CONTEMPORARY SOCIAL PROCESSES

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COMMUNICATIVE MECHANISMS FOR TRANSFORMING THE MASS INTO THE COLLECTIVE (IN TERMS OF INTERNALLY DISPLACED PERSONS)

The article deals with communication mechanisms for converting mass into a collective using the example of internally displaced persons. Communication mechanisms of internal integration of migrants considered by their self-organisation and external communication mechanisms of representing a collective. It is proposed to consider a collective of two types: 1) designed for internal migrants and 2) generated by them (although this is a conventional division). The collective appears on a personal level as self-help, and at the institutional level – as organisations connected to the support of the internal migrants' everyday life. The study revealed the orientation of internal migrants from the ATO area in Ukraine to play an active role in matters of mutual aid and self-organization in defending their collective legal rights.

Key words: communication, the mass, the collective, migration, internally displaced persons.

Introduction

Institutionally complex, multifaceted and diverse world of contemporary societies shows different communication mechanisms to solve problems that are widespread. Migration belongs to these problems and is caused by military operations in the country that forces its citizens to relocate to safer regions. This requires new approaches to identifying and defining the ways to prevent negative social consequences that migration leads in a crisis society.

S. Moiseev shows anxiety concerning the ambiguity of interpretation of the term "mass" in the social sciences and offers a "rehabilitation" of this term through the generalised definition of the mass. This researcher offers to consider the concept of "mass" as an "ideal type", which is not limited to specific empirical phenomena¹. We do not share the opinion of S. Mooiseev a coherent sociological conceptualisation of the term "mass" can be formed. In explaining the mechanism of conversion mass into collective, we rely on a combination of situational, process and system approaches, not the ideal types of mass. The demand for conceptualisation of the term "mass" is largely due to the formation of mass society, mass culture and mass communication².

In this article, we base on the fact that internal migration can be seen as a mass phenomenon, when it covers a large number of people and brings together their common characteristics. By the characteristics of internal migrants from the area ATO in Ukraine (2014-2016 years.) we classified as follows:

- 1. Massivity. Large numbers of people (both organized and unorganized) have left the ATO area alone or with the help of volunteers at the same time. They searched for a shelter in other regions of Ukraine and abroad³.
- 2. Being in a critical condition. The mass movement of Ukrainian citizens from the ATO area that are taking place during the 2014-2016 are generated by the crisis and set themselves domestic workers

¹ Моисеев, С. (2016). «Реабилитация» понятия «масса» в социальных науках: поиск обобщающего определения. Социология: методология, методы, математическое моделирование, 42, 61-83.

² Lang, K., Lang, G. (2009). Mass Society, Mass Culture, and Mass Communication: The Meaning of Mass. International Journal of Communication, 3, 998–1024.

³ Голубь, О., Безрукова, А., Тимофеева, Т., Попова А. (2015). Социально-психологическая ситуация беженцев из Украины: региональный аспект. Волгоград: Волгогр. гос. ун-т., 131.

in critical condition. We share the opinion of A. Yanitsky, who said: "The society or community is regarded as being in a critical condition if the risk production processes in it are systematically higher than the production of material and spiritual wealth". As a result of the critical situation of undeclared war in eastern Ukraine, there were hundreds of thousands of domestic workers. This "critical situation not only split the Ukrainian society, but many communities far beyond. This is a tough opposition "we – they." Thus, a desired process of the conflict de-escalation is postponed indefinitely. At the same time, the war in the information space does not stop for a moment". The victims of the mass opposition are internal migrants, a mixed social composition. While they are perceived as mass and are treated as mass by the environment, their participation in solving their problems remains problematic.

G. Bloomer has identified the following features of the mass: 1) different social status of the mass members who hold different positions (class, cultural, professional, material); 2) anonymous mass as a group consisting of anonymous individuals; 3) lack of established cooperation and exchange of experiences between the members of a mass group; 4) weak mass organisation and poor coordination and unity of the mass members' actions. G. Bloomer characterises the mass: "Mass doesn't have the features of society or community. It has no social organisation, no housing customs and traditions, no established set of rules or rituals, no organised group setting, no structure of the status roles and no established skill. It simply consists of a conglomerate of individuals who are separated, isolated, anonymous and thus homogeneous to the extent, which means the mass behaviour. You can see then that the behaviour of the masses, because it is not defined by any set rule or expectations, is spontaneous, original and simples." Note that such a mass, on the one hand, has limited capacity protection of its members in a legitimate field, on the other hand, it becomes a little predictable and therefore concerned that the social environment in which moving for the sake of safety (as in the case of mass movements of refugees, migrants from areas of armed conflict).

