

Responsible talk or rumours on emigration?

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Critical Discourse Analysis of Media Material

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Abstract

The aim of this study is to critically analyse and unfold common discourse on emigration in Georgian talk radio show “Migration Routes”. It is largely focused on non-elite talk on emigration from Georgia with the purpose to find different metaphors that were involved in the talk. The study aims to answer the following questions: 1. how is emigration and emigrants linguistically constructed in talk radio show? 2. Is there evidence that can be found in the speakers’ use of language that promotes dramatization of female emigrants from Georgia? 3. What functions do such discourses have in the society?

I have chosen Critical Discourse Analysis as a methodological approach to better analyse naturally occurring spoken material. For the analyses of material, the following scheme has been implemented: 1) identification of thematic content areas of the material; 2) analysis of the dominant rhetorical devices in the talk (e.g. the use of metaphor, referential vagueness, extreme case formulations, etc.); 3) argumentative strategies that lie behind emigration discourse, which at the first glance seems to be very positive. In total, eleven talk radio shows have been listened and analysed.

Three discursive strategies have been used by the actors of talk radio show to convey ideologies, attitudes and common sense knowledge: victimization of migrants, avoidance of concrete discussion on the empowerment of migrants and use of positive rhetoric with contradictory implications. It has been revealed that speakers of this radio programme enjoyed drama talk on emigrants which in turn reinforced myths, idealized discussions and perpetuated portrayal of emigrants as “victims”, “lost generation”. Discourse around representation of female emigrants from Georgia was contrasting in essence. Most

commonly, it was linked to negatively connoted metaphors such as “*virtual parent*”, “*guest*”, “*other*”, “*sacrifice*”, “*battle*”, “and “*fear*”. However, the other side of female emigration was understood as positive in terms of their success stories and professional as well as personal achievements. Behind the good intention to cover emigration topic and bring their voices into the public, the way it has been achieved resulted in symbolic understanding of emigration which was on the surface.

Key words: Emigration, gender, critical discourse analysis, media discourse, representation, talk radio show.

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Abbreviations

CDA - Critical Discourse Analysis

EU - European Union

EU MSs - European Union Member States

EMN - European Migration Network

ICMPD - International Centre for Migration Policy Development

IOs - International Organizations

IOM - International Organization for Migration

SDG - Sustainable Development Goals

UNDP - United Nations Development Programme

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1. Introduction

I embarked on this study when I was a guest speaker of the talk radio show, which later became the primary material for this study, to talk about information campaign targeted to tackle with unfounded asylum applications from Georgia to Belgium. During the show, I observed that the host mainly used improper word choice and the way she used language for delivering messages and expressing her opinions or posing questions was either dramatic, emotional or lack of clear focus. So, my first impression was that it was pointless talk and more similar to spread rumours than create a knowledge. Later on, I decided to critically analyse this material and unfold the hidden moments that lied behind such discourse. After some quick internet research, I realised that the topic of discussion of this show was predominantly on female labour migrants and discussions were similar. At the very beginning, I have listened radio shows selectively that sparked an interest in me to go deeper in the analyses because it was one and only show that covered explicitly migration-related issues in Georgia media environment. There has been no analogue to this radio show. Thanks to this radio show, migrants from Georgia can create and promote their own content, highlighting positive and personalised aspects of their migratory experiences. Thus, it could have been a good role model for other media channels to take some aspects of it and transform into relatively new media product (e.g. TV show, article for the newspaper, posted in social media, etc.).

Migration is a relatively new phenomenon for Georgia, because during Soviet years in the history of Georgia, citizens of Georgia had zero or limited opportunity to cross the border and travel to the European countries and it was possible only for the elite groups.

International migration in the case of Georgia has been intensified only after the collapse of the Soviet Union and restoring its independence in 1991. Breakdown of the Soviet regime and totalitarian system which was predominantly the good thing, led to the development of various scenarios. On the one hand, Georgia became an independent state which would be a long and challenging path to establish a truly independent and democratic state and leave behind the Soviet thinking, and on the other hand this resulted in a heavy flow of migration of Georgians abroad due to high unemployment, poverty and hunger in the country. It has been a hard time for the country which was making new-born steps to the formation of democratic and developed country. On the public level, citizens of Georgia went through poverty and everyday battle, staying in the queues for a piece of bread and this seemed an unending process in which citizens of Georgia had to live in. People of Georgia understood that migration could have been a new solution to abandon daily suffering. Europe, especially Greece, became a new destination for Georgian female workers due to historical ties, social networks, demand on the female labour force and geographical proximity. Historically, Greeks have been living in Georgia for many years which strengthened ties with Greek culture. Time by time, despite traditional social constraints on the women which were not so strong to keep women at home as passive participants, women from Georgia started to migrate to save left-behind families. Gendered dimension of the relationship between poverty and migration emerged in the situation where women became caregivers, household heads and main breadwinners for their families.

In 2017, women constituted 48.8 % of the stock of international migrants according to International Organization for Migration (hereinafter IOM) which means women are becoming more independent, self-sustainable and head of households (IOM, 2018). Female migration is increasing faster than male migration which again makes the issue of considering

the gender aspect of labour migration a topic for further research (Fleury, 2016). Despite this progress, female migrants still consider as vulnerable towards discrimination, trafficking, mistreatment, etc. It is common that gender stereotypes exist, that give labels to migrant women as victims, servants of their families left behind and etc. Media plays an important role in constructing and re-constructing of stereotypes in the public. Very often, rumours, and misinformation are coming from various media channels which has a purpose to stereotypically present and categorize the group.

Women empowerment issues are included in the platform for the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) which aims to transform the world and include worldwide important issues in the 2030 agenda. Namely, goal 5 is formulated as the following: “To achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls”. Target 5.4 focuses on the “recognition of unpaid care and domestic work of women through provision of public services, infrastructure and social protection policies and the promotion of shared responsibility within the household and the family as nationally appropriate.” These all together assure once again that the study of female migration in media is important in order to promote responsible journalism and translate most commonly pointless and gossip talk into a meaningful discourse which will lead to family reunification and empowerment of women. As it is said by Graeme Hugo (as cited in Fleury, 2016) “Migration can be both a cause and a consequence of female empowerment”.

Female migration may create wide opportunities for women emancipation on the one hand and pain on the other. When a woman is migrating alone, it promises more freedom and choice compared to family migration when she is less likely to focus on development. However, women’s concentration in the domestic sector which is vulnerable sector generates debate whether or whether not migration produces a positive impact on women’s lives (M. B.

Asis, 2003). In other words, they may stay in the service of their families on a permanent basis which will result in ruining relationships, increased divorce rate, etc. Another problem is associated with property disputes which arise when female migrant loses rights on real estate properties or due to the physical distance she has to give up on heritage. It is common in the case of Georgia, that female migrant legally transfers property rights to the family member (e.g. husband) who becomes the new owner. And very often returned migrant discovers that property has been sold out and she is almost as homeless.

Friendly relations and fruitful cooperation between Georgia and the European Union Member States (EU MS) positively reflected on the mobility in terms of visa waiver for the citizens of Georgia. Introduction of visa-free regime has been a huge achievement for the government of Georgia which was activated in March 2017. The Georgian path to visa liberalisation intensified interest on migration issues and human mobility in media reporting, particularly focusing on migration from Georgia to destination countries. Thus, it is interesting to place migration discourse in this context and examine representation of female migrants from Georgia after visa liberalisation. There has been no study to shed light on emigration talk in Georgian media. This study provides insight into how the media portrays the female migrants from Georgia on the one hand and on the other hand how emigrants situate themselves in media.

The main research methodology for this study is Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of female emigrants' representation in media by analysing talk radio show "Migration Routes" (hereinafter, it will be stated as a talk radio show). I used a selection of radio talks that occurred after the introduction of a visa-free regime. Analysing all radio talks since its first occurrence is beyond the scope of this study. I use a selection of excerpts and investigate how various linguistic features, such as word choices, metaphors, etc. are mobilized to

implement the discursive strategies. My everyday work and daily conversations with returned migrants and those who are willing to return was a major motivational force to start working on this issue.

Media plays a pivotal role in the representation of migrants. Media characterizes with selectivity, meaning that they choose what to include and exclude when reporting an issue. According to Hall, representation “implies the active work of selecting and presenting, and of structuring and shaping”, and does not merely offer a neutral reflection of the world”. (Hall, 1982, as cited in Mohd-Don & Lee, 2014). In this study, I will examine the way voices of female migrants from Georgia on the one hand, and voices of members of the public (those who speak on their behalf) are brought into the talk radio show to construct opinions, ideologies, and attitudes on female emigrants and emigration.

In a constant manner, participants construct reality by using worded representations. It is interesting to examine the language used to fulfil this aim. By doing so, it is important to consider the fact that intertextual relations are set up to serve different interests and objectives. It is my aim to unfold the interests of interlocutors (speakers of the talk radio show). Through manipulation of the language used to represent female migrants from Georgia is the key area of interest for this study. Gendered aspect has been brought into the study due to dominant patriarchal values and male domination in Georgian society.

Emotionally charged language is characteristic to media in general. Thus, I will provide examples of how emotions are used to depict a certain position. Worldwide media is inclined to turn a simple story into human drama and for this purpose they use language. Language as a tool is used in an emotional way to focus on emigrant women’s plight, and invoking their victimized position. “Victim schema model” proposed by Rosen et al. (2007) (as cited in Kim, 2012) explains that person with victimization experience is implicitly

associated with being a victim. 'Victim schema' and negative self-understanding has been developed which leads a person's inability to effectively handle the situation and becomes more vulnerable to victimization.

According to the study conducted by Clary-Lemon (2014) analysed Irish emigration talk among political elite groups. According to this study emigration was predominantly a problem topic, which set up certain rules for what it was possible to say about emigration and ignored other ways of talking on emigration. The author suggested looking into the linkages between elite and non-elite discourses to shed light on the metaphors other than describing emigration as battle and pain, to explore new forms of language practice. Thus, this study largely focuses on non-elite talk on emigration from Georgia and attempts to find different metaphors that are involved in emigration talk.

The study begins with an introduction to the topic, research questions and significance of the study followed by chapter two, which presents background information about Georgia, placing the image of a woman in a broader context.

Chapter three explains the use of the key terminology, justifying the choice of the most significant terms used throughout the study, and proceeds to outline the theoretical framework regarding female dominated migration and finally critically summarises previous academic studies on migrant women and their conclusions.

Chapter four contains the rationale behind the choice of Critical Discourse Analysis as a methodological approach and describes the data collection process, provides a description of studied media material and explains research procedure. Chapter five contains a subchapter on each theme found in the material, which includes discussion on the other face of emigration, changing Georgian mentality, etc. Each discourse is discussed, illustrated by examples, extracts from the data. Afterwards, I present the conclusions of the study and

discussions which places the discourses found in radio program into wider academic context. It proceeds with a discussion of the reflexivity, limitations, and challenges of discursively analysed data.

1.1 Research objectives, research questions and significance of the study

Media discourse is an ill-studied area in Georgia which needs particular attention to unpack common language which boosts forming of new stereotypes, re-affirming old ones, and misleading the public. Considering an increased interest of media towards migration issues in general and particularly migration from Georgia after visa liberalisation, government as well as international communities can also draw lessons from the study and make new initiatives to facilitate the creation of responsible media environment, free from hate speech, and think on options to better regulate the debates.

The aim of this study is to critically analyse the discourses used in the representation of female migrants from Georgia in the talk radio show “Migration Routes” to describe the issue, related controversies and evaluations made by the speakers of the radio show. The talk radio show is broadcasted at the Public Broadcaster radio station. The team of the radio show was pioneer who initiated discussions on various migration-related topics. My focus is to examine talk of everyday, ordinary people, particularly emigrant women from Georgia. Lynn and Lea (2003) explained that those with great social and political power were more susceptible to play “political game” whereas talk of everyday, ordinary people is the “analytical first base” (Edwards and Potter, 1992:56, as cited in Lynn & Lea, 2003). I have chosen to analyse talk radio show for three reasons: 1. host’s concern to discuss and argue about emigration issues seriously, for the most part, with her guest speakers; 2. diversity of the material itself, and 3. easily accessibility.

The research questions guiding the analysis are formulated as the following:

- i. Given that the talk radio show “Migration Routes” invites people in discussing topical issues that touch on emigrants from Georgia, what discourses are present in the representation of female emigrants from Georgia? How emigration and emigrants are linguistically constructed in the talk radio show? What rhetoric devices have been used to achieve this?
- ii. Is there evidence that can be found in the speakers’ use of language that promotes dramatization of female emigrants from Georgia? For example, extreme case formulations.
- iii. What functions do such discourses have in society? How does it shape representations of female emigrants from Georgia?

The aim of this study is to document the process of Georgian emigration encompassing the emigration itself, the formation of new image of the female migrant, and rationale that explains image of emigrant women. This whole process is understood as “meaning-making” and interpreting.

According to Ball, “the decision to interpret or not to interpret is not an option open to human beings” (as cited in Zapata-Barrero & Yalaz, 2018). In fact, the researcher is in a no-choice situation by “interpreting interpretations”. In this process of “giving meanings to the meanings”, it is important to locate cultural context from where actors (participants of the talk radio show) give meanings to emigration and detect interests, viewpoints that lie behind the interpretations. My main concern is to identify interpretations by analyzing the media material and describing, explaining and prescribing the migration discourse (Zapata-Barrero & Yalaz, 2018). In addition to this, media discourse constructs and re-constructs societal thinking by forming new values, ideologies which are interpreted in many ways.

