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STRATEGIES OF NEWSPAPER TOLERANCE DISCOURSE IN BELARUS, UK AND USA

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Abstract. The paper focuses on the objects, topics and strategies of newspaper tolerance discourse in the English-language press in the United Kingdom and the USA and the Russian and Belarusian-language press in the Republic of Belarus. The key research method is discourse analysis that reveals relations between the media text and social context. The results of the research show that the objects of the English-language tolerance discourse base on gender, racial and sexual identity, while in the Belarusian media discourse, tolerance envelops ethnicity, age and psychophysical characteristics. The study exposes discursive strategies of the newspaper tolerance discourse – strategies of compassion, positive positioning, solidarity and information. It was revealed that these strategies are used in the English-language and Belarusian press in relation to different social groups. The results provide an opportunity for further studies into the tolerance discourse in various cultures and languages.

Key words: media discourse, press, tolerance, solidarity, discrimination, identity

СТРАТЕГИИ ДИСКУРСА ТОЛЕРАНТНОСТИ В ПРЕССЕ БЕЛАРУСИ, ВЕЛИКОБРИТАНИИ И США

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Аннотация. В статье рассматриваются ведущие объекты, темы и стратегии дискурса газетной толерантности в англоязычной прессе Великобритании и США, а также в русскоязычной и белорусскоязычной прессе Республики Беларусь. Ключевым методом исследования является дискурс-анализ, выявляющий отношения между медиатекстом и социальным контекстом. Толерантность в современном мире рассматривается как важный принцип взаимоотношений между людьми, необходимая предпосылка диалога, сотрудничества и взаимопонимания, способ предотвращения и разрешения конфликтов между различными социальными группами, и медиатекст играет значимую роль в формировании толерантных установок в общественном сознании. Результаты исследования показывают, что в основе англоязычного дискурса толерантности лежит гендерная, расовая и

сексуальная идентичность, в то время как в белорусском медиадискурсе толерантность формируется на основании этнических, возрастных и психофизических характеристик личности. В исследовании выделены дискурсивные стратегии газетного дискурса толерантности, которые в англоязычной и белорусской прессе используются по отношению к разным социальным группам – стратегии сопереживания, позитивного позиционирования, солидаризации и информирования. Полученные результаты дают возможность для дальнейшего изучения дискурса толерантности в различных культурах и языках.

Ключевые слова: медиадискурс, пресса, толерантность, солидарность, дискриминация, идентичность.

Introduction (Введение)

Discourse as «a system of representation in which shared meanings are produced and exchanged» [Acosta-Alzuru et al., 2000, p. 307] is a powerful social practice, which, on the one hand, changes knowledge and meanings, identities and social relations, and on the other hand, is itself formed by various social structures and practices, thus being in close dialectical relations with different spheres of society [Jorgensen et al., 2002, p. 116]. According to the representatives of the French school of discourse analysis, discourse is formed not only by language, but also by «socio-historical fabric», and any analysis of text semantics of any text requires thorough attention to the conditions of its production and interpretation [Сметанина, 2002, с. 36] (*hereinafter the translation from Russian into English is ours – A. B.*).

Mass media are a significant factor influencing the picture of the world of the society as a whole as well as those of individuals and social groups [Dijk, 2008]. Treating journalistic texts from the activity-oriented perspective, L.R. Duskaeva considers them as «the speech embodiment of the social orientation of the readership, which is carried out in three directions – informing, evaluating and stimulating social activity» [Дускаева, 2004, с. 10]. Media are often seen as the space of the construction of the social phenomena [Berger et al., 1966].

Since the mass media discourse covers the problems of both society as a whole and various social group, the mass communication performs the most important functions in shaping public opinion regarding various groups of people and fostering respect for them. The request for integration and solidarity in society is reflected, among other things, in the media tolerance discourse.