We assume that the solution of this situation is the transition of mass behaviour to collective behaviour using certain communicative mechanisms.

<u>The aim of the article</u> is to identify communication mechanisms of transforming the massive into the collective (for example IDPs).

For this we have defined and analysed the most significant characteristics of the "world view" (points of view) of a special group of internal migrants, which are internally displaced persons in a crisis situation that has arisen as a result of military operations in the east of Ukraine (2014-2016.). The quality indicators of the process of self-determination and self-organisation of the new society have been defined and two kinds of communication mechanisms by which migrants transform from a mass phenomenon into the collective have been justified. The first type includes internal communication mechanisms of integration, and the second – communicative mechanisms of external representation of the collective, design of the collective and promotion of the image of migrants. Internal integration of migrants is considered in this article as the process and the result of mass consciousness readiness for achieving the harmony between the migrant mass, establish mutual trust between them, cooperation in the conditions of the objectively existing social differentiation. Such integration facilitates communication based on self-help among migrants and family relationships.

The data about the extent of migration suggest updating the search for solutions to the problems of migrants. Thus, the annual report of UN "Global Trends" shows a sharp increase in the number of forced migrants: at the end of 2014, 59.5 million people were internally displaced persons (compared to 51.2 million a year earlier and 37.5 million ten years ago). Only in 2014, 13.9 million people were again displaced – four times more than in 2010. Worldwide, the end of 2014 recorded 19.5 million refugees (compared to 16.7 million in 2013), 38.2 million displaced within their own countries (compared to 33.3 million in 2013.), and another 1.8 million people awaiting decisions on asylum petitions (compared to 1.2 million in 2013)⁴. Materials, conclusions and recommendations presented in this article can serve as a scientific basis for the development of migration policy in relation to internally displaced persons in the conditions of an armed conflict.

¹ Яницкий, О. (2016). Критические состояния среды жизни и способы адаптации к ним. М. К. Горшков (отв. ред.). *Россия реформирующаяся: Ежегодник*. Москва: Новый хронограф, *14*, 50-78.

 $^{^2}$ Яницкий, О. (2015). Современные войны: взгляд социолога. Социологические исследования, 5, 156-164.

³ Blumer, H. (1951). Collective Behavior. *New Outline of the Principles of Sociology*. New York, 167-221. ⁴ *World at War. UNHCR. Global Trends Forced Displacement in 2014*. http://www.unhcr.org/556725e69. html> (2017, March, 13).

1. The Massive and Collective in the Optics of Communications Related to Migrants

Let us have a theoretical and methodological review of scientific approaches to the problem.

Military conflicts provoke massive migration. S. Kavtaradze, having studied the phenomenon of mass unconscious in armed conflict (for example, East Africa), offered a coherent historical-psychological concept of basic archetypal structures that determine the direction and modalities of human behaviour under uncertainty and risk oblivion¹. Without the inclusion of different types, forms of communication migrants' existing gets impossible, because they, especially their low resource representatives, feel the lack the basic necessities for survival.

Researchers note the controversial role of the media, acting as translators of the information about migrants. Thus, the British sociologist J. Banks, having studied visual representation of refugees and immigrants in the national newspapers of the UK, concluded that they transmitted images of refugees and immigrants organised into "visual scenarios" that construct them as potential criminals. In these scenarios a social portrait of an immigrant is created, which fused together "otherness" of an outsider / foreigner with the "otherness" of a deviant. J. Banks shows how the repetition of these specific visual scenarios in newspapers facilitates designing "noisy panic", generating public and political concern relating to migrants and asylum for them².

How should a cohesion of the migrants' mass be regarded – as a threat to the host country, or a factor that contributes to the dialogue between the immigrant community and the local population and its institutions? O. Simonova believes that the most correct and optimal way will be to characterise the latest research of social cohesion as an attempt to understand, describe and explain the experience or practice solidarity in different social and cultural contexts³. We share this approach, because in the different national public and socio-cultural environments both the transformation of migrants from the mass phenomenon into the collective one, and their cohesion have different chances for a positive solution of migration problems. Massive and collective in migration have their specificity around the world. For example, U. Yaao described the causes and the development of internal migration in China, analysed the sources of internal migrants in Chinese society, problems of social integration⁴.