The main assumption of this study is that the discourse in talk radio show produces discussions that may lead to dramatizing female migration from Georgia, forming myths and romanticising the issue. Such discourse may serve to advocate dramatic talk on emigration and emigrants, and enable to link emigration with negative concepts. This study speculates that such dramatic discussions in talk radio show can lead to situations that may cause giving negative connotations to emigrants, use of stereotyped and inappropriate use of language. Furthermore, it may give root in turning female migrant stories into a spectacle, human drama that would be used by other media channels (e.g. TV shows, printed and online media) to make sensational media product, and increase TV ratings.

1.2 Justification: Why studying female emigrant representation in spoken media is important for Georgia?

Media landscape and migration terminology usage is not a well-studied area in Georgia. Before and after visa liberalisation period in the history of Georgia, produced intensive talks around the topic of migration which had been described and interpreted in many ways. Media was greatly interested in the state's position and actions to accomplish visa-free travel with the EU MS and the proceedings related to visa-free dialogue with the European Union.

As stated in the “Study on Media Terminology and the Media Landscape in Georgia with a Focus on Migration” (2018), International Centre for Migration Policy Development (ICMPD) highlights the importance of media studies in the field of migration in order to define proper use of key migration terminology and establish non-discriminatory narrative towards migrants in Georgia and from Georgia. Quality of media products on migration has not been evaluated yet.

The findings and possible answers to above-mentioned research questions help us to gain a better understanding of the role of language in forming public opinion on emigration and the form it takes to invoke certain ideologies and opinions. Moreover, the results to be found in this study will be useful to advocate the use of proper migration terminology in Georgian media platforms, minimize stereotypical language in media, and increase the quality, rationality of debates on female emigration and new waves of migration in general. Study findings will contribute to unfolding common myths, rumours and stereotypes on emigration. On top of this, findings will be a motivational force for further research of media discourse on migration issues, particularly focusing on the use of language to represent reality or deconstruct the reality.

Gender aspect is sensitive in Georgian context and least studied area, especially the role of gender on emigration. Female emigration is relatively new topic, new chapter in the history of Georgia and societal opinions and related ideologies are diverse. Feminisation of migration is understood differently by media. Very often, media talk on female emigration focuses on drama stories of the women from Georgia to arise emotions in the public. This kind of discourse is far from real discussions.

In contemporary world feminisation of migration has been studied earlier (Castles & Miller, 1993, as cited in Yalaz & Zapata-Barrero, 2018). The share of women among international migrants is rising in numbers which require extensive research on the role of gender in future migration studies. (Lee et al. 2014 as cited in Yalaz & Zapata-Barrero, 2018). Voices of migrant women deserve little attention (Lutz 2010, Yalaz & Zapata-Barrero, 2018).

According to Boyd and Grieco (2003), understanding gender in migration context is important because of the distinct migration experiences of man and woman which results in

different outcomes. Furthermore, female migration has its own costs and opportunities for the communities. On the one hand it opens the door for the women's empowerment and serves as self-interest of migrant women to escape familial control, gain freedom and on the other hand, it can be understood as self-sacrifice for the family. (Tacoli, 1999 as cited in Fleury, 2016).

International migration is not gender-neutral process, they are not invisible migrants and passive in the migration process, instead, in the case of Georgia, and they became powerful to take the saving of the family into their hands. In the highly patriarchal society where men are still dominant decision maker and family traditions are influential, Georgian women showed determination and went against the traditional idea of women as a housewife with little voice. In the same society, the decision of Georgian women on migration was subject to critics and evil talk from the public and most commonly within the micro community in which the person (her family) had daily encounter. Leaving family behind and especially minor children come into conflict with overall Georgian societal values which respects a caring mother who even sacrifices her life (refuses to career development) and lives for the life of her children. In this context, it is important to examine how women's relationship with family members changed with the migration? Does women's migration resulted in increasing her authority in the family or increased control and in this process men lose his power and domination? Does the female migrant from Georgia become deprived? For this purpose, the study examines meanings that are given by the transnational migrant women from Georgia and those who speak for them in media discourse.

2. Background information in nutshell: Georgia

It is useful to provide some background information for readers of this paper. Georgia is a country in the Caucasus region bordering with Armenia (land border), Azerbaijan (land border), Russia (land border) and Turkey (land and sea border). Capital is Tbilisi with the overall country population by 01 January, 2017 counts 3,718,200. Ethnic composition of the country gives a picture that majority (86.8%) consist of ethnic Georgians, followed by Azeri (6.3%), Armenians (4.5%), Russians (0.7%) and other (1.7%). The country has conflicting territories currently occupied by Russia: the autonomous Republic of Abkhazia and South Ossetia (The Migration Profile of Georgia, 2017).

Georgia is making steps towards the establishment of migration politics. Thus, 2017 Migration Profile of Georgia is the second analytical document. Previous 2015 Migration Profile of Georgia included statistical information and analysis of the data for the period of 2010-2014. In recent years, economic and social factors have been nominated as push factors of migration from Georgia. The government of Georgia has implemented various reforms and the process is ongoing to eradicate poverty and reduce unemployment in the population. However, so far reforms targeting to reduce migration from Georgia are on-going and attractiveness to go abroad for employment reasons maintains high level among Georgians. Citizens of Georgia find ways to wealthier countries to enhance the quality of life, obtain an education, receive health care services, etc. Economic inequality and instability play a decisive role to facilitate increased migration flows from Georgia in searching better life and widen opportunities abroad (The Migration Profile of Georgia, 2017).

To touch few important facts from the history of Georgia, three waves of emigration deserves interest: 1st wave known as forcible displacement before 1950s when Georgia was

member of the Soviet Union; 2nd wave characterized with massive migration of Georgians in the period 1950-1990 and 3rd wave occurred in the 1990s caused by socio-economic hardship and military conflicts in the country. Generally, migration flows from Georgia headed to neighboring Russia. However, recent years, an introduction of visa-free regime and governmental politics towards Europeanization (political course to join EU) shifted the tendency towards other countries, e.g. Ukraine, the USA and EU MSs (The Migration Profile of Georgia, 2017). So far, the biggest challenge is related to numbers. The government of Georgia lacks a mechanism to collect reliable and up-to-date statistics regarding migration flows from Georgia. Thus, it complicates the situation when drawing conclusions and pointing out key tendencies (The Migration Profile of Georgia, 2017).

Geostat which is an official institute of Georgia in the field of statistics, define an emigrant by considering two main criteria: 1. a person who left Georgia in the past 12 months and stayed abroad for at least 183 days. It can be also a cumulative sum of more than one departures; 2. Georgia is the person's permanent residence and before leaving the country, a person spent at least 183 days in Georgia. Geostat data shows that emigration flows are characterized by increased nature. For instance, in 2014 the number of migrants from Georgia amounted to 88,704, in 2015 the number raised and reached 95,965 persons and in 2016, 98,288 persons from where 64,705 were citizens of Georgia. Georgia lacks information regarding destination countries, which makes it difficult to list top destination countries for Georgian citizens. The biggest number of Georgian migrants according to 2014 general population census, reside in Russia (19,195), Greece (14,048) and Turkey (9,922) (top three destination countries) which are followed by Italy (9,612), Germany (6,259) and the USA (5,021). According to gender distribution, 55% of Georgian migrants are females and they

mainly choose Greece, Turkey and Italy, whereas males emigrate to Russia and Ukraine (The Migration Profile of Georgia, 2017).

This tendency can be explained by the nature of the labor market, and labor market demand at destination countries. For example, Georgian female migrants choose Greece and Italy due to the high demand to work in households as caregivers to elderly, housekeeper, nanny etc., whereas a pivotal factor for males to emigrate to Russia and Ukraine is explained by the demand on construction workers at various construction sites at destination countries. It is noticeable that choice of destination country is not voluntary with the meaning that for example, when one person from the village (city) migrates, this largely affects others' (from the same village or region) decision to migrate in the same country. All in all, geographical proximity, diaspora networks, personal networks and word-of-mouth plays an important role in the decision-making process of emigration. This statement has been confirmed by an official report to reflect the state of migration in Georgia. France, Israel, UK and Ireland are male workforce dominated countries, mainly in the construction sector. (Hofmann and Buckley, 2013 as cited in "The State of Migration in Georgia" report, 2015)

The decline of the Georgian population and aging are problematic areas for the country. One of the many factors contributing to the aging of the population is emigration. A large proportion of migrants from Georgia constitute economically active citizens between 20-54 years according to the 2014 population census results (The Migration Profile of Georgia, 2017).

The share of remittances from abroad to Georgia exceeds 1 billion USD. Top remittance-sending countries are Russia, the USA, Greece and Italy. For the period of 2012-2016, remittances from EU member states increased, whereas the monetary value of remittances from Russia is decreasing. Overall, remittances play an important role in the

country's economic development, however, Georgia is not a remittance-dependent country as such. The study revealed that the volume of remittances was much bigger for those who left their children and who were residing in Greece compared to Germany (ICMPD, 2014). Interestingly, a large proportion of remittances to Georgia are spent on basic household needs, such as food, communal fees, clothing, education, and healthcare. Investing remittances in the business sector are rather low which is explained by an increased need of meeting basic needs rather than thinking for longer-term activity which promises income generation in the long run. More productive utilization of remittances is important for remittance-recipient households in order to sustain financial stability and set up durable income-generating activity which in the long run minimize dependence on remittances, instead, left behind families become more in control of their financial situation (The Migration Profile of Georgia, 2017).

The collapse of the Soviet regime and political instability for all countries under the Soviet Union resulted in high unemployment and large flows of permanent and temporary migration from post-Soviet countries. Other problems were also common for all post-Soviet countries, such as low birth rate, aging of the population. Georgia was not an exception and had to deal with the problems listed above. Emigration, especially young labor force was an urgent need to save families. Emigration issues are topical for the country and often lead to hot debates (Chelidze, 2012, as cited in Makaryan & Chobanyan, 2014). The biggest challenge for the EU on policy level has been and it still continues, to halt irregular migration from Georgia to Europe. Though, the government of Georgia is very cooperative with the EU to tackle this issue as political priority of Georgian government has shifted dramatically to the West since the war with Russia. Shifted political interests changed potential migrants' preferences from Russia to Western countries, particularly to Europe (Makaryan &

Chobanyan, 2014). Changing political climate and governmental agenda which is pro-Europe, largely affected everyday decisions of households related to migration and all in all, this fueled intensified and hot formal and informal discussions on migration.

2.1 Organization of Georgian society: Image of a woman from Georgia

Georgian society is more patriarchal in nature, which means female migration can be viewed as a male thing. However, reality confirms otherwise. Namely, female migrants took the survival of the family in their hands and decided to emigrate. They left with the hope to return home soon with the intention to save little money to pay for debts and slightly improve living conditions for the family members. But it turned out that poor economic prospects in Georgia became a fundamental obstacle and delayed their return.

A study conducted by The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in 2013 with the aim to reveal public perceptions on gender equality in Georgia is a good starting point to provide overall outlook on the organization of Georgian society and distribution of gender roles. According to study results, public perception is more prone to traditional gender division of labour which means women remain primary caregivers, responsible for the housework, take care of children, etc. In most cases, women in Georgia are employed at low-paid positions in agriculture, education, healthcare and light industry. According to the data provided by the Office of Statistics in Georgia, in 2017 average salary for women amounted 770 GEL (researcher's note: which is approximately 257 EUR) and 1197 GEL (researcher's note: which is approximately EUR 399) for the men.

Traditional Georgian households consist of four family members; mother, father and two children. In these very traditional families, household chores such as cleaning, cooking, take caring of children, sometimes taking care of sick family member is understood to be the

responsibility of a woman. Family is the biggest value for Georgian society which is related to national identity. The UNDP study results show that traditional belief related to the family considers man as the main breadwinner. Reality offers a different scenario. The traditional belief of the family in which male is understood as the chief of the family, seems to be an imagined, ideal picture which is far from existed reality. In today's realm, women took the role of breadwinners and reached a certain degree of empowerment through economic independence. However, this recent trend did not effect on the traditional perception or understanding of gender roles in Georgian society. It is worth noting that due to widespread traditional beliefs, a woman from Georgia is characterized as less ambitious and with low self-esteem in the process of self-realization. Self-fulfilment is understood to take place when she gets married and becomes a spouse and a mother. Georgian woman is given the following features as the study revealed: strong, dedicated to the family, fighter, proud, enduring etc. Because of these characteristics, a woman from Georgia became the main source of income and made the decision to migrate to save family left behind. *"The Georgian woman has turned into a man"* is a new marker of current Georgian society (The UNDP, 2013). According to C. Jashi and T. Jangulashvili in the study of "Gender Aspects of Labour Migration from Georgia", highlighted the fact that despite changing gender roles, women in migration becoming new breadwinner of the family, their economic dominance is low and male supremacy and understanding male as a ruler of the family is still high in Georgian society.

New reality confirms the statement that *"Women work so hard abroad while their men hang out with beer bottles"*. Strong maternal instinct has been dominant among Georgian women that explains their decision to migrate and do everything to save their children: *"Georgian woman is weak as a woman but strong as a mother"*. Modern reality

does not match with the traditional views. Georgian society is characterized as more masculine and patriarchal in essence. However, in the modern era, woman is becoming stronger, who have a voice to speak up, protect their rights and become more progressively minded. Which is not true for the population living in rural areas where traditional Georgian views are still common sense. In broad understanding, in 2017 as shown in the data by the Office of Statistics of Georgia, the breadwinner of the majority of the households is a man for the rural and urban areas which is twice more than the households in which the women is a primary source of income. The same report shows that in 2017 employed women constituted 48%, and 52% men. Compared to previous years, employment among women from Georgia has been increased.