Materials and Methods (Материалы и методы)

The aim of this paper is to expose objects, topics and strategies of newspaper tolerance discourse in the English-language press in the United Kingdom and the USA as well as in the Russian and Belarusian-language press in the Republic of Belarus. The material for the study are British and American newspapers («The Guardian», «The Observer», «The New York Times» and «The USA Today») and a number of national and regional Belarusian papers («Zvyazda», «Respublika», «Sel'skaya Gazeta», «Znamya Yunosti», «Minskaya Pravda», «Zarya», etc.). The key research method is discourse analysis that reveals relations between the text and social context.

Discussion (Дискуссия)

Tolerance is a multidimensional concept that includes the willingness to accept others as they are, regardless of social, cultural and anthropological characteristics (nationality, language, attitude to religion, social status, age, health status, gender, race, etc.), as well as the possibility of interacting with them on the basis of consent, finding compromises, overcoming conflicts, striving for social solidarity [Могилевич, 2016; Нагаева, 2018]. In its most general form, this concept can be interpreted as «a view of the world without stable negative emotions and assessments» [Стернин и др., 2001, с. 5-6].

Tolerance is often understood as respect and voluntary acceptance of various values, cultures and ways of expressing a person, the desire to achieve friendly and harmonious relationships in society [Азараков, 2018; Кротков и др., 2013; Chen, 2008]. Semantically, it is close to the concepts of tolerance, peacefulness, mutual respect, politeness, patience, non-conflict, sympathy [Rebes, 2009, p. 53]. Yu.V. Klyuev considers tolerance as a special qualitative characteristic of social interaction in the modern information society that could be one of the most important prerequisites for the formation of legal and political culture and getting rid of negative stereotypes and prejudices [Клюев, 2018, с. 188].

Mass media are the main conductor and instrument of tolerance and the approval of tolerant attitudes is impossible without their broad public support. The newspaper tolerance discourse is based on the idea of individual uniqueness of communicants and their rights and, according to I.I. Zhdanova, reflects «relations between people, social groups, peoples, nations and states, based on mutual understanding, mutual assistance, friendship, solidarity, equality, and designed to contribute to the formation of a tolerant consciousness, to assert ideals and practice of tolerance in society, foster respect for the Other, encourage interaction» [Жданова, 2015, с. 5].

Media discourse in the modern world is one of the major practices where group identities and attitudes are shaped. Henri Tajfel states that identity is a part of a person's self-conception, which stems from the knowledge about one's belonging in social groups, as well as the value and emotional meaning ascribed to the groups [Tajfel, 1981]. Numerous researchers emphasize the procedural nature of identity – it is being constructed and reconstructed in the discourse [Гришаева, 2007; Demker, 2008; Utzinger, 2009]. As A. Curticapean puts it, identity «is not something that we have, nor something we achieve, rather identity is performed» [Curticapean, 2016, p. 11]. Group identities are viewed as social constructions and special strategies for classifying self and others into in-groups and out-groups [Dennis, 2009]. In the study of the impact of the US Chinese-language press on the identity of working-class women readers Yu Shi argues that the concepts of 'race', 'ethnicity', 'minority', etc. are the products of countless racial projects in American history and readers may start identifying themselves with a specific minority group by engaging the racial wording in the media [Yu Shi, 2009, p. 606-607].

Results (Результаты)

1 Topics of newspaper tolerance discourse in the UK, the USA and Belarus

This study employs discourse analysis in order to identify the recurring themes and images that constitute the analyzed newspaper tolerance discourse. Researchers note that the thematic repertoire, i. e. a certain set of key topics in the tolerance discourse is by large determined by the socio-cultural context and general information about the activities of a specific group in this or that country [Карасик, 2004, с. 24; Стернин и др., 2001, с. 12].

Table 1 displays the social groups that become objects of tolerance discourse in the modern British, American and Belarusian press.