In our study, a number of ideas for the analysis of problems of intercultural communication have worked at two levels – individual and collective. The doctrine of the four strategies of interaction between the host society and migrants (assimilation, segregation, marginalization and integration) was put forward by the Canadian Professor John Berry (Berry 1997)⁵. One of the areas of the problem study is to analyse the interaction of migrants and local communities, which are a collective agent of social interactions in a particular area. Thus, Daniel Pfeffer (Queen's University Ontario, Canada) considered the theoretical and methodological aspects of research integration of migrants with a focus on the most important task – improving the inclusion of "newcomers" to the host society⁶. R. Tanhalycheva has conducted a study of intercultural communication and acculturation in the case of temporary workers, the so-called "visitors", which include international tourists, students participating in academic exchanges, labour migrants (foreign workers and the staff of enterprises operating abroad). The researcher has used the idea of designing studies of acculturation in modern society by J. Berry, who proposed the design of the study, which used the following indicators that capture individual and collective (group), namely: purpose, duration and sustainability of the contacts, political, economic, demographic and cultural changes in groups, contact depth and human involvement in it, change in his daily behaviour. Z. Lepshokova based on an analysis

¹ Кавтарадзе, С. (2015). *Архетипы войны: насилие, бессознательное и борьба за базовые потребности*. Москва, 383.

² Симонова, О. (2014). Бэнкс Дж. Снимая маску с девиантности: визуальное конструирование образа беженцев и иммигрантов. Социальные и гуманитарные науки. Отечественная и зарубежная литература. Социология. Реферативный журнал, Серия 11, 2, 67-7.

³ Симонова, О. (2015). Современные дискурсы и исследования социальной сплоченности: Обзор основных тенденций. Покровский, Н.Е., Козлова, М.А. (общ. ред.). *Социально-культурные практики сплоченности в современных обществах*. Москва: Университетская книга, 23-42.

⁴ Яао, У. (2015). Социальная интеграция китайских внутренних мигрантов: условия жизни внутренних мигрантов (agricultural to nonagricultural) и мигрантов рабочих. *Вестник Московского университета*. *Социология и политология*. *Сер. 18*, *4*, 235-240.

⁵ Berry, W. (1997). Immigration, Acculturation, and Adaptation. Applied Psychology, 46 (1), 5–34.

⁶ Козлова, М., Пфеффер, Д. (2015). Интеграция групп. Социальные и гуманитарные науки. Отечественная и зарубежная литература. Социология. Реферативный журнал, Серия 11, 3, 66-73.

⁷ Тангалычева, Р. (2015). Межкультурная коммуникация и аккультурация (опыт зарубежных исследований). *Социс*, *7*, 89-98.

of Russian practices and using the methodology by J. Berry revealed major psychological problems of intercultural interaction of migrants, intercultural relationship strategies of migrants and the host society with their psychological well-being, with cultural strategies / expectations¹.

The communicative impact in terms of its content is largely determined by the characteristics of migration policy in a country. In this regard, it is necessary to give the idea that "the policy sets the framework and limits of social categorisation". Some achievements of researchers on scientific support of the integration programmes during implementation of the migration policy should be noted. In this case, the question of evaluating the success of integration at the individual and collective (group) levels is really vital. T. Vasilyeva said that such an evaluation "... is determined by the requirements and expectations of the migrant himself and the host society. Objective indicators of social integration of the migrant himself are generally recognized as knowledge of the language of the host country, access to information concerning employment, housing, and the right of foreigners to public services, the availability of social relationships, self-awareness in the host society "at home"³.

The analysis of the integration of migrants in Western European countries, USA and Canada committed by V. Malakhov, has showed that there are differences between attitudes to migrants and the nature of nation-building in North America, Australia and New Zealand (immigration) and Western Europe (national). These differences have a significant impact on the nature of public discourse, so in immigration countries, minorities may be "visible" in national – "invisible". However, internally displaced persons have the specifics as they migrate across the country of which they are hoping that this way they will perceive. There are many studies conducted by scientists to study the communicative mechanisms of adaptation to regional society by the migrants in the post-Soviet space⁵. E. Shlykov argues that achieving an acceptable level of risk is the main factor for successful adaptation for both migrants and the host population⁶.