A recent study conducted by the UNDP in 2017 revealed that despite governmental initiatives and reforms to create gender-sensitive legislation and policies, actual unemployment of Georgian women constitute 8.8 %, men's 14.2 %. Thus, in the context of economic problems and social impediments, Georgian women are more vulnerable than Georgian men, especially women from rural areas which explain high migration numbers from the regions of Georgia (especially, the western part of Georgia). On the policy level, there is a lack of practical mechanism which will support women's economic empowerment as it has been showed in the research. Women's empowerment and gender issues have been written on a piece of paper of Georgia's policy documents, however, research showed that these issues are not in agenda and priority of the government of Georgia. Thus, no practical steps have been taken forward beside the actions taken by international organizations in the field.

Moreover, the main challenge is that a low level of women's agency is very common, meaning that their family labour is unrecognized and invisible. Their decision to migrate

relies on the fact to be in the service of the family which makes them invisible agents of the family and society as a whole.

2.2 Gendered aspect of migration from Georgia: causes and consequences

Based on Tianeti (Researcher's comment: the municipality in Georgia) household census data 2008 (as cited in ICMPD, 2017, pg.420) proved feminization of labour migration from Georgia. Census results were re-confirmed by another research conducted by M. Vanore and M. Siegel "The evolution of gendered migration trajectories from Moldova & Georgia 2015".

More than half of migrants who left Georgia since 2004 constituted females. According to Hofmann and Buckley, feminization of migration from Georgia occurs from 1999. Taking into account the gender aspect of migration, destination countries differ significantly from those chosen by males. Till 2003, Russia was the top destination country for male migrants from Georgia, whereas from 1999-2000 female migrants from Georgia chose the EU MSs as a destination. Research revealed that the profile of migrants from Georgia differs. For example, female migrants from Georgia were older, than male migrants. Two third of male migrants have been married, whereas 50% of female migrants were in marriage. 22 % of female migrants were a widow, whereas males 1 % only. 15 % of female migrants from Georgia has been divorced, 3 % has been for male migrants. Regarding the level of education, the same was true for both gender and the majority of migrants from Georgia had complete or incomplete higher education (university degree). Migration reasons for both genders were purely economic reasons and unemployment. Hofmann and Buckley revealed that patriarchal ideology was common for Georgian society which kicked the rise of negative attitudes towards female labour migration from Georgia. In the patriarchal society,

female emigrants are viewed as negative examples of mainstream society. Women are struggling to negotiate their roles and return a name of “good mothers” or “good wives” (Hofmann and Buckley, 2013, as cited in “The State of Migration in Georgia” report, 2015).

Family members, relatives, in general, micro social circle in which the female migrants interact on a daily basis may oppose their decision on migration. There are supportive factors that facilitate migration decision-making process for female migrants from Georgia, such as:

- Enhanced engagement of females in migration processes which comes from the demand on female labor force from destination countries. Consequently, demand on nannies, caretakers increases as a response to current on-goings;
- Structural changes in the households, for example divorce, which is most likely to occur in the context of migration. The same is true when a female migrant becomes a widow or is single. In this situation female migrant is alone in the decision-making process, no influencers, and no obstacles. Thus, she is the “boss” of her own life.

Women’s roles, status, age, socio-cultural context determines the extent of migratory probability and ability to do so (Boyd & Grieco, 2003). In other words, the culture of the sending country will be an important factor at pre-migration (whether or whether not to migrate) and post-migration stages (how her life will be in the host country, whether she manages to achieve self-realization or she will stay less ambitious and continues sending money home). However, cultural context is subject to changes and re-construction. For instance, in 1990s female migration was understood as violation of traditional values and traditional understanding of woman being a care giver of children who should have stayed at home. Socio-cultural context has shifted dramatically in Georgian society, meaning that traditional understanding of woman’s social roles was opposing the actual need of the family

to escape hunger and survive. On the one hand, female migration from Georgia was understood as emancipation of women and on the other hand, it had detrimental effects on the households (e.g. breaking families apart). In the study of “Migration of young women from Georgia and related challenges: the case of Kakheti¹” (2009), it has been revealed that there were subjective reasons of migration decision-making among Georgian women from Kakheti region which in many cases were hidden or neglected. Family conflicts associated with difficult wife-husband relations, the same concerns to daughter-in-law and mother-in-law relationships has seen as push factor for migrating abroad. Very often, push factor of migration associated with problematic family relations is concealed by the migrant woman. “Cultural shame” is phenomenon, which is very common to Georgian society with the meaning that “what others’ will think about me after hearing this or that” is prevailing view.

Hofmann studies revealed that in the case of Georgia, when the family supported gender equality principle, there was a high rate of female migration; on the contrary, in highly patriarchal family with traditional views on gender roles, it was less likely that female was given freedom to migrate even though it was purely economical and for the aim to improve economic situation of the family as a whole. It was important to consider the values of potential female migrants from Georgia. More traditional values that favour male domination would decline the perspective of migration as this is a male thing to do. Size of the family is important to take into account. When for example family is big that has more potential to substitute contribution of the migrant in the household activities, it is more likely emigration to occur with no significant gender differences (ICMPD, 2017).

¹ Author’s note: Kakheti is a region in Eastern part of Georgia and is famous for its’ wine-production.

Previous research conducted by the ICMPD in 2014 to study migrants from Georgia to top three destination countries Germany, Greece and Turkey provided an interesting insight into the characteristics and patterns of migration from Georgia. Those countries have been homes for historical Georgian diaspora which nowadays became a destination for labour migrants from Georgia. This study confirms the female dominant migration in all three countries. However, the profile of migration from Georgia differs according to destination. For instance, Germany is a popular destination to obtain an education, and au pair work. On top of this, the majority of migrants from Georgia claimed to reside on a regular basis. When in Greece, the picture is quite different. Majority of female Georgians work in the domestic sector and mainly irregularly, being between the ages 35-49. Irregularity seemed to be the main challenge for Georgian migrants which limited their access to health care services and increased risks to engage in precarious work. Furthermore, the study revealed that Georgian migrants had a strong need to stay connected to Georgia.

According to C. Jashi and T. Jangulashvili “Gender Aspects of Labour Migration from Georgia”, labour migration from Georgia has intensified since 1995. This is the period when Georgia regained independence and was struggling to overcome poverty and employment. Migrant transfers became a remedy for low-income countries. Georgian female migrants who were predominantly labour migrants were providers for their families left behind. Time passed quickly and those who left Georgia gave up thinking about returning home because of the need for the family survive. Commonly, women in migration gain independence, control on their life which boosts their self-esteem and is assumed that they will achieve self-accomplishment; it is hardly feasible in the case of Georgian female migrants whose primary purpose of life is to sustain families left behind. They took great responsibility on their shoulders and chose self-sacrificing life for the well-being of their

loved ones which resulted in gendered constructions and the idealization of women as reliable remitter, a better manager. On top of this, Georgian female migrants feel safer abroad due to increased family violence in the country which resulted in the shifted structure of the family and the role functions of family members. Victims of family violence migration are seen as a way to escape social stigma and abandon the victimized position.

2.3 In the context of visa liberalization

The visa requirement was lifted as a result of the successful conclusion of visa liberalization dialogue between Georgia and the European Commission which can be put in the context of shifting female migration trends from Georgia. The visa waiver came into force on 28 March 2017 under the condition to travel visa-free to EU MSs up to 90 days within 180-days period. It was recognized as a huge achievement for the government of Georgia and resulted in a highly positive evaluation of the government's work and efforts in general.

Post-visa liberalisation period was characterized as an extensive opportunity for the citizens of Georgia to cross European border without a visa, to establish new contacts, spend a vacation in Europe, do sightseeing, visit friends, relatives abroad, etc. Furthermore, media discourse very often touched issues related to international protection, Georgians violating visa-free rules and request asylum on ungrounded reasons, organized crime and deportation. Before and after visa liberalisation period, the government of Georgia has run an intensive information campaign to raise awareness on the rules of visa-free travel (e.g. short term stays up to 90 days, etc.). Such campaigns were mandatory and funded by the EU and implemented jointly with International Organizations (IOs), such International Organization for Migration (IOM) and International Centre for Migration Policy Development (ICMPD) who are key

players and implementers in the field of migration and migration policy in Georgia. Both IOs receive funding from the EU to support the government of Georgia maintaining visa-free travel and fulfilment of requirements set by the EU in association agreement. Monitoring migration coverage in the Georgian media is one of the objectives to carry out by the IOs.

It can be assumed that lifting of the visa requirements will lead to an increase in longer-term regular or irregular migration especially in the low-wage sector. Georgia is a developing country where poverty alleviation and employment are the areas in which the government of Georgia is struggling to deal with. Thus, it was expected that after the introduction of visa-free, the number of citizens from Georgia travelling to EU MSs would increase which would be resulted in overstaying, violation of asylum procedure, and irregular employment.

The recent assessment carried out by European Migration Network (EMN) (2019) to examine development in Germany in connection with visa liberalization for the countries that were given visa-free travel opportunity with EU MSs, revealed an increase of asylum immigration from Georgia which was due to poor economic development in Georgia. It was highlighted that Georgians mainly took up jobs in the following sectors: construction industry, service industry, hotel and catering industry, transport and warehousing. Furthermore, Georgian nationals intended to benefit from free medical care during the asylum procedure which is again a violation of visa liberalization rules. The real motive for entry to Germany for Georgian nationals was the hope for better employment prospects which was accompanied by conducting criminal behaviors.

Freedom in movement in terms of easiness to travel to EU MSs opened a door for Georgian citizens to seek employment options and agree on precarious job offers with the aim to generate income. Most often, they believe in commonly misinterpreted information

and widespread myths regarding settlement in EU countries. Being word-of-mouth and others' good examples as primary sources to head to Europe, very often unorganized and unsafe travel concludes with deportation, detention or falling into trafficker's hands.

3. Media Discourse and Migrant Representation

In this chapter, I will discuss previous research on migrant representation and media discourse. I will look at the wider social context in terms of media freedom in Georgia, provide definitions and explanations of the main concepts of the study.

3.1 Understanding Media Discourse

Media works as a public call to attention on the issue, they hold power to form and influence public opinion. O' Keeffe (2006) describes media discourse as an interaction which is broadcasted and can be written or spoken. The main idea of such interaction is to focus on to a listener, viewer. In spoken media discourse, viewing or listening audience are the core targets, whereas the written discourse is concerned with readers. (O' Keeffe, 2006 as cited in Omondi, 2016).

In modern era people have an opportunity to engage in media discussions immediately when it is broadcasted or comment on it at a later stage by viewing, listening recorded product through online channels (e.g. web page, YouTube etc.). This characteristic of media discourse regarding the availability of radio stations to access online is attractive for discourse analysts to investigate further (Omondi, 2016). The level and depth of media discourse analysis depend on the researcher in the extent how far he/she wants to go in the analysis whether he/she wants to give mere descriptions about the communicative platform or analyse discourse as a way through which interlocutors give meanings to the world.

Migration is a social phenomenon which involves individuals, groups, various forms of interactions and many genres of discourse. Migration discourse belongs to a broad class of all discursive genres which has distinctive features in terms of the communicative situation. Communicative situation characterizes by main and secondary categories. Just to name few of them: time, place, participants, communicative roles, social roles, goals of interaction, shared attitudes and ideologies about migration, etc. Media discourse on emigration is chosen a discursive genre for this study. Given the diverse profile of invited guest speakers at the talk radio show, we can assume that their societal roles are different. The host of the show is field journalist in migration. Discourse is controlled by the host who makes opening speech, presents the topic for discussion and guests. The host begins with questions directed to guest speakers. She holds the power to engage in conversation with the guests anytime, make own assumptions, summarize what has been said, and lead the debate in the favoured direction. This aspect of the host's power should be taken into account during analysis.

Discourse manifests many aspects of the context in which the discourse occurs, by using phrases of time, place, personal and possessive pronouns, description of identities or knowledge of the guest speakers. These all together can be considered as presupposed information in discourse or grounds for making new implications. Guest speakers, the host and callers who are main actors of talk radio show hold presupposed knowledge, attitudes and ideologies on migration issues. Thus, it is important to unfold this knowledge, ideology on migration/migrants from Georgia and reveal what they are about.

Journalism's role in public debate on emigration is an important facet to consider when analysing media material. When we say that media offers a playground where the voices from the general public can be heard, in many cases speakers' voices are managed and controlled by norms and routines. In radio interviews, it is very common that discourse is

largely controlled and participants are guided to accept one version of reality and so limiting their options for future contributions. (Fairclough, 1989, pg.136).

Previous research confirmed that presupposed ideas exist which determine what interviewed subject can be when she/he talks. (Persson, 2018) People are given an opportunity to speak on behalf of themselves and others which does not restrict the power of media in representation of speakers' voices. (Ekström and Tolson, 2017 as cited in Persson, 2018). It is noteworthy that, according to Persson (2018) speakers' who talk for themselves and on behalf of others are accomplishing this in relation to discourses on the topic where only some parts of such talks will be understood by listeners.