Table 1. Objects of tolerance discourse in the British, American and Belarusian press

Social Groups	British and American Newspapers	Belarusian Newspapers
Women	+	-
Races	+	-
Ethnic groups	-	+
LGBT Community	+	-
Elderly People	-	+
People with Disabilities	-	+

The table shows that both English-language and Belarusian newspapers construct tolerance towards three main social groups, though these groups do not coincide. While tolerant publications in the UK and the USA center mainly on women, LGBT community and racial minorities, Belarusian media discourse focuses on ethnic groups, the elderly and disabled people.

1.1 Topics of the English-language newspaper tolerance discourse

Many publications dedicated to the LGBT community perform the informative function. They tell the audience about queer people, their problems and relationships. A popular genre of these articles is “a life story” that dwells on the relationships between representatives of this group: *Lollie May Martin and Taylor Brittany Maanao got married after five years together. But they say they actually fell so hard and so fast for one another that they wanted to get married after only six months* (The New York Times. 2021. Feb. 5).

Another important topic raised in the publications about gays and transgender people is their personal identity, which is shaped mainly in public discourses: *Disappointed – as well as welcomed, astonished, exasperated, intimidated. The bars both affirmed and challenged his sense of identity* (The New York Times. 2021. Feb. 2).

Journalists also write about the harassment and violence experienced by members of the LGBT community in other countries or in previous decades: *Two gay men in Indonesia’s Aceh province have been publicly caned 77 times each after they*

were reported to police by vigilantes who raided their apartment (The Guardian. 2021. Jan. 29).

Articles devoted to women and racial minorities mostly focus on violence and discrimination they are exposed to as well as a variety of problems they face in their daily lives. For example, many publications deal with domestic violence against women: *Before the launch of Talk for Harmony, research across eight of the country's 34 provinces showed that since the coronavirus pandemic began, 35% of respondents – victims and perpetrators – reported an increase in gender-based violence, with a third of all women who took part in the study saying they didn't know where to go or how to get help* (The Guardian. 2021. Jan. 29).

A number of articles dwell upon the violence, prejudice and discrimination that women and people of colour confront in the society – at a workplace, at schools and universities, in state and public organizations and correctional facilities, etc.: *Education experts and Black parents say decades of racism, institutionalized segregation and mistreatment of Black children, as well as severe underinvestment in school buildings, have left Black communities to doubt that school districts are being upfront about the risks* (The New York Times. 2021. Feb. 1).

Newspaper articles often highlight the unequal household responsibilities of men and women, describing the enormous amount of unpaid domestic work women must perform: *Every year women do trillions of dollars' worth of unpaid household work. In the United States alone, that total amounted to roughly \$1.2 trillion in 2019, a figure nearly the size of the New York State economy* (The New York Times. 2021. Feb. 5).

1.2 Topics of the Belarusian newspaper tolerance discourse

Tolerance discourse in the Belarusian press mainly describes three groups of people – the elderly, people with disabilities and minority ethnic groups. The first two groups are socially vulnerable categories, which are presented in the press as needing help and support. Hence, the majority of publications about them are narratives about the help and care that the authorities, various state bodies and volunteers provide to the elderly and the disabled: – *Наша краіна прадэманстравала ўсяму свету, як трэба клапаціцца пра людзей сталага веку, – сказаў намеснік прэм'ер-міністра Ігар Петрышэнка. – Дзяржаўная палітыка накіравана на сацыяльную абарону пажылых грамадзян* 'Our country has shown the whole world how to take care of the elderly, – said Deputy Prime Minister Igor Petrishenko. – The state policy is aimed at social protection of elderly citizens' (Zvyazda. 2020. Oct. 2); *В течение двух месяцев волонтер Светлогорской районной организации Белорусского Красного Креста Александр помогал не только доставлять продукты и рецепты из поликлиник, но и сам выпекал хлеб для пожилых подопечных* 'For two months, a volunteer of the Svetlogorsk regional organization of the Belarusian Red Cross, Alexander, helped not only deliver food and prescriptions from clinics, but also baked bread for the elderly' (Narodnaya Gazeta. 2020. Aug. 4).

