\nDistribusi label sentimen (columns 'text'):")
print(data['text'].value_counts())
print("\nPercentage:")
print(data['text'].value_counts(normalize=True).round(2) *
391))

print("Dataframe with Polarity dan Subjectivity:")
Dataframe with Polarity dan Subjectivity:
>>> print(df)

```

	URL	...	subjectivity
0	https://eng.khovar.tj/2022/11/tajikistan-and-r...	...	0.074000
1	https://eng.khovar.tj/2021/04/dushanbe-hosts-t...	...	0.124000
2	https://eng.khovar.tj/2021/02/tajikistan-and-r...	...	0.060000
3	https://eng.khovar.tj/2020/12/tajikistan-and-r...	...	0.133000
4	https://eng.khovar.tj/2024/06/foreign-minister...	...	0.033000
..	...	...	...
386	https://news.ivist.kz/news/view/id/134438865	...	0.080000
387	https://news.ivist.kz/news/view/id/143587307	...	0.114114
388	https://news.ivist.kz/news/view/id/168104754	...	0.057000
389	https://news.ivist.kz/news/view/id/27390864	...	0.251000
390	https://en.tengrinews.kz/world_news/russia-int...	...	0.041000

```

print(f"Polarity: {df['polarity'].mean():.2f}, Subjectivity:
{df['subjectivity'].mean():.2f}")

```

**Polarity: -0.00, Subjectivity: 0.27**

```

# distribution point sentiment compound
>>>
print(df['sentimen_vader_transformers'].value_counts().sort_index())
sentimen_vader_transformers
-0.9986    1
-0.9981    1
-0.9943    1
-0.9923    1
-0.9909    1
..
0.9973     1

```

```

0.9980      1
0.9983      1
0.9990      1
0.9995      1
Name: count, Length: 259, dtype: int64

point VADER compound
print("\n compound VADER:")

    compound VADER:
print(df['sentimen_vader_transformers'].mean())
-0.021782864450127802

distribution label (NEGATIVE / POSITIVE / NEUTRAL)
print("\n.distributing label sentiment (columns 'text'):")

Distributing label sentiment (columns 'text'):
print(data['text'].value_counts())
text
Positive      196
Negative      195
Name: count, dtype: int64
print("\nPercentage:")

Percentage:
print(data['text'].value_counts(normalize=True).round(2) *
391)
text
Positive      195.5
Negative      195.5
Name: proportion, dtype: float64

```

## APPENDIX 16: R-Studio Code for visual analysis polarity subjectivity in picture 5.

```
library(ggplot2)
ggplot(data_pol_sub, aes(x = polarity, y = subjectivity)) +
  geom_point(size = 1.5)+
  labs(title = "Subjectivity and Polarity",
        subtitle = "Central Asian Immigrant News in Russia") +
  theme_test()

library(ggplot2)
ggplot(data_pol_sub, aes(x = sentimen_vader_transformers, y
= subjectivity, color = Country)) +
  geom_point(size = 1.5)+
  scale_color_manual(values = c(
    "Kazakhstan" = "blue",    # dark blue
    "Kyrgyzstan" = "red",     # dark red
    "Tajikistan" = "green",   # dark green
    "Turkmenistan" = "yellow", # dark purple
    "Uzbekistan" = "black"    # dark brown
  )) +
  theme_bw() +
  labs(title = "Russian Migration Policy Discourse Central
Asia News",
        subtitle = "By Analysis Subjectivity & Polarity")+
  theme(plot.title = element_text(face = "bold")) +
  theme(plot.title = element_text(face = "bold", size = 12),
        plot.subtitle = element_text(size = 11),
        plot.caption = element_text(size = 10, hjust = 0)) +
  theme(plot.margin = margin(t = 10, r = 10, b = 10, l =
10)) +
  geom_vline(xintercept = 0, linetype = "dashed", color =
"grey") +
  geom_hline(yintercept = 0.5, linetype = "dashed", color =
"grey")
```