Placing the discursive genre that applies to my material, it is so-called 'vox pop' term proposed by Myers, 2004 as cited in Persson, 2018. This term defines the discursive genre in which someone is pre-selected to represent part of the general public through articulating his/her views on the subject matter, which is exactly the case of this material. Here, it should be considered the fact well-noted by Ekström and Tolson (2017) (as cited in Persson, 2018) that 'the implied question in a vox pop interview is not "what you say" but "what does someone like you say"'. Thus, journalist discourse is more inclined to be interested in someone who can represent a common opinion. However, as suggested by Persson (2018) there are some negotiations between speaking on behalf of others and representing own experiences. Further to this discussion, media produces the end-product by selecting and sorting events or topics and accepts that there is only one sound point of view on the matter. It is constant battle to present dominant view which is defined as common sense, taken for granted and leaves no room for constructive criticism. In order to achieve the aim of presenting an event in a stereotypical fashion, categorize social groups, and establish preferred meaning of the event, media selectively uses and/or misuses information. (Erjavec,

2001). Media representation of social groups or events always has a function (e.g. what for it is produced? Who is the target? What the media is trying to achieve with it? Etc.) that lies beyond media discourse. It may be functions to stereotype certain social groups, discriminate them, favor one political group over the other, establish dominant view on the topic etc. Critical analyses of media discourse is a way to reveal functions of media representation on social groups or events. It is also interesting to reveal why certain topic or event or social group deserves high interest from the media, what is so attractive in it, what lies behind the selectively picking up one topic or event and neglecting another?

3.2 Media freedom in Georgia – a wider social context

As cited in the “Study on Media Terminology and the Media Landscape in Georgia with a Focus on Migration” (2018) conducted by ICMPD, the most frequently used sources of information for receiving news about Georgian politics and current events are television (88%), internet (47%), print media (7%) and radio (1%). Even though, the radio has been least consumed source to receive information about Georgian politics and current affairs, the talk radio show at Public Radio Broadcaster has been running for almost eight years and specifically targets migrant population and covers migration issues from various standpoints. Thus, it is of paramount importance to reveal common discourse and discursive practices in the talk radio show for the aim to reveal the way emigration topic is covered. Further to support the study, Georgian Public Broadcaster is the third according to TV ratings and trust in Media. (“Study on Media Terminology and the Media Landscape in Georgia with a Focus on Migration” (2018), ICMPD). Thus, it has sufficient audience share and potential to dominate in the media landscape of Georgia.

Migrants from Georgia are usually described as “emigrants” or “diaspora” interchangeable. Descriptions have positive or neutral connotation depending on referring to ethnic Georgians or ethnic minorities. Mainstream media accentuates on visa liberalisation in the context of approximation with the EU and the Association Agreement. The least studied area is the coverage of migrants from Georgia or the language used when reporting on expatriates. It is recommended to study precisely how Georgians abroad are described (as “emigrants”, “expatriates”, “diaspora members”, etc.). (ICMPD, 2018).

As noted in the “Handbook on Migration” published by ICMPD, migration-related topics have been reported in Georgian media particularly focusing on irregular migrants from Georgia, official visits from EU on migration issues, criminal news on Georgian migrants in the EU. It is interesting to highlight that media reporting on emigrants is centred on preservation of ethnic identity, maintain cultural identity and protection of human rights in destination countries. Specifics of reporting differs according to the destination country. For example, Georgians in Estonia maintain Georgian cuisine (e.g. opening Georgian restaurants, offering Georgian cuisine classes etc.) through which they attempt to preserve some aspects of Georgian identity. (ICMPD, 2017, pg. 432.)

Various types of migrant media representation are apparent. As explained by Busch and Krzyzanowski (2012) when exploring the field of media and migration, media products are designed for migrants as well as address migrants or those with migratory experiences. There is also another perspective media self-representations in which migrants become actors with the opportunity to share their own experiences. To extend this perspective to my study, studied media product encompasses media self-representations as well as addressing emigrants and for emigrants. Thus, the target audience of the media product is rather combined than focused on a specific audience. It is a platform to speak for emigrants and

give them an opportunity to become narrators of own experiences. Initially, the talk radio show was designed to represent emigrants who appeared to be underrepresented, having little attention in public discourse and generally described as “lost people” who behind the stage were major contributors in Georgia’s socio-economic development. Three perspectives offered by Busch and Krzyzanowski (2012), speaking about migrants, speaking to migrants or speaking as migrants are combined in one talk radio show that operates in Georgian broadcast media.

3.3 Previous research on migrant women

To improve understanding of gendered migration Umut Erel (2007) applied biographical methods in research on migrant women. In the past years, migration was ‘male thing’ and women migrants were seen as dependents. Most commonly, migrant women were portrayed as victims by the global structures that were subject to forced migration due to societal and family pressure. Predominantly irregular status of migrant women increased their gendered vulnerability in the labour market. Migrant women were committed to their families which were seen as ‘a particular obstacle in the process of modernisation’. (Aptizsch, 1996 as cited in Erel, 2007) Their constant care for left-behind families through sending remittances makes migrant women to have a deficit of emancipation, self-development. Dominant knowledge about migrant women is subject to construction and re-construction depending on the culture of origin of migrant women in which they have a daily encounter that shapes their lives.

Common sense knowledge largely determines migrant women’s self-presentation and those who speak on their behalf. Foucault names this as “subjugated knowledges” that can be defined as follows:

“have been disqualified as inadequate to their task or insufficiently elaborated: naïve knowledges, located low down on the hierarchy, beneath the required level of cognition or scientificity. (...) [these] disqualified knowledges (...) which involve what I would call a popular knowledge (le savoir des gens) though it is far from being a general commonsense knowledge, but it is on the contrary a particular, local, regional knowledge, a differential knowledge incapable of unanimity and which owes its force only to the harshness with which it is oppressed by everything surrounding it (...)” (1980: 82, as cited in Erel, 2007).

This knowledge has been produced and reproduced by media depending on their interests and categories they aim to invoke in the public. There are ‘unfinished thoughts’ around migrant women and their ‘project of leaving home’ which needs extensive and deeper analysis to unfold the discourse.

It is media who establish certain categories of representation of a particular group of people. For example, in the study of Joo (2015) to reveal various representation categories of migrants in the Korean public service broadcasting news, media attempted to create an ‘optical illusion’ of cultural diversity in Korea by producing ‘pseudo-diversity’. Behind this ‘celebratory’ use of the concept of diversity in Korean society lied lack of migrants’ recognition and agency. I can assume that Georgian media would take the same road by actively producing ‘pseudo victimhood’ of emigrant women with the aim to accomplish ‘romanticisation’ of emigrants. By doing so, they touch the topic on migration from Georgia on the surface that lacks expert knowledge, and are purely based on self-evaluations, biases and narrow definitions that only inspire ‘emigration drama talk’ that leads to nowhere.

In the study of Kim (2012) to analyse Korean media discourse around migrants 1990-2009, showed that positive discourse reproduced negative portrayal of migrants by ‘victimizing’ and ‘objectifying’ migrants. The main intention for such discourse was to avoid

concrete discussions about how to improve migrants' status and include them in society.

Positive language is not purely positive, if the analyst goes deeper, it will open up new reality in which language is used as a tool.

3.4 Main concepts and definitions

Term migrant, immigrants often has a negative connotation in the texts referring to migrants as a problem, a threat to national security, a burden on the society, etc. Connotation value of migrant or immigrant differs from what is attached to the term. Emigrant or emigration which often has neutral value describes a person who left the country of origin at some point in his/her life. Thus, the road that person undertook does not deserve much attention because it is not negative and topical and mainly refers to accomplished people, success stories of emigrants. (KhosraviNik, Krzyzanowski & Wodak, 2012). However, in the case of Georgia the use of the term emigrant and emigration is highly dramatized and sensitized in the sense that there is always a dramatic story, a devastating situation of emigrants' lives now and in the past which is broadly articulated in media. Moreover, when talking about emigrants and emigration, it is automatically assumed to be female labour migration from Georgia and mainly irregular in essence. Very often emigrants are portrayed as highly educated who did not feel accomplished due to other priorities and family interests. She is a good Georgian because of doing Georgian job, in terms of teaching the Georgian language, assisting other newly arrived Georgians to establish in a new country, offering accommodation so forth and so on. Such discourse is provoked by the media consciously in order to for the listener to easily identify with the people described and also sympathise with them. The same is true when for example referring to the victimisation of the refugees. (KhosraviNik, Krzyzanowski & Wodak, 2012).

Emigrant

Busch and Krzyzanowski (2012) in the book on “Migrations: Interdisciplinary Perspectives”, defined migrant as a term little bit problematic which reflects the collecting category. Throughout my study, I will use term emigrant which has a narrow focus and particularly implies migrants from country of origin to destination. In this study, migrants from Georgia and emigrants will be used interchangeably. Whereas, the use of term migrant in this study mainly includes all migrant categories.

Emigration

The definition proposed by Merriam-Webster dictionary, “Emigration is departure from a place of abode, natural home, or country for life or residence elsewhere”. Term emigration will be applied in this paper to refer to the idea to leave Georgia for the purpose to settle in another country.

Social Constructionism

According to Burr (1995, as cited in Lynn & Lea, 2003) Social Constructionist view lies in the idea that everyday life consists of social processes. These social processes include ideologies, opinions and attitudes that should be understood as argumentative. In this study, Social Constructionist approach will be applied to examine emigrants’ representations in spoken media.

Media representation has a great impact on how the concepts are gathered, organized and categorized and how the relationship between these concepts is accomplished (Hall, 1997 as cited in Joo, 2015). The role of representation is constitutive which means it largely affects the lives, rights and statuses of the people. Media can be understood as a fundamental public service in which migration discourse serves a different political purpose. Consequently, we can assume that media representation is biased toward a particular common set ideology,

knowledge which in turn reinforces common perceptions for example about gender roles, migration, etc. As Foucault (1980, as cited in Joo, 2015) reminds us “every regime of representation is a regime of power formed by the dynamics of power/knowledge couplet”.

4. Methodology

4.1 Choice of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

“Everything is never said” as Foucault notes (1972, as cited in Kim, 2012) is important to unfold in order to understand what is articulated at particular time and space. CDA is an approach to unpack the reality and discourse which is the construction, consolidation and reproduction of this reality (Fairclough, 1992, 1995; Van Dijk, 1993, 1996 as cited in Kim, 2012).

There are many forms of discourse analysis and articles that claim its use (Lynn & Lea, 2003). For the researcher, it is important to define what genre of discourse he/she is analysing. This study chooses CDA to critically look at the common discourse on emigration by analysing of one and only talk radio show on emigration and emigrants in the Georgian media platform. It is a public arena where language is apparently transparent and both media and migrants are involved in the meaning-making process. It is interesting to reveal media discourse that goes hand in hand with the constructions given by other actors (emigrants themselves, public figures, etc.). As there are variations of CDA, I will focus on Fairclough’s understanding of CDA, in order to understand the use of language in my materials and what lies beyond this social practice which frequently stays unnoticed. (Fairclough 1995:54, as cited in Vander Horst, 2018).

Based on the constructivist theoretical framework of my study, CDA is seen to better fit the notion of this research which primarily focuses on “the construction of reality through

language” (Lee 2012:403, as cited in Vander Horst, 2018). In this case, it is the construction of dramatized talk on female emigrants in talk radio show. As noted by Oswick (2012) (as cited in Vander Horst, 2018), for discourse analysis it is important to have naturally occurring material, whether it is spoken or written. Collected data for this study is naturally occurring spoken material.

Even though media claims to reflect facts, and is oriented to describe realism, very often this is not the case. CDA challenges such media discourse and unfolds from where such media claims arrive, for whom it is reinforced, targeted to and what the functions are of such claims (Fairclough, 1995 as cited in Lueck, Due & Augoustinos, 2015, p.615). Initial thematic analyses of material signalled romantic notion of emigration phenomenon in Georgian context, emigration discourse in talk radio show marked hidden messages that required a deeper analysis to unpack nuances in participants’ talks. For this purpose, I chose CDA to uncover meanings given to emigration and emigrants.

Socio-cognitive approach (SCA) proposed by Van Dijk assumes that language is a tool that human beings use to construct the reality through cognitive processes and interaction with the environment. From this point of departure, societal representations of migration as a social phenomenon are socially constructed. Representations on migration are organised by everyday life experience, observations, and self-reflection. Within this process, cultural common ground and shared knowledge play an important role in the construction of migration ideology. (Sowinska, 2013).

The researcher decides the level of depth while analysing the studied material. For this study, I have identified themes and topics of the discourse to reveal the meaning of the texts. While analysing discourse, it is important to acknowledge presuppositions that is shared knowledge by the host and invited guest, known as a common ground. During

interpretation of material, I have acknowledged of the common ground of all participants involved in the discourse. It is noticeable, that participants of the radio programme share similar opinions which leave no room or is limited for questioning some issues and critically analysing them. CDA will offer ideas and advice to help grasp the possible overtly positive, controversial talk in the material.

4.2 Research procedure

For the analyses of material, I have applied the following scheme: 1) identification of thematic content areas of the material; 2) analysis of the dominant rhetorical devices in the talk (e.g. the use of metaphor, referential vagueness, extreme case formulations, etc.); 3) argumentative strategies that lie behind emigration discourse, which at the first glance seems to be very positive. Firstly, it is interesting to reveal this positive discourse on emigration in the Georgian context and afterwards, look at the strategies that are behind such seemingly positive discourse. For example, in the study of Austrian national identity, (Wodak et al.'s 2009 [1999] as cited in Clary-Lemon, 2014) the methodological analyses have been applied to focus on identification of thematic content areas; analysis of discourse strategies; analysis of argumentation schemes and analysis of the linguistic means of realization of discourse strategies. Furthermore, in the study of Lynn and Lea (2003), authors referred to identify most frequently used rhetorical devices such as fact construction, invoking of categories and category entitlements, extreme case formulations, etc. to study social construction of asylum seekers in the United Kingdom. It is important to examine how speakers of talk radio show construct their arguments or describe events and the rhetorical devices that they use to achieve this purpose. Kim (2012) focused on the following argumentative strategies to describe migrant discourse in Korean media: 1) victimization of migrants; 2) objectification

of migrants; 3) avoidance of concrete discussion on the empowerment of migrants; 4) use of positive rhetoric with contradictory implications. I have chosen only three strategies as relevant for this study: victimization of migrants, avoidance of concrete discussion on the empowerment of migrants, and the use of positive rhetoric with contradictory implications.