We do not share the views of Vladimir Malakhov, who believes that all workers to some extent are socially integrated. He argues that the idea that "the phenomenon of a "non-integrated migrant" is not possible from a structural point of view. From the moment when a person falls into the territory of a country, he is to some extent integrated – in the economic chain, the circle of relatives and friends, "ethnic network" or fraternity, the system of social support from the government or non-governmental human rights organisations (in the case of refugees), etc⁷. Rafi Rechitskiy contribute to the study of migration as a mass phenomenon, and proposes to conduct studies that "... take into account the activities of refugees to build their own networks despite popular discourse that presents them as victims, unable to any action". At the same time, researchers stress the need to take account of the inclusion of migrants as a parameter to assess the quality of their social services.

The thesis does not lose the relevance that "the scale and structure of temporal displacement, both internal and international, have not been explored yet. However, their study is important for assessing the mobility of the population, its employment, social structure, lifestyle, income"¹⁰.

¹ Лепшокова, 3. (2012). Стратегии адаптации мигрантов и их психологическое благополучие (на примере Москвы и Северного Кавказа): монография. Москва: Грифон.

² Тишкова, В., Шнирельмана, В. (2007). *Национализм в мировой истории*. Москва: Наука.

³ Васильева, Т. (2014). Политика интеграции: западноевропейский опыт. Мукомель, В.И. (отв. ред.). *Мигранты, мигрантофобии и миграционная политика*. Москва: НП "Центральный Дом адвоката", Московское бюро по правам человека, "Academia", 227-242.

⁴ Малахов, В. (2015). *Интеграция мигрантов: концепции и практики*. Москва: Фонд "Либеральная Миссия".

⁵ Мухаметшина, Н., Кандауров, Н., Явкин, Н. (2015). *Стратегии освоения регионального социума мигрантами из постсоветских государств*. Самара: Издательство СамНЦ РАН.

⁶ Шлыкова, Е. (2011). Безопасность или приемлемый риск как цель адаптации (на примере мигрантов и принимающего населения). Мозговая, А.В. (отв. ред.). *Риск: исследования и социальная практика*. Москва: Институт социологии РАН, 59-72.

⁷ Малахов, В. (2015). *Интеграция мигрантов: концепции и практики*. Москва: Фонд "Либеральная Миссия".

⁸ Речицкий, Р. (2014). Сети доверия, безопасность и детерминанты миграционных решений: случай беженцев в Украине. *Журнал исследований социальной политики*, *12*(4), 599-614.

⁹ Ярская, В., Ярская-Смирнова, Е. (2015). Инклюзивная культура социальных сервисов. *Социологические исследования*, *12*, 133-140.

¹⁰ Моисеенко, В. (2004). Внутренняя миграция населения. Москва: Экономический факультет МГУ, ТЕИС.

2. Communicative Mechanisms of Internal Integration of Migrants

This article uses the results of the survey "Public awareness of market expansion of social and social medical services in the Kharkiv metropolis (Ukraine) in a crisis situation" conducted with the author's participation." The survey conducted by staff of V. N. Karazin Kharkiv National University: from 15 to 30 July 2015 253 immigrants were interviewed. *The criteria for selecting respondents*: a) legalisation of the status of immigrants in the form of official registration; b) applying for social assistance to government institutions and volunteers. *Socio-demographic profile of the respondents*: mostly women (70%), 54% are children under 16 years; 81% before their leaving the ATO area lived in cities; *by age* – 18-30 years – 23%, 31-55 years – 50%, 56 years and older – 27%; *by main occupation*: working – 22%, retired – 35%, housewives – 9% enrolled (students, etc.) – 3% unemployed job seekers – 17%, on maternity leave – 15%; *by the level of education*: 38% have higher and incomplete higher education, 44% – secondary special 14% – general, 5% – incomplete secondary; the duration of residence in Kharkiv as immigrants: 1 month – 5%, 1-6 months – 31%, 6-12 months – 48% more than a year – 16%.