The amount of such articles increases dramatically on various holidays (New Year, the Day of the Elderly, the Day of Disabled People and birthday anniversaries), when state officials congratulate vulnerable social groups and bring them presents:

Представители власти, общественных организаций, бизнеса вручат подарки к новогодним праздникам детям-сиротам, с ограничениями по здоровью, многодетным и приемным семьям, воспитанникам социальных структур ‘Representatives of the authorities, public organizations and businesses will give New Year presents to orphans with disabilities, large and foster families, inmates of social structures’ (Narodnaya Gazeta. 2018. Dec. 14).

A great deal of publications about disabled and elderly people are so called «portrait sketches» describing the individuals’ life, interests, hobbies, activities. These articles often present success stories emphasizing the idea that elderly people are ardent workers, optimistic and vigorous citizens, who have numerous hobbies, engage into romantic relationships, get married and receive education, lead a healthy lifestyle and do not look their age: *Те, кто стал участником фестиваля “Креативный возраст” в Молодечненском районе, занимаются йогой, танцуют зумбу и знают все про современный мейкап. А большинству из них далеко за 60. Но они молоды душой и по-прежнему активны* ‘Those who took part in the «Creative Age» festival in Molodechno district do yoga, dance zumba and know everything about modern make-up. Though most of them are well over 60. But they are young at heart and still active’ (Minskaya Pravda. 2019. Oct. 1).

Success stories of disabled people *depict how they cope with difficulties, achieve goals and integrate into the society*: *Он не видит дальше трех метров от себя, не может без увеличительной лупы читать книги и разобрать цифры на ценниках в магазине. Однако это не мешает Роберту Симоняну из Червеня жить полноценной жизнью. В свои 22 года молодой человек учится на истфаке БГУ, зарабатывает на жизнь производством розеток и торговлей на финансовой бирже, при этом успевает ухаживать за престарелой бабушкой* ‘He cannot see no further than three meters, he cannot read books or make out the numbers on price tags without a magnifying glass. However, this does not prevent Robert Simonyan from Cherven from living a full life. At the age of 22, the young man studies at the history department of the Belarusian State University, earns his living by manufacturing electric sockets and trading on the financial exchange, while he manages to take care of his elderly grandmother’ (Minskaya Pravda. 2020. Jan. 15).

Another topic that describes disabled people is their cooperation and partnership with various social groups as well as state and public organizations: *Укрепление международных контактов между организациями инвалидов Украины и Беларуси для совместных решений по интеграции людей с инвалидностью в спорт и туризм – его основная цель, продекларированная на встрече в областной научно-технической библиотеке* ‘Its main goal is strengthening international contacts between organizations of disabled people of Ukraine and Belarus in order to agree decisions on the integration of people with disabilities into sports and tourism. This goal was declared at a meeting in the regional scientific and technical library’ (Gomel’skaya Pravda. 2018. Sept. 9). We presume that such articles aim at including people with disabilities into the group of “us” and thus perform a solidifying function.

A number of publications depict health issues of disabled people as well as problems and barriers they are facing in their daily lives: *35 лет назад я потерял ногу и понимаю, как важно дорожить здоровьем, как трудно людям с ограниченными физическими возможностями быть принятыми обществом* ‘35 years ago I lost my leg, and I understand how important it is to value health, how difficult it is for people with disabilities to be accepted by society’ (Zarya. 2019. Sept. 4); *Неприятности* начались, когда он подхватил менингит, после которого не мог двигать руками, ногами и шеей. Лечение не помогло восстановиться на 100 процентов: у Артура остались **проблемы** с ногами и зрением ‘The trouble began when he contracted meningitis, and later he could not move his arms, legs and neck. The treatment did not help to recover fully: Arthur still has problems with his legs and vision’ (Minskaya Pravda. 2020. Aug. 12).