Systematic analysis of the way actors (in our study actors are interactants of talk radio show: the host and guests with diverse background, most commonly emigrants or those with migratory experience) assemble meanings, describe and prescribe situations, gives an insight on attitudes about migrants from Georgia which is not always positive and sometimes they are blamed for leaving family behind. Sometimes behind an overtly positive discourse on emigrants' affairs and contribution in Georgia's economy lies romanticising of emigration and emigrants. For this study it is important to offer insight in many ways emigration discourse is structured, how it expresses underlying mental models, attitudes and ideologies and what functions such discourses have in Georgian society as a whole. I will focus on the language used to describe migrants from Georgia which often leads to the use of extreme words, such as "victims", "heroes", "real Georgians". For this purpose, I have chosen a talk radio show specifically on female emigrants. Broadly, the talk radio show has covered arrays of migration topics since 2011. However, this study accentuates on emigration discourse, considering the gendered aspect of emigration. For this purpose, I use a selection of talk radio shows and investigate how various linguistic and rhetorical features – such as lexical choices, metaphors, etc. are applied to implement argumentative strategies of victimization of emigrants, avoidance of concrete discussion on the empowerment of migrants and positive use of rhetoric with opposing inferences.

A metaphor is considered as a discursive device that is used by interactants to construct their opinions towards an issue. In this process sociocultural context and ideological

preferences should be taken into account. Metaphorical expressions are a cognitive mechanism that is applied in discourse to construct social reality. Besides, it is an effective pragmatic device to arouse emotions that are used frequently by elite groups (e.g. politicians). (Kitis and Milapides, 1997; Lee, 2005; Wei, 2000; Wilson, 1990 as cited in Flowerdew & Leong, 2007) Use of metaphors and their interpretations vary greatly. In order to better understand the use of metaphors, cultural ideologies and knowledge should be considered in the analyses. (Flowerdew & Leong, 2007)

Further to understand the notion of metaphors in discourse, Charteris-Black (2009) (as cited in Clary-Lemon, 2014) argued that metaphors are used in political communication to construct 'right thinking', 'tell the truth'. This is said for elite groups of society. In this paper, I study non-elite groups (laypeople) who use metaphors in a different manner with other intentions rather than of elite groups. Use of metaphors and interpretations vary for elite and non-elite groups, I can assume. Elite groups try to use metaphors to form legitimacy for the political message (Charteris-Black, 2009 as cited in Clary-Lemon, 2014) and as a persuasion strategy on the audience, whereas non-elite groups in this study simply attempt to set myths, convey certain ideologies, messages with intention to construct positive thinking on emigration which has totally different connotations that is beyond positivity. It is worth noting that, sometimes media has good intentions to cover migration topic, try to deliver honest outputs but the way they do it proves otherwise. For example, Clary-Lemon (2014) revealed that emigration was connected with negatively connoted metaphors and link to a negative concept such as unemployment, lack of prospects, government failure, economic depression, involuntary action, etc.

In Georgian media emigrants are given voice to provide the context of their choice to go abroad, decisions they made, reasons behind such decisions and consequences. Because of

the topicality of emigration in the history of Georgia and after the introduction of visa-free travel with the EU MSs which on the one hand opened up new opportunities for professional and personal development and on the other hand, it has been stepping forward to EU approximation. From this point of departure, it is interesting to focus on the social problem which is emigration and predominantly irregular migration from Georgia and representation of emigrants in media discourse. Critical discourse analysis will help to uncover the socially constructed nature of reality. For the fulfilment of this aim, it is important to be aware of the actors' interests and needs that all in all affect their representations (Wodak & Meyer, 2011).

This study takes bottom-level language forms into consideration during the analysis of media material with a particular focus on the expression of the speakers' actions the speaker wants to legitimise. Thus, particular attention will be centred to metaphors used in the material, choice of words when describing emigrants, assertions, claim-making, adjectives that ascribe particular qualities to the nationhood (Georgians living in Georgia) and emigrants. Furthermore, "village-outward" approach is more relevant to the study which focuses on the migrants from their place of origin to multiple destinations. To go further, multi-cited perspective will allow understanding complex relations, namely gendered nature of migration from Georgia, strategies for survival and family progress. (Zapata-Barrero & Yalaz, 2018). Thus, it will give us a more holistic perspective on emigration discourse in Georgian spoken media.

Since 2011, there have been more than 200 radio programs specifically targeting emigrants, emigrant communities. For the purpose to downsize the data, I have taken period after visa liberalisation March 2017 and analysed the talk radio shows in which the main topic was female emigration or somehow talk was organized to refer to female emigrants. Moreover, I use a selection of excerpts that were related to female emigration. As done by

another researcher, I have applied the same approach and selected excerpts for the analysis based on the appearance of the words “female”, “emigration”, “emigrants”. To narrow the selection down, only those passages are used in which emigration as a topic was elaborately presented (Majstorović, 2007). In total, eleven talk radio shows have been listened and analysed. Talk radio shows broadcasted on the following dates were applied as study material:

November 28, 2017 topic: “Law Bureau to advocate Georgian diaspora rights”;

December 05, 2017 topic: “Left behind families of emigrants”;

December 12, 2017 topic: “Left behind children of emigrants”;

December 26, 2017 topic: “New year emigrant chronicle”;

December 28, 2017 topic: “New year meetings with emigrants”;

January 04, 2018 topic: “New year celebration of emigrants”;

February 27, 2018 topic: “Successful female emigrant”;

March 08, 2018 topic: “Woman in emigration”;

March 13, 2018 topic: “Woman in emigration” (continuation of the previous talk radio show);

May 01, 2018 topic: “Georgian female artists in emigration”;

June 05, 2018 topic: “Migration routes: meetings in homeland”.

KhosraviNik, Krzyzanowski and Wodak (2012) referred to downsizing of data in their research on “Dynamics of Representation in Discourse: Immigrants in The British Press”. Qualitative down sampling has been applied in this study to focus on the programs that were related to a general issue regarding migration from Georgia to EU MSs. For instance, there have been programs to cover emigrants from non-EU member countries, Israel, Turkey which were excluded from the studied materials.

To summarize above sayings, research procedures were as follows:

- Dates: talk radio shows were selected from 28 March 2017 (historical date when visa liberalization was given to citizens of Georgia) until February 2019.
- Data collected through the official web page of the Public Broadcaster channel. Records of radio shows were available at the web page.
- 74 radio programs were found within the aforementioned time frame.

However, only 11 have been used for this study.

- Each radio program was examined in search of common themes, discursive strategies, rhetoric devices, such as using metaphors, extreme case formulations.
- Implications were derived from the findings of the research.

4.3 Description of spoken media material

According to Ian Hutchby (2006) in the book “Media talk. Conversation Analysis and the Study of Broadcasting” describes talk radio show as a platform where members of the public are given an opportunity to engage in discussions. Various types of talk radio shows exist in today’s world. The one which I will be analysing for this study belongs to the single-issue phone-in where callers can engage in debate on a pre-selected topic. The topic is chosen by the author of the talk radio show. In most cases, in my material at least one or two experts, or laypersons with migration background, public figures (e.g. singers, writers, etc.) are in the studio together with the host. The show featured a talk from members of the public, talk from callers with some level of topic-related expertise and the show host. It is worth mentioning here that the show is far from elite talk but to bring emigrants together to share their opinions and stories. Below, I will give a thick description of the media material on which conclusions of this study will be drawn in the following chapters.

Talk radio show “Migration Routes” has been broadcasting at the Public Broadcaster radio since 2011. TV-Radio Corporation Public Broadcaster is financed by the state budget and unites two radio stations: Radio FM 102.4 and Radio Two – FM 100.9, which increases their responsibility and extends the mandate to create an impartial and diverse broadcasting environment which reflects various opinions from all members of Georgian society.

The talk radio show is scheduled in a weekday evening slot, namely on Tuesdays and Thursdays from 18:00 until 19:00. For each talk radio show, the team working on it defines topic and invites an expert in the field or layperson with migration background, knowledge to present his/her opinions. It is traditionally devoted to an interactive live debate with members of the public. Invited guests in general are members of Georgian society, for example representatives of non-governmental organizations, public figures (writers, painters, etc.), and emigrants. The aforementioned talk radio show has been broadcasted at radio station FM 102.4. This is an official web page of the Public Broadcaster: <https://1tv.ge/organizatsia/vin-vart-chven/>

The talk radio show is recorded and an audience can find all recorded shows at the official web page of the Public Broadcaster (stated above) or through YouTube channel (simply using keyword search “Migration Routes”). On the web page, there is a short introduction of the talk radio show and it reads as follows:

At first, the text is stated in Georgian with English translation:

„მიგრაციის გზები, რომელიც იწყება სამშობლოდან, ზოგჯერ კონკრეტული მისამართით, ხან კი უცხოეთში ხიფათისა და წვალუბის გზებად იქცევა. რა მნიშვნელობა აქვს ჰუმანურ და მოწესრიგებულ მიგრაციას საზოგადოებისთვის?

რადიო პირველი არხი ამ გადაცემის საშუალებით იწყებს მსჯელობას მიგრაციის შესახებ ყველა იმ უწყებასთან თანამშრომლობით, რომლებიც ამ საკითხებზე მუშაობენ. გადაცემაში მონაწილეობას მიიღებენ ჩვენი საზოგადოების წარმომადგენლები და ემიგრანტები მსოფლიოს სხვადასხვა ქვეყნიდან. რადიო პირველი არხი გახდება მათი შეხვედრის ადგილი.

ყოველ სამშაბათს და ხუთშაბათს 18:10 საათიდან პირდაპირ ეთერშია გადაცემა „მიგრაციის მარშუტები“ - თანამედროვე და ისტორიული ემიგრაციის საინტერესო ამბები, სასარგებლო რჩევები და კონსულტაციები“.

“Migration routes usually start from the country of origin. It has a purpose and often results in difficulties that emigrants face abroad. What meanings does the society give to human and orderly migration? This programme initiates discussions on migration and invites all parties who closely work on this issue. Members of the society, emigrants from all over the world will actively participate in the programme. Radio “Public Broadcaster” will become their meeting point. Radio programme broadcasts on Tuesday and Thursday from 18:10. The programme will cover modern and historical news related to migration and provide useful advice and consultations to the listeners”.

(Researcher’s note: In this passage, the word “programme” appeared in the original text (left unchanged by the translator) which refers to talk radio show, the term which will be and has been used throughout the study. Italics here and throughout the study are used by the researcher to refer to direct translation from Georgian into English).

Each recorded talk radio show usually starts with the following phase accompanied by background music (first stated in Georgian followed by English translation):

„ეს არის რადიო გადაცემა ემიგრაციაზე და ემიგრანტებზე“

“This is a radio programme about emigration and emigrants”.

After the introduction of visa liberalisation, 74 radio programs have been recorded.

The audience can consume the media product by downloading or listening to it at a later stage.

During the eight years period, the talk radio show has been broadcasted twice a week and covered the following topics on migration:

- Freedom of movement of human beings and visa liberalization;
- International migration politics and Georgia;
- Migration and asylum;
- Labor migration: opportunities and challenges;
- Migration politics of Georgia which targets foreigners;
- Migrant rights in Georgia;
- Diaspora engagement;
- Interaction with diaspora and migration politics of Georgia;
- The popularization of Georgian culture;
- Public diplomacy: young Georgian ambassadors abroad;
- Foreign friends of Georgia who contributed to the development of the country;
- Successful Georgian emigrants who contributed to the development of the destination country;
- Diaspora investments;
- The young generation of Georgian emigrants and their role in the development of Georgia;
- Migration narratives: perspectives of students from Georgian universities;
- Local non-governmental organizations working on migration topics: their views and introduction of local projects/activities;
- Migration and media;

Responsible talk or rumours on emigration?

- Young researchers on migration issues;
- Migration and development;
- Migration and remittances;
- Integration of migrants from Georgia in their destination countries;
- Reintegration of Georgian returned migrants;
- Integration of foreign migrants in Georgian society;
- International protection in Georgia;
- Asylum, refugees and mechanism of international protection;
- Migration and human rights;
- Human trafficking;
- Legal mechanism of counter trafficking;
- Statelessness;
- Modern and historical form of emigration from Georgia;
- Societal attitudes towards migration processes;
- Georgian emigrants: living conditions and challenges;
- Treats of irregular migration;
- Circular migration schemes;
- Reasons for migration from Georgia: Expectations versus Reality;
 - Georgian families abroad;
 - Cultural aspects of migration from Georgia;
 - Migration politics in neighboring post-Soviet Union countries;
 - International organizations on migration issues - their role and activities;
 - Study abroad opportunities for Georgian students;
 - Real stories of emigrants.

Researcher's note: List of all topics covered in the talk radio show is provided by the author of the show.

As cited in O'Keeffe (2011, p. 449), the term "participation framework" has been introduced by Goffman (1981), who defines it as an environment in which the media discourse occurs. The discourse producer and audience are the core of this environment. The talk radio show is the case of spoken media discourse which is consumed as soon as it is broadcasted, or may be recorded or downloaded and listened to at a later stage. Basic participation framework for spoken discourse includes the following actors: Presenter (media person), guest(s), text and the audience. However, in the modern era, listeners of the radio program are not passive recipients, but they can engage in interaction by posting their comments on the official page of the Public Broadcaster or calling directly in the broadcast studio. Thus, there is a new perspective of media participation framework which underlines the fact that media discourse is consumed over time and is subject to ripple response.