We have identified and analysed the most significant characteristics of the "world view" (social representations) of this group of workers, quality indicators and processes of self-determination in the new society, namely the level of self-help and communicative relationship with the inhabitants of the ATO area.

In relation to migrants, it is appropriate, in our opinion, after G. Sillaste consider life and survival as a form of life in the mode of social time – the mode of the past, present and the mode of the future. G. Sillaste said: "Minimizing the social and economic costs achieved the ability to use social lessons of the past to optimize the life in the future". The past for internally displaced persons is connected to the rootedness in the place of residence. Territorial self-consciousness of IDPs is manifested in their desire to return to the previous place of residence under certain conditions, actively seeking information from the ATO area (official and unofficial, formal and informal channels). Respondents emphasised the completion of the three basic conditions for their return, "cessation of hostilities", "availability of housing", "availability of work, social benefits." Some respondents emphasised separately that the additional condition is keeping Luhansk and Donetsk regions within Ukraine. Almost two-thirds (61%) of respondents perceive their status as temporary; they would like to return to their previous place of residence.

Among the respondents, there is a widespread focus on self-help: about 44% of the respondents indicated that they had to contribute to some of the persons in solving everyday problems. Most of this assistance, as they claim, is advice, information about services, items dealing with immigrants. Some respondents provided assistance to immigrants in the form of food and clothing. Mutual help is more inherent to young people and the older age group, compared with persons of middle age (Cramer coefficient is 0.148, 5% significance level) (Table 1).

Table 1

Responses to the question "Have you had to contribute to any of the internal migrants solving everyday life problems?" Respondents by age group (in%, n = 253)

	By the database	By the age groups of respondents		
	in general	1. 18-30	2.31-55	3.56 and older
Yes	44	36	54	36
No	39	47	28	49
Difficult to say	17	17	17	15

The data we tend to explain with two points. First, some impact on the inclusion to self-help is explained by the peculiarities of the low resource group of IDPs, which includes only those needed assistance while moving. In addition, this is mainly young people and older people, while the representatives of middle age, with a significant resource of health, education, professional status, were more self-sufficient. In a crisis situation, they relied more on their own strength and focused more on independent solving their own problems than helping others. Secondly, we can assume that this is also due to the presence of young respondents (10% of respondents are on maternity leave) and older age group,

¹ Силласте, Г. (2016). Кризисы в модусах времени и его социальные уроки. Гуманитарий Юга России, 1, 45-59.

where the pensioners have enough free time for personal communication between both internally displaced persons, and those individuals and institutions that provide social services to internal migrants.

Synergetic strategy of human action on the selection of the best social self-organization, involves understanding which type of self-organizing chaos is in the environment¹. IDPs' self-organisation implies a motivation for internal integration (Table. 2).

Table 2

The Motives for the Internal Integration of Migrants from the ATO area in Ukraine and the Factors that Cause Them

Integration Motives	Factors		
The desire to be able to meet daily needs	The lack of means to survive		
The need for their own homes	The lack of housing which remained in the occupied territory or was destroyed as a result of hostilities		
The need to have a regular pension and social benefits	The lack of pensions, social benefits to residents of the occupied territories Ukraine		
The need for health and social services	Health worsening due to the being in a combat zone		
The need for legal assistance	The lack of documents lost in the occupied territories		
The need for psychological support	Psychological trauma as a result of being in the zone of military conflict		
The desire to provide accurate information on the status of the internal migrants	The lack of reliable information about the problem of internally displaced persons		
The need for information about the rights and responsibilities of the internally displaced persons and their compliance	Inadequate awareness of the internal migrants of their legal rights and their social protection system		

Interpersonal and intergroup communication to some extent contributes to the welfare and protection of collective rights of internally displaced persons. However, internal integration based on self-help is not enough to solve the problems of internal migrants and the host country. Communicative space of the interpersonal relationship that prevails in the early life of migrants in the new environment is limited (primarily resource). Therefore, the role of communicative mechanisms based on the external presentation of common needs, interests and the problems of internally displaced persons is very important.

3. Communicative Mechanisms of External Representation of the Collective, Construction and Promotion of the Image of the Collective (in Terms of Internal Migrants)

In the course of our research, we noted the transformation of mass into collective with the help of the following indicators:

- Awareness of IDPs the need of an organized representation of domestic workers' interests by creating their own NGO.
- Awareness of both IDPs and host side need to institutionalise social assistance to migrants through the establishment of rehabilitation centres and clubs.
- Emotional perception of "the world around" (how the inhabitants of the metropolis treat immigrants).
- The idea what to do, if internal migrants' life gets worse (focus on proactive position in defending their rights).
 - Internally displaced persons' orientation on an active life position in defending their legitimate rights.

Collective appears at the institutional level in the form of organisations connected to the support of everyday life of the forced internal migrants. In this article, it is offered to consider collective of two types: 1) created for them and 2) they created themselves. This is a conditional distribution. For example, volunteer organisations were created for them, but from the first days, the clients of the organisations have

 $^{^{1}}$ Добронравова, В., Финкель, Л. (2005). Динамический хаос в социуме как среда социальной самоорганизации. Социология: теория, методы, маркетинг, I, 168-180.

started participating providing assistance to the same citizens who are in trouble as a result of war. That's how the personal of volunteer organizations supplemented with a number of customers who wanted to help their compatriots. One respondent noted in an interview with:

"I cannot help thinking of the same refugees from the Eastern Ukraine as myself. I will better understand them and help them as a volunteer. I will not intrude on someone's feelings and ask, it's enough for me to look into the eyes of someone who sought the assistance of our volunteer organisation" (Marina, 32 years, higher education, came from the ATO area with her disabled mother).

Collective among internal migrants also updates the search and implementation of various forms of constructive cooperation in their own interests and the interests of the community as a whole.

The survey found public opinion of the IDPs on what they need from the host side (Fig. 1).

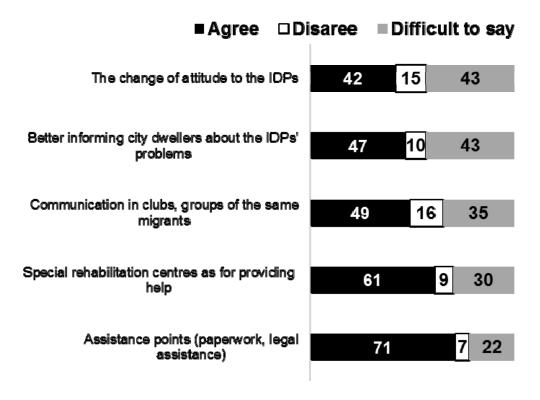


Fig. 1. Public opinion of the respondents about what internally displaced persons need to solve their problems (in%, n = 253)

The most important is an issue of counselling (71%), rehabilitation centres (61%) for different groups of domestic workers. Interviewees note a communication vacuum in which they were once forced to flee from the military process in eastern Ukraine. Therefore, there is no coincidence that almost half of the respondents (49%) is concerned about the deficit of communication between the same internal migrants like themselves. Improvements, according to the respondents, could contribute to clubs, groups, where they could share their experience to solve their life problems. Another urgent issue is to raise the awareness of the residents of the metropolis on the problems of internal migrants (47%). Informational abundance about the problem groups of migrants can contribute to changing the attitudes of the residents of the host country. About 42% of the respondents indicated a need to develop measures aimed at changing public attitudes to domestic workers, who were forced to leave their homes.

In case of worsening the living conditions of Kharkiv migrants, they prefer to legitimately solve their problems: 66% agreed with the statement "you should contact the authorities and use them to solve the problems of migrants." Almost a third of respondents (32%) believe that "it is better to hang in there and for all costs to maintain peace and harmony." At the same time 38% of the respondents are set to protest action – "we must actively protest against worsening the living conditions, but without the radical methods." Nearly 11% admit using radical methods to change the situation (Fig. 2).

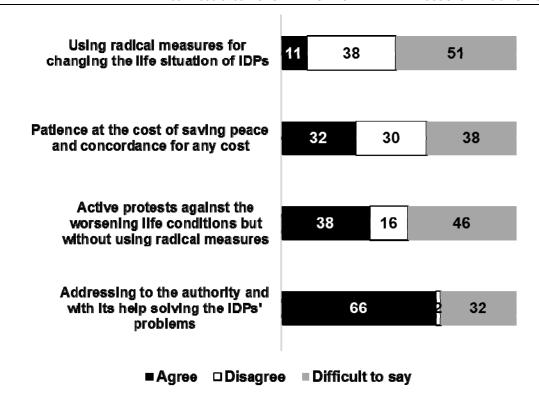


Fig. 2. The attitude of the respondents to using specific measures in case of worsening the living conditions of the internal migrants in Kharkov (in%, n = 253)