To put this framework in current study, participation framework was made up of a studio-based media person (host who has an expertise in the field of migration), interacting with guest (usually more than one guest with different background) in the studio or interaction with the guest sometimes happened via Skype due to geographical distance. Their interaction has been broadcasted through an audio channel. However, at a later stage, the audience can reach the media product through an audio-visual channel. The listener was not a passive recipient of the information but had an opportunity to pose questions, comments via calling and contribute to a debate on a pre-selected topic. The phone number was announced at the beginning of talk radio show and repeated several times during broadcasting. However, analysis of callers' contribution in the show is out of the scope of this study.

5. Data analysis

In the following section, I use the clustered macro-topics (themes) of ‘emigration’ to organize sequences from the chosen talk radio show. This approach has been implemented by Wagner and Wodak in their study on performing success in 2006.

5.1 Theme 1. The other face of emigration: children and families left behind

A talk radio show “Migration Routes” is the meeting point and platform to report on migration issues (predominantly on emigration) from various points of departure and from various positions. As an observation, the talk radio show is more inclined to report female success stories of migrants from Georgia. Different social actors in terms of their role and position in the society are brought in the talk radio show to share their opinions, attitudes, and ideologies related to emigration. Voices of migrants from Georgia and those speaking on their behalf are key agents of the studied material.

Analysis shows how actors involved in the program (host, and guest speakers) jointly construct some aspect of the reality about Georgian migrants’ plight. In this study, I will mainly focus on host-guest speakers’ interaction and their ways of thinking.

In the talk radio show, the host is always the first who expresses an opinion or provides explanations and accounts for her own positions and by doing so, she sets up an environment in which guest speakers are placed to follow her ideology on the topic that will be debated. Host-led introduction automatically puts her in a more powerful situation than other interactants. However, according to Hutchby (2006) who describes turn making and discursive asymmetry in talk radio, going second is more powerful position in argumentative

discourse because the guest speaker is able to challenge host's position on the issue or express counter-opinion.

The role of the host is important to consider for the analysis. As cited in Kilby & Horowitz (2013), the host is defined as "talk manager" by Thornborrow (2001b: 122). In my material, the host starts with the introduction of the topic at the beginning of each talk radio show. The term host here and throughout the study refers to a person who is a presenter of the talk radio show and decides the topic of discussion. The Guest speaker(s) who appears to be an ordinary member of the public with or without migration background contributes in a discussion by answering the questions raised by the host in the studio or sometimes via Skype if that person physically resides in another country.

Below extracts demonstrate topic-setting for the show and host's position regarding pre-selected issue. The authentic text was spoken in Georgian. The author translated the text from Georgian into English. All extracts are presented in English and in italics to distinguish them from the main text.

December 05, 2017 topic: "Left-behind families of emigrants";

Host: *"Not one instance confirms that emigration of the mother is not only harmful to the country but also it has destructive effects on the family of the emigrant. Main victims of such families are primarily children without a mother who has to take important steps of life alone, without a mother's support. Psychologists explain that it leads to aggressive behavior of the child, instable psyche which no one knows in what kind of forms it may take in the future - all of this is often characterized for the generation who brought up without mother. Mothers do not choose to migrate for personal economic growth. Women spend most of their lives and sacrifice their lives to sustain the financial well-being of their children. Mothers and their left-behind children will be participating in today's radio program".*

Host (continuous): *“Mothers of two 16-year-old boys who were murdered by peers on 01 December are emigrants, working abroad. Who knows exactly, what difficulties the emigrant women face on a daily basis? Their tragedy is tremendous and radically changes their lives. In today’s debate, mothers are participating in the program – that have recently returned from emigration and those who left for families and settled abroad”.*

The host made an explicit statement that emigration of mothers negatively affects the lives of their children. However, in the end, she tried to justify emigrant mothers’ decision on migration with the fact that their decisions are not for their own good but to take care of others. Here, host invoked voluntary versus involuntary migration, “free agent vs the exile” as stated in the study conducted by Clary-Lemon (2014). Emigration is linked to the negative concepts, such as involuntariness of emigration, something that is out of the person’s free will. Furthermore, the absence of a mother’s care had an impact on emigrant child’s delinquent behavior. Thus, it is an attempt to portray emigration as negative phenomena which are associated on the one hand with involuntariness of emigration and on the other hand linked with emigrant child’s antisocial behavior. This tendency of linking emigration to negative concepts has been characteristic for the study of Irish emigration in the 1970s by Jennifer Clary-Lemon (2014).

Aforementioned extracts show that the host is in a position to demonstrate her views and delivers a talk which may be influential for the guest speakers. By doing so, she sets the trend, the way of thinking which should be continued and developed by other speakers. She expects less controversy talk on preselected-topic but mutual, “in-agreement” talk. Coming to the conclusion, the host is more inclined to choose guest speakers who share like-wise opinions, attitudes and leaves less room for critical discourse.

Migration and transnational parenting which put a strain on the families, especially children have been supported by many studies. In the study of Moldovan households, absence of migrant mother resulted in the child's drop out of school, drug abuse, and sexual activity. (UNICEF-Moldova 2006, as cited in Fleury, 2016). Adolescents are more inclined to engage in risky behavior and become more violent towards peers when they lack a mother's care and attention. (D'Emilio et al. 2007, as cited in Fleury, 2016).

To further develop analysis, the main reason for emigration is to sustain long term financial stability of left-behinds and predominantly for the aim of investing in children's education. Very often, children of emigrants have been brought up by grandmothers and grandfathers who substitute mother's care and in the long run, they become new mothers and fathers of the child. After many years of living abroad and mainly virtual communication between emigrants and their left-behinds distances the relationships. Emigrant mother becomes "*virtual parent*", "*guest*" and the "*other*". This again pairs emigration with negative concepts such as destroyed families and becoming the other.

Despite the fact that it is very common that emigrants are intensively engaged in the lives of their children by virtual means, it still does not mediate the effects of being brought up without mother. "*Lost years in emigration*", "*sacrifice*", "*constant battle*", "*and fear*" are commonly used metaphors in the talk radio show to refer to emigrant's plight abroad.

Notwithstanding, after many years of emigration, this process turns into constant care, in the form of sending remittances. It has been described as a mentality problem of Georgian society. "Psyche" of Georgians refers to exaggerated caring of family members (children, spouse, parents, etc.) when there is no limit and it reaches a peak, when for example at the age of 40 of the child, emigrant mother still continues to send money home. Care takes its' most extreme form that never ends. The guest speaker proposed a solution of this problem

and put the responsibility on the government of Georgia to regulate the flow from Georgia and facilitate the return of emigrants by providing state support programs. Speaker also notes that the government's inaction and shifted priorities, "*zero recognition of emigrants*" as they are invisible people who send money to home, are a primary obstacle which delays their return.

Host raised a question and asked for guest speakers' input on this issue.

Host: "*Does emigration of mother result in the aggressive behaviour of the child left behind? What do you think? For example, this is very common in your and our life.*

Guest speaker (1): "*Yes, children are often irritated by the fact that the mother is far from them. They lack warm and care which is hardly possible via computer interaction. Virtual interaction is not enough. I think mother and child should not be separated from one another. They should stay together all the time. I think the government should understand this and facilitate the return of emigrant mothers to the home country. This is my last comment on this issue*".

Guest speaker (2): "*I do not agree on the statement that emigrants' children are more aggressive than of non-emigrants. For example, when you switch on a TV or computer, much negative information is coming from there. Believe or not, I cannot watch TV. A child is watching TV, playing computer games during 24 hours that contribute to performing more aggressively at a later stage*".

In above-stated extracts, the host makes a link between children left behind and their misbehaviour which is revealed by other studies (Coe, 2013; Dreby, 2007; Parrenas, 2003 as cited in Trinidad Galvan & Guevara Beltran, 2016). Misconduct of child left behind is explained by the lack of warm, caring and attention from emigrant mother. However, it appears to be a conflicting discourse that misbehaviour of a child should not be attributed to

the fact that mother is in emigration but the role of modern technological advancements is crucial to consider in this respect. Thus, there is no singular way to describe problems of children's relationship to their emigrant parents and the social relations they must navigate at home. (Trinidad Galvan & Guevara Beltran, 2016).

Guest speaker (1): *"It is a big mistake when the mother leaves children behind. However, there were stronger pushing factors to emigrate. I do not know if I go through this experience once again. Emigration has this disadvantage that it leaves a mark in one's memory and strongly affects family relationships which have gone cold. This is a very difficult issue to talk about"*.

It is apparent that emigration is having a negative effect on the families left behind and as a society whole. As in previous research, in this material emigration discourse was tied to the popular metaphor of "emigration as an exile" (Clary-Lemon, 2014). Furthermore, negatively connoted metaphors and links to other negative concepts like distanced family relationships, becoming "other", "delinquent behaviour" has been applied to represent emigration as a negative experience in this material. Consequences of emigration are seen as predominantly negative and stoppage of emigration and facilitation of emigrants' returns are associated with the solution and preserving nationhood.

Female migration from Georgia is explained due to the diffusion of responsibility between family members, a phenomenon which is known when a person is less likely to take responsibility for action or inaction when others are present (Kassin, Fein, Markus & Burke, 2013). A guest speaker gives an example of Turkey where a male is the dominant actor to decide whether or whether not to migrate. Father takes responsibility to sustain the family. This notion was replicated by the host as traditional value for Georgia which has shifted nowadays. In addition to this, the guest speaker portrays the current situation of Georgia

when a mother is abroad and husband and their children hang out at the street. Here it continues that husband in many cases becomes alcoholic. Thus, parenthood loses authority in the eyes of children when the father is an alcoholic and mother is abroad.

Another problematic aspect of emigration was highlighted in guest speaker's discourse which refers to *"the problem of a small nation, where each citizen values"* which in turn puts moral legitimation for the government of Georgia to work intensively on the return of Georgian migrants that would solve the problem of *"small nation"*.

Guest speaker articulates how emigrant's child is thinking nowadays: *"I will do everything, the mother can do nothing to me, she cannot jump from the computer screen"* this becomes a new attitude in Georgian society, the way of thinking of emigrants' children. Woman takes the decision to migrate which defines her plight in the long term, in most cases this plight is associated with permanent migration and permanent care of others. It turns into doing more harm than good to left-behinds. They become dependent on the remittances which are easy money and abandon thinking to become self-sustainable in the future. Thus, emigrant mother reinforces laziness of the child or spouse who becomes less motivated to think on self-sustainable options.

December 05, 2017 topic: "Left-behind families of emigrants".

Guest speaker: *"Left-behind children are like putting them in the ruins. Every child needs a mother's care and warmth in the context when the first word said by the child is "mother"*.

Visa liberalisation facilitated migrant flow from Georgia. For instance, if the German government did the same and if not Germans' hard-working spirit in home, would you imagine what has happened? Did Germany become so powerful as it is now? Thus, we need to keep our citizens at home."

At first, the decision to emigrate is perceived as short term. However, it extends on a longer period which in turn results in distanced relationships and lost touch with friends. This is the price that emigrants pay for the financial sustainability of the family.

Two contrasting representations of migrants from Georgia appeared in the talk: a major problem that has to be dealt with (stop emigration) and victims that need help and want to return home.

5.2 Theme 2. Social Construction of successful emigrant women from Georgia – life as an emigrant and beyond

According to the Social Constructionist Approach, construction of successful emigrant women from Georgia is to examine the way they are represented. For example, Lynn and Lea (2003) in the article “‘A Phantom menace and the new Apartheid’: the social construction of asylum-seekers in the United Kingdom” examined the representation of asylum seekers and refugees. Namely, they examined the wider discursive context in which refugees and asylum seekers found themselves situated. Social Constructionist Approach as a social process considers ideologies, opinions, attitudes as argumentative that are subject to continuous change (Lynn & Lea, 2003). It is interesting to understand how emigrant women from Georgia construct their success story through various ways of thinking and how this knowledge is transmitted in media. The host has assigned the status of successful emigrant women in her introduction speech. Coming from this point of departure, below analyses and examples will show how speakers accomplish to meet the assigned status.

March 08, 2018 topic: “Woman in emigration”.

Host (introduction of the topic):

“I would like to celebrate International Women's Day to emigrant women who have been living abroad for a decade and those who have just gone abroad ...Those who have to stay abroad due to the profession and whose art, the artwork has been successfully presented in abroad. Georgian emigrant women manage not only to establish in a foreign country, but to cope with stress and achieve an incredible level of personal development and economic sustainability. In the studio, we would like to invite successful emigrant women who overcame difficulties, and despite this difficult road, they have tangible results and they are trying to do Georgian work abroad”.

The host pointed out the importance of emigrants' integration in a new country and their doings to represent Georgian culture in their new communities. Furthermore, she felt the need of introducing emigrants' doings to a broad public. Host explicitly stated that emigrant women from Georgia are successful in their new establishments and preserving the culture of origin abroad. Host highlighted that emigrant women's plight is painful. By doing so, she has already set a trend which is *“difficult life of emigrant women from Georgia”* and she expects that this notion would be further supported and developed by guest speakers. It has happened exactly so. Guest speakers analysed their road as an emigrant from various standpoints. Their talk mainly emphasized the following: *“Emigration path is a difficult way when you realize that you have to legalize your stay, obtain documents, begin studies, establish on your own. You are alone in this plight”*. Guest speakers' discourse on their plight abroad coincided with what has been said earlier by the host. Discourse went further by extending success stories of all emigrants: *“Every emigrant from Georgia is successful in their own way”*. This statement is reinforced by the argument that all Georgian emigrants have gone through the difficult scenario to create a success story. They feel accomplished and win a life battle. This is taken-for-granted knowledge on female emigrants that dominates in the discourse.