Potentially active in defending their collective rights are internal migrants who have minors. They are usually parents (men and women) of young and middle age with children. They tend more than those who have no children, to self-help (Cramer coefficient is 0.217, 5% significance level). Among them, 60% rely in the issue of improving life on organised by the settlers campaigns of mutual help and protection of their interests (27% believes that improvements in the lives of people like them is "very dependent" on this and 33% – "rather depends") (Table 3).

Table 3

Answers to the question "To what extent today's life improvement of the migrants depends on the campaigns of mutual help, protection of their collective rights, organised by the internal migrants themselves?" depending on the availability of respondents the minors (in%, n = 253)

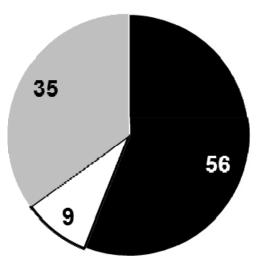
	By the database	Groups of respondents		
	in general	1. Have minors	2 Do not have minors	
Depends greatly	27	33	20	
Rather depends	33	30	37	
Rather doesn't depend	11	14	7	
Does not depend at all	3	2	4	
Difficult to say	26	33	26	

We have also noted statistically significant connection between the respondents' focus on the campaigns of mutual help, protection of their collective rights, organised by the internal migrants themselves and the age of the respondents (Cramer coefficient is 0.193, 5% significance level) (Table. 4).

Answers to the question "To what extent today's life improvement of the migrants depends on the campaigns of mutual help, protection of their collective rights, organised by the internal migrants themselves?" depending on the respondents' age groups (in%, n = 253)

	By the database in general	By respondents' age groups		
		1. 18-30	2.31-55	3.56 and older
Depends greatly	27	29	28	22
Rather depends	33	25	39	28
Rather doesn't depend	11	12	13	6
Does not depend at all	3	7	1	4
Difficult to say	26	27	18	40

More than a half of the respondents (56%) consider it necessary to create even NGOs of IDPs to jointly solve urgent problems. 9% strongly disagree with it and more than a third are uncertain on this issue (Fig. 3).



■ Yes □ No ■ Difficult to say

Fig. 3. Answers to the question "Do you think it is necessary to create NGOs of IDPs to jointly solve urgent problems?" (In%, n = 253)

Hypothetical emergence of forced internal migrants can be seen as an indicator of increasing the level of their self-organisation as a manifestation of the collective. The collective among internal migrants is evolving from single to mass cases of mutual assistance and to organised representation of their interests in the metropolis at the level of government and civil society institutions.

Summary

The research history of communicative impact in crisis situations is rich and diverse. Intensification of mass migrations leads to expansion of research scales. Migrations caused by armed conflicts require the development of new communicative mechanisms that will work in the new environment.

The article offers theoretical and methodological approach to the study of communicative mechanisms of transformation the mass into the collective and the role of the collective in solving

the problems of internal migrants in a crisis situation. We have made an attempt to adequately evaluate the integrating possibility of a special group of internal migrants, which consists of those who were forced to leave their homes because of military processes, but after their move to another region of the country they had adaptation and integration difficulties. In many ways, these difficulties were related to the processes in the communicative space where from the first days of the conflict in eastern Ukraine its people have felt stigmatisation. The media was important as the translator of both the information on internal migrants, and the information for the migrants themselves. The media often presented them in the form of so-called "separatists". In one form or another, the principle of simplification was successful, which N. Zarubina notes: "The pace of social change often lagged behind the real willingness of society and its citizens to the current changes. Therefore, the response to the challenges of complexity is simplification, expressed in standardisation (which is to simplify when considering social practices) and backup as local trends in the general process of structural complexity". The concept of separatism, supported by lots of media, not only greatly simplified the reality, but also increased suspicion and intolerance towards internal migrants in the modern Ukrainian society.

The study has revealed the orientation of internal migrants from the ATO area in Ukraine on the active role in matters of mutual help and self-organisation in defending their collective legal rights. However, in the communicative space of Ukraine, the activity of internal migrants is estimated ambiguously.

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