Guest speakers used metaphors to prescribe meanings to emigrants: *“Emigrants look like bees, who are making honey in their hives. Emigrant is a bee and hive is her home country”*.

This metaphor strengthens the notion that emigrants put themselves in a position to sacrifice for the good of their families and country as a whole. It appears to be no other alternative but to work hard, pay debts which in turn makes their place of emigration as permanent. Aforementioned metaphors (bee and hive) have been used to invoke emotions among listeners of the show and make dramatic effects of emigration.

February 27, 2018 topic: “Successful female emigrant”.

“My success story lies on my hard work which leads to having many thankful and grateful people around who sees your doings, recognizes and respects. No other success exists but to assist people and see the end result of your attempts. For someone, success is to have lots of money but we, emigrants do not have this luxury”.

This saying of one of the guest speakers which once again reinforces the notion that emigrants are inclined to do good things to others (e.g. newly arrived Georgians in host country) and through this, they find self-fulfilment which in turn motivates them to think on self-development and express their abilities, find skills in which they are good at and so on and so forth. In this discourse, emigration is linked to positive concepts, like doing kind things to others and accomplishing self-development. Moreover, the speaker’s success is shaped by their hard working spirit and not by accident and coincidence as it is revealed by the gender study in which women believed their professional achievement was due to coincidence. Further to this discussion, culture plays an important role in how women discursively construct their success stories (Diem-Wille, 1996, as cited in Wagner & Wodak, 2006). Being successful also has a connotation of being motivated and enthusiastic because in

the end she will be awarded by the people. Moreover, success is attributed to be caring to others and being kind to others. *“My success story lies on my hard work”* gives an idea that the speaker perceives herself as a person who shapes or designs her own environment, and who is the creator of her life path and responsible for the consequences of her doings. On top of this, success is understood as something associated with money. In this perspective, the speaker should not be successful because of not having money *“For someone success is to have lots of money but we, emigrants do not have this luxury”*. However, she re-constructs a common understanding of success and gives a new meaning of being kind to others. In the self-presentation as successful emigrant woman the following metaphorical frame was dominated: *“Self-presentation as a hard-worker and a kind-hearted towards others”*. To put it differently, success was defined as an achievement as a result of continuous work on self-development and continuously thinking to assist others in need which is crucial for gaining success. A common understanding of success associated with money was downplayed to invoke new meaning of success of emigrant women who despite having no money still were seen as successful. At the first glance, it seems this speaker tried to search for a different language from which to construct the meaning of success, challenge the common understanding of success associated with money (Smulyan, 2004 as cited in Wagner & Wodak, 2006). However, this is just one passage and more data is needed for thorough analysis. This was an attempt to grasp the topic without going into a deeper level of analysis.

This notion of presenting oneself as an ‘autonomous’ individual ‘who is always seeking to improve themselves’ is strongly supported by other study and which is accomplished through a discursive pattern of (dis)alignment (Inoue, 2007: 85 as cited in Catedral, 2018). Most commonly, migrant women’s successes are attributed to the host

country (country of residence) and the country's enlightened political order (Rottenberg, 2014, as cited in Cathedral, 2018).

It is interesting to see how Georgian identity is being represented in terms of societal perspective related to obtaining high education and parent-child relations.

Guest speaker: *“Georgia is an ambitious country and Georgians are ambitious people. They want a good job and high education to obtain status. For example, in Germany, Germans pay attention to the content and quality of education rather than having a paper-based diploma which is so characteristic for Georgia”*.

Georgian identity is represented in parallel with the host country experience. Guest speaker adopted views from the host country which highlights Germans liberal views, tolerance and zero engagement in children's decision-making process and their orientation to find an individual profession and recognizes free will and voluntariness in actions. Discourse centres on the theme that German and Georgian views on certain issues are overtly different and guest speaker constantly makes parallels between two countries to portray these differences. At the end, guest speaker suggests a solution and speaks that hard work, independence in the decision-making process while choosing a profession, active citizenship, volunteer work, and orientation towards quality rather than quantity are key factors of finding a place in the world.

“I cannot call them emigrants. They are all Georgians” this statement links emigrant and Georgian identity. The guest speaker tries to accomplish Georgian identity which takes different forms among emigrants. They are Georgians because they maintain Georgian spirit and acknowledge and respect the culture.

“They are more real Georgians than those living in Georgia”. This statement shows that emigrants preserve Georgian identity despite being far from the country of origin. It

serves to highlight emigrants doing an effort to maintain Georgian identity which has to be acknowledged and respected by other Georgians.

5.3 Theme 3. “Becoming an emigrant” and “Doing Georgian job”

Preservation of one’s heritage in emigration context is a common understanding. In the Georgian context, this idea is known as “*doing Georgian job*” phenomenon which deserves high interest in the debate between guest speakers and the host. It is given the following meanings: “*helping other Georgians who are newcomers*”, “*promoting Georgian culture*”, “*finding new investors for Georgia*”, “*establishing Georgian house which will become meeting place for all Georgians*”, “*setting up Sunday schools to offer Georgian language classes to emigrant children*”, “*giving Georgian dance lessons and Georgian cuisine classes*”. In the talk of guest speakers, “*doing Georgian job*” is served as a relief not to fall into nostalgia and depression. Furthermore, it has been felt need to maintain Georgian identity and ties with the home country. Thus, it is a necessity to do “*Georgian job*” and avoid dying with homesickness.

Statements of guest speakers “*I do not call myself as an emigrant*”, “*I have not planned to become an emigrant*” functions to an unforeseen path of their life as an emigrant. Life scenario changed dramatically in terms of their settlement and establishment in the new country. “*Mental freedom abroad*”, “*escaping from stereotypes that existed in Georgian society*” and the need to find a way for personal and professional development were dominant factors of their way to “*becoming an emigrant*”. Guest speakers characterized their way of “*becoming an emigrant*” as the process of becoming a stronger person, doing everything independently, and not relying on others’ help but standing on their foot. Thus, “*becoming an emigrant*” as a phenomenon was seen as the way to personal and professional

accomplishment and successful establishment in the destination country, characterized as “*finding the place in the world*”. The problem of becoming an emigrant lies on existed circumstances in Georgia which delays the progress of Georgian women and for this reason, they have chosen a way to become an emigrant. This again highlights unfavourable socio-economic or political climate in Georgia which hinders women’s’ development. “*Face of Georgian women*” is another interesting category which was given a meaning of having zero opportunities for Georgian women to expand their abilities and settle in Georgia.

5.4 Theme 4. Precarious or irregular status of migrants from Georgia as an obstacle to development

Migration is a poverty-alleviating strategy which means migration from the country of origin to destination has the potential to facilitate the development of the home country (Zapata-Barrero & Yalaz, 2018). Thus, it is interesting to see how this development potential has been represented in the discourse on Georgian emigrants. It has been found out that irregularity of migrant women from Georgia with the meaning that they have no documents for legal residence in the host country, becomes a huge barrier. It appears that from guest speakers’ perspective, undocumented, female-dominated migration from Georgia is a problematic area which requires solution and adequate response from the government of Georgia.

“Emigrants are a powerful resource for the country’s development in many directions. Governments should use this potential.”

This extract demonstrates the responsibility of the government of Georgia to support emigrants. However, there is nothing said how this should be achieved. It offers no practical solution but serves as a mere statement. This is characteristic for this material when speakers

simply state something without proposing real, practical solutions of the problem but simply delegating responsibility on the relevant body, mainly Georgian government. Here, the development potential of migration is hindered by the precarious and irregular status of Georgian migrants. And again it is seen purely ‘governmental thing’ to tackle the issue.

5.5 Theme 5. Georgian mentality on the move

“*Georgian mentality on the move*” is phenomenon which serves as a function to abandon travail position of Georgian emigrants who in most cases are precarious workers, engaged in service industry (e.g. caregivers, nannies, cleaners etc.) and become more progressively thinking, gain education that promises better jobs rather than being nanny or housekeeper.

From “*servicing the position of the nation*” to a more advanced level which gives an idea that Georgian emigrants are in the service of others in order to feed their families. The guest speaker proposed that this tradition has to end at some point. Emigrants should transform their ways of thinking, take positive aspects of the host culture, change perspectives on life and by doing so, they will reach progress in their professional and personal life. To fuel this discussion, the guest speaker gave an example of many Georgians who go abroad with the focus on marrying a foreigner which is seen as a way to establish in a new country. Speaker suggests changing this kind of mentality and becoming a more progressively minded nation. This tendency of fraud marriage for the purpose of establishing in the host country is a common approach for those who intend to enter to labour market when there is no other entry route (Inglis, 2003). Thus, this is not the route that only Georgian females choose in order to settle in the host country. However, in the discourse, it has been viewed as pure “Georgian thing” which is often associated with shame.

5.6 Theme 6. Emigration discourse: forgetting longstanding emigrants from Georgia

Distinguishing old emigrants from new ones has been another interesting theme found in the material. “*Old emigrants*” (Researcher’s note: this is the term as it appeared in original text) who spent half of their life abroad become subject to zero attention and response from home country. This tendency to forget their doings is explained by a lack of information in the home country about emigrants’ lives. This is another problematic issue which has been revealed in the talks of guest speakers. Furthermore, they offered to distinguish “*old and new emigrants*” the term which referred to the years and many episodes of their life abroad. It is noticeable that different language is used when referring to old emigrants as huge contributors for the home country whose work is nearly forgotten. The solution is seen to increase interest and information level in Georgian society, re-connect with old emigrants whose years-old hard work and input is not recognized and respected at home country.

Emigration as a constructed social phenomenon in the talk radio show is seen as a way to better life and wider opportunities on the one hand and on the other hand emigrant discourse is highly dramatized in public talks and linked with negative concepts mentioned earlier.

“When we leave Georgia, we automatically become an emigrant despite the reasons of emigration. It can be cultural, political or socio-economic reasons that lie under this decision”.

In order to re-affirm the aforementioned statement guest speaker gave an example of France where people leaving the country of origin are called “expatriates” which is not

common word-choice for Georgia. Instead, category “emigrant” is used for each and every person who leaves the country for various reasons and different time frame.

“Even Georgian students we call emigrants and it is not right”.

This statement again shows that an inaccurate choice of the word has been characteristic in public talks on emigration and emigrants. Emigrants are highly romanticized in the talk radio show. Furthermore, the term “emigrant” has a negative connotation associated with the heavy plight and painful, stressful life. Moreover, this notion is susceptible to generalization to all emigrants having similar experiences of suffering. Emigrant is necessarily a person who emigrated involuntarily, due to circumstances. The aspect of involuntariness of emigration somehow explains their misery life abroad. Thus, migration appeared to be the least bad option in a “no-win situation”. It has been seen as the option of last resort to save the family from hunger and poverty as appeared in studied material.

As stated above, media’s usage of the term emigration and emigrant is often misinterpreted, without giving an explanation but the term is clearly applied for all Georgians who left the country despite their reasons and years of living abroad. Emigrant could be anyone, even the person who went abroad for touristic reasons. Georgian media enjoys talking about emigration and emigrants particularly focusing on their plight, victimized position, and their sacrifice to save families with the aim to produce “drama talk” on emigration. Media portrayals on emigrants are often idealized, extremely sensitized which lacks real discussions or suggestions on how to empower emigrants.

Below statement demonstrates that emigration is associated with inevitable stress and links emigration with a negative concept such as stress.

“Changing a country looks like moving to a new apartment which accompanies stressful experience by all means”.

Furthermore, emigration is found to be formulated as an “*extreme environment*” where a person entered due to forced circumstances (e.g. unemployment, poverty, etc.). This extreme feature of emigration experience was put forward to point out the strength in which people become mobilized to cope with stressful factors and find solutions. It again re-confirms the earlier statement that emigration makes a person stronger and alert to overcome difficulties.

Dramatized discourse on emigrants and emigration serves the function to produce contrasting discourse in which emigrants are seen as constant sufferers on the one hand, and on the other hand, they manage to accomplish self-fulfilment and become successful. This self-fulfilling prophecy of emigration should be taken forward.

“Emigrants are not welcome, loved elsewhere” which is common discourse in the populist world in which nationalistic interests are on a higher level. In this context, it is important to abandon “*sentimental aspect of emigration*” and take this discourse from the more serious, emotion-free stance.

Famous Georgian singer who was invited at talk radio show gave meaning to emigration and emigrants in the form of poetry. This poetry describes Georgian emigrants and emigration which is a demonstration of distinguishing Georgian identity of emigrants and Georgians living in Georgia.

“You're not an emigrant, you are Georgian with heart and soul.

Proud and sad do not ask for help.

With hardworking spirit and often exhausted with life, trying not to show off your Georgian tears.

Many times you were left without shelter and food and could not even express your sorrow in the mother tongue.

But you were not becoming an evil spirited, on the contrary, your heart gets warmer

You were alone in maintaining Georgian spirit abroad

You're not an emigrant, you are needed in your homeland

You are proud and sad, you will always stay with us”

This poetry is a good illustration of overtly dramatized talk on emigrants and emigration which serves to arouse emotions in the public.

“The more distanced you become, more I am falling in love with you”

“When you are far from home country, happiness is felt as spring from the window”

Both statements function to show the spirit of emigrants and their highly patriotic view. This again is directed to give dramatic tones to emigration, romanticise the issue with high hopes of return and heavy plight abroad.

Discussion

At the beginning of this paper, my intention was to address overtly dramatized discourse on emigration and emigrants’ representation through analysing talk radio show. I have asked three questions. With respect to the first question, I have found that discourse around the representation of female emigrants from Georgia is contrasting in essence. Most commonly, it is linked to negatively connoted metaphors such as “*virtual parent*”, “*guest*”, “*other*”, “*sacrifice*”, “*battle*”, and “*fear*”.

However, the other side of female emigration is understood as positive in terms of their success stories and professional as well as personal achievements. All three discursive strategies have been used by the actors of the talk radio show to convey ideologies, attitudes

and common sense knowledge: victimization of migrants, avoidance of concrete discussion on the empowerment of migrants and use of positive rhetoric with contradictory implications.

In response to the second question, speakers of studied materials applied extreme wordings to construct the reality of female emigrants from Georgia.

Further to this discussion of the third question, the way the chosen material covered emigration topic and fuelled discussion was affected by many factors, such as host's personal bias, taken-for-granted knowledge, and use of stereotypical language. Behind the good intention to cover emigration topic and bring their voices into the public, the way it has been achieved resulted in a symbolic understanding of emigration which is on the surface.

The following discursive strategies have been identified in the material: link to negative concepts, negatively connoted metaphors, and extreme case formulations.

“Victim schema model” proposed by Rosen et al. (2007) (as cited in Kim, 2012) appeared to be understood otherwise. Self-understanding of emigrants was not negative as such. Speakers of the studied materials described their plight in negative terms and painful experience. Nevertheless, this negative experience made them stronger persons and mobilized to handle difficult situations. Conflicting discourse unpacked among those who spoke on emigrants' behalf. They put emigrants in the victimized situation. Consequently, the way emigrants see themselves and how society gives meanings to them are distinctive in essence.

Discourse shows that positive qualities of Georgians have been evoked as a basis for the legitimisation of own interest, goals or activities or national interests and preserving national identity which is threatened by mass emigration and losing Georgian identity.

As in many studies, interpreter's bias is a big challenge to overcome in the research process and this should be acknowledged and noted in the paper (Majstorović, 2007). This aspect of scientific study has been well-delivered to the reader by many authors. I, as an

author of this study, am aware of this shortcoming of my study that needs a more in-depth investigation of the topic. Nevertheless, I hope this paper will be a good starting point for more comprehensive CDA research on emigration. For example, in-person interviews with emigrants and experts in the field of migration in Georgia should strengthen the research and provide a more in-depth understanding of the topic. Furthermore, analysing of social media would indeed offer a more profound analysis of this subject matter. Coming to the fact that social media deserves high interest among migrants in general and particularly migrants from Georgia, it will undoubtedly support the present study.

Understanding emigration talk in media is important to address the needs of emigrants and the problems they face. Hence, we must begin by acknowledging that migrants from Georgia are mainly irregulars who face the problem of return to Georgia. Moreover, social and economic unrest of Georgia, little attention to use emigrants' potential, disrespect to emigrants' doings abroad and lack of a mechanism to support in ways to communicate and maintain transnational ties are central issues that need a systematic approach to deal with. Greater pressure must be exerted on the Georgian government to provide employment opportunities and high-quality education to boost the country's economy and intellectual performance. In Georgian realm, women and men have equal access to education. Nevertheless, the problem is the recognition of diplomas and certificates by EU MSs. Female migrant loses her profession when in migration with the meaning that she has limited opportunity for professional growth due to irregular status, family pressure so on and so forth. Georgia joined the Bologna Process in 2005 according to the Ministry of Education, Science, Culture and Sport of Georgia with the aim to support recognition of Georgian diplomas abroad. This is an on-going process and long term objective is to enhance the quality of education for all.

This is beyond of my analysis but I have tackled with the following text in social media which again is a rich source for future research. Georgian emigrants are active in the Facebook platform where emigration narratives are posted on a frequent basis. Here is just one example on the understanding of emigrants' lives abroad which is far from the “European dream”.

Text is in Georgian with English translation:

“ნეტავ, თუ იცით როგორ ცხოვრობენ ემიგრანტი ქართველები ევროპაში? აქ არაფერია საოცნებო, დამიჯერეთ, აქ მზე არ მზეობს, მაღლი არ ჩანს და ყველაფერს ცხოვრების ფასი აქვს დაკარგული, ყველაფერი ყალბია. ყოველი დღე ერთმანეთს ჰგავს, თითქოს პენსიამდე ამათი ცხოვრება დაწერილია, სამსახური – სახლი, სამსახური – სახლი... არ იციან მეზობელი, ნათესავი... საშინელი სისტემა... ევროპაში ადამიანები რობოტებს უფრო ჰგავნან, ვიდრე – თავისუფალ ადამიანებს. ნეტავ, ქართველები ამაზე ვიცნებობთ? მასონებისგან შექმნილი სისტემა, სადაც ადამიანმა ნამდვილი თავისუფლება დაკარგა... თავისუფლება მხოლოდ გარყვნილობაში არ უნდა გამოიხატებოდეს, ზუსტად ამაში დევს ის აზრი, რომ ადამიანი დამონებულია ასეთი აზრებით, რომლებიც ჩვენზე დიდ გავლენას ახდენს, ასევე, ჩვენი სარწმუნოების დიდი მტერია.

ერთი შეხედვით, ქართველი ოჯახები საფრანგეთში ჩამოდიან, რადგან ფინანსურად უჭირთ და მეტი ბედნიერებისთვის სამშობლოზე დროებით უარს ამბობენ. სამწუხაროდ, ჩემს ქალაქში ყოველდღე ოჯახები ინგრევა. ალბათ, ეს იმის ბრალია, რომ თანამედროვე ცხოვრებაში ქალმა და კაცმა დაკარგა თავიანთი როლი. მამაკაცების უმეტესობა ნარკოტიკებზეა დამოკიდებული...”

"Do you know what kind of life do Georgian emigrants have in Europe? There is nothing here for you to dream about, believe me, the sun is not shining, the grace is not visible, and everything is fake. Every day is similar, going from job to house, as if their lives are pre-determined until the day they receive pension.... they do not know the neighbours, relatives...

It's a terrible system ... People in Europe are more like robots than free people. Do you think Georgians do dream about it? The system is created from Masons in which people have lost genuine freedom ... Freedom should not be reflected in immorality, it is precisely the idea that a person is enslaved by such thoughts which has a big influence on us and is a great enemy of our religion.

At first glance, Georgian families come to France because they have financial difficulties and in the search of a happier life, they temporarily refuse to live in their homeland. Unfortunately, families are falling down every day in my town. Perhaps, it is the fact that women and men in modern life have lost their roles. Most men are addicted to narcotics ..."

As Bakhtin (1981: 263 as cited in Lynn & Lea, 2003) proposed, in the contemporary world which 'ensures the primacy of context over text' emigration discourse and emigrants' construction should be understood as being of the particular time and place which are subject to changes. This analyses function as 'a social snapshot' (Lynn & Lea, 2003) of migrants from Georgia and their representations are specific to the here and now. Understanding of emigration as a problem discourse and commonly, dramatic discourse around women emigrants is a result of our perception of the social world. In this study construction of women emigrant is done in a stereotypical fashion to relate this group of people to 'victims' and sometimes to 'heroes' and 'real Georgians'. Media enjoys drama talk on emigrants

through giving voices to them to share their lived experiences or give the opportunity for others to speak on their behalf, which in turn reinforces myths, idealized discussions and perpetuates portrayal of emigrants as “victims”, “lost generation”. This kind of discourse lacks any real discussion on the topic.

The results and conclusions of this study, for the most part, follow the findings of previous studies on the topic identified earlier in this paper. Namely, contrasting discourse exists on emigration which on the one hand is associated with migrant women’s achievements and on the other hand, it is given negative descriptions and associations with negative concepts. Emigration discourse in chosen talk-radio show and understanding of it, is here and now. Georgian society has gone through long process from abandoning “soviet thinking” to more pro-Europe mode of thinking, which is still on-going process, meaning that society is not established, has opposing views on many issues and female migration is one of such issues. Nevertheless, one moment is crystal clear, that emigration discourse in media is directed to produce “no-point” talk, and discussion which is far from rational thinking with the aim to set an agenda on how to facilitate their return, or strengthen ties with family, country. This is again a targeted act to reinforce common sense views that lacks real meanings and does nothing for the development of societal consciousness.

Final remarks

Media discourse on emigration plays central role in the formation of stereotypical language, societal thinking and consciousness. It re-affirms gender stereotypes or provides new understanding on this issue. In today’s world, media becomes “influencer“, through which we have to look at the issues, understand and analyse them. The way media discourse on female emigration is produced, facilitates re-construction of old-fashioned notion of

women as passive agent (whose primary activity is to take care of the household) and forms a relatively new image of woman and especially woman in migration, who in most cases is unsatisfied with her life, becomes an “other” for the family and whose primary life goal is to send more money at home. Media discourse on emigration supports political socialisation, which in turn, defines how the society as a whole make evaluations, interpret events, make notions so on and so forth. Subjective ideologies, beliefs of the people who make media products largely defines, what kind of reality they want to create and convey in the society. In the case of Georgia, media is more inclined to arise negative emotions towards female emigrants among viewers and/or listeners. At the end, such overtly negative and emotionally charged discourse may result in domestic violence, low quality of life, increased psychological problems etc. In the studied material, participants of the talk radio show touched sensitive aspects of the topic, such as abandoned families, patriotism, nationalistic views, which translated female migration from Georgia into highly dramatized experience. Emotions are powerful determinant. Media discourse which targets to arise emotions such as fear for the family members who are in migration, or worries due to the fact that many women have to migrate to save families, leads to establish distorted image, that lacks rational understanding and discussion on the same issue. It gives birth of new understanding of migration processes as inherently negative thing, evil of the society.

In the context of Georgia, while analysing representation of female emigrants in media, migration processes were understood as obstacle to the development. Nevertheless, this was not their aim to accomplish. What we have seen in aforementioned extracts is that participants of the talk radio show viewed migration as a solution to gain freedom and feel accomplished. Thus, there was clearly controversial talk on emigration. Governmental efforts

have to be directed to eradicate negative effects attached to female emigration, in order to establish healthy minded and open society.

Reflexivity

It is important to outline and study researcher's own decisions deeper with regard to the chosen methodological approach and theoretical framework. Reflexivity is defined as the process to question on a regular basis what is beyond the researcher's decisions regarding selected methodology and/or theories. It requires a thorough inspection of the researcher's assumptions, concerns, values, priorities in order to capture the position one holds with regard to the study. It is important to distinguish what is the researcher's own assumption, interpretations from that of the studied material.

Chamberlain (2004) offers to fully inform the reader about the role of the researcher in producing study results. In that way, the process of connecting the researcher and the reader becomes more transparent. Additionally, it has the potential to explore the limitations of the study and provide recommendations for future reference.

Throughout the research process, I attempted to position myself as a researcher with the same origin as and in which the media product has been produced, and remain self-reflective accordingly. As a researcher with the same origin, I acknowledge that interpretations may be somehow biased. Cultural sensitivity is important to consider which helps to distance from the material, not to become part of the studied material which in turn diminishes the degree of misinterpretations during analysis. During the whole process of writing this manuscript, I have tried to distance myself from the material, be culturally sensitive which has been a challenging experience.

Limitation of the study

This study is limited to the fact that there is no previous research available in the area of analysing spoken media discourse in Georgia. It becomes new phenomenon in the country which needs an investigation to draw conclusions and unfold common sense discourse on emigration. Additionally, the fact that I as an author represent the same culture as the speakers of the talk radio show, may have contributed to draw subjective conclusions. Nonetheless, this thesis does not aim to put forward a generalizable understanding of which emigrant women from Georgia and those speaking on their behalf invoke views, opinions, and ideologies, but rather to make an argument through which speakers differentially orient to ways of speaking associated with emigration. In addition to this, it is important to conduct interviews with gender experts of Georgia to gain more extensive understanding of the gender aspect of labour migration from Georgia.

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Appendix

Links to chosen talk radio shows (media material):

General link to the Public Broadcaster Radio Channel: <https://1tv.ge/show/migraciis-marshrutebi/>

November 28, 2017 topic: “Law bureau to advocate Georgian diaspora rights”

<https://1tv.ge/audio/qartuli-diasporis-lobisti-saadvokato-biuro/>

December 05, 2017 topic: “Left behind families of emigrants”

<https://1tv.ge/audio/emigrantis-shin-darchenili-ojakhis-wevrebi/>

December 12, 2017 topic: “Left behind children of emigrants

<https://1tv.ge/audio/emigrantebis-shin-darchenili-shvilebi/>

December 26, 2017 topic: “New year emigrant chronicle”

<https://1tv.ge/audio/saakhalwlo-emigrantuli-qronika/>

December 28, 2017 topic: “New year meetings with emigrants”

<https://1tv.ge/audio/saakhalwlo-shekhvedrebi-emigrantebtan/>

January 04, 2018 topic: “New year celebration of emigrants”

<https://1tv.ge/audio/akhali-weli-emigraciashi/>

February 27, 2018 topic: “Successful female emigrant”

<https://1tv.ge/audio/warmatebuli-emigranti-qali/>

March 08, 2018 topic: “Woman in emigration”

<https://1tv.ge/audio/qali-emigraciashi/>

March 13, 2018 topic: “Woman in emigration” (continuation of previous talk radio show)

<https://1tv.ge/audio/274063/>

Responsible talk or rumours on emigration?

May 01, 2018 topic: “Georgian female artists in emigration”

<https://1tv.ge/audio/qartveli-khelovani-qalebi-emigraciashi/>

June 05, 2018 topic: “Migration routes: meetings in home land”.

<https://1tv.ge/audio/migraciis-marshrutebi-shekhvedrebi-samshobloshi-2/>