Informative publications aimed at the audience that does not have sufficient information about people with disabilities constitute a significant part of the media discourse of tolerance in Belarus. Their goal is to provide the society with objective data about the disabled, to destigmatize these people and debunk discriminatory stereotypes about them: *Аутизмом, который называют болезнью цивилизации, страдает каждый сотый житель планеты, а детский аутизм, по данным ВОЗ, ежегодно увеличивается на 13%. При ранней диагностике заболевания и грамотной корректировке симптомов «аутиста» вполне способны на социализацию* ‘Every hundredth inhabitant of the planet suffers from autism, which is called the disease of civilization, and according to the WHO, childhood autism is increasing by 13% annually. With early diagnosis of the disease and competent correction of symptoms, autism kids are quite capable of socialization’ (Narodnaya Gazeta. 2018. Nov. 2).

The third group of people constituting the object of tolerance media discourse in Belarus are various ethnic groups. Neither race diversity nor mass migration are typical of the country, therefore publications about migrants and ethnic minorities are not numerous in the Belarusian press. We have been able to find a few articles about migrants from Ukraine, Russia, Cuba and Uzbekistan. The main purpose of these materials is to demonstrate how successfully the migrants have adapted to life in Belarus, so they often express satisfaction with the new conditions and gratefulness to the authorities for their help and support.

There are also publications about foreign students coming to the Republic of Belarus. Some of these articles dwell on the differences between foreign youth and Belarusians, as well as those aspects of life in Belarus that surprise foreign students. Other materials about foreign students tell success stories – they study well, master the Russian and Belarusian languages, get acquainted with the local culture, play sports and participate in student activities: – *В Минске у меня появилось много друзей. С некоторыми мы познакомились в общежитии, с другими – на работе, я преподаю английский язык в частной школе. Очень люблю то, чем занимаюсь: ко мне приходят ученики, мы общаемся, я рассказываю им о своей родине, а в ответ узнаю много нового о вашей замечательной стране, ее культуре и традициях* ‘ – I have made many friends in Minsk. I met some in the dormitory, others at work, I teach English at a private school. I really love what I’m

doing: students come to me, we communicate, I tell them about my homeland, and in response I learn a lot about your wonderful country, its culture and traditions' (Znamya Yunosti. 2021. Feb. 11).

A number of publications dedicated to ethnic groups are of the informative type narrating about the culture, traditions and customs, cuisine, etc. of a particular nationality.

2 Strategies of newspaper tolerance discourse

2.1 Strategies of English-language newspaper tolerance discourse

Table 2 shows the strategies employed in the English-language discourse of tolerance.

Table 2. Strategies of English-languages newspaper tolerance discourse

Strategy Social group	Compassion	Positive positioning	Solidarity	Information
Women	+	+	+	+
Races	+	+	+	+
LGBT Community	+	-	-	+

The **compassion strategy** is used in the English-language press to describe all the objects of tolerance discourse. This strategy aims at generating sympathy from the audience for the vulnerable social groups. Therefore, the main topic of the articles implementing the compassion strategy is discrimination against these groups of people and violence against them. Words denoting various types of discrimination, violence, poverty act as the key lexical means of implementing the compassion strategy (*bias, discrimination, firings, disparity, sexism, racism, chauvinism, misogynist, mistreatment, disadvantage, barrier, obstacle, hurdle, intolerance, inequality, inequity, injustice, segregation, unpaid labour, disproportionate, hostile; rape, murder, femicide, violence, violate, aggression, harassment, abuse, assault, assail, raid, savage, brutal, cruel, oppressive; poverty, disinvestment, wage-gap, low income, laid-off, dire*): *Protected by a "culture of acceptance," guards regularly **sexually assaulted** female inmates, a pattern federal investigators deemed so prevalent that it was found to **violate** constitutional protections from **cruel** and **unusual punishment*** (The New York Times. 2021. Feb. 4); *The 31-year old single mother, who lives in Houston with her two sons, **was laid off** from her part-time job in April when the COVID-19 health crisis forced the car auction site she worked for and other businesses to temporarily close* (The USA Today. 2021. Feb. 7).

Words with negative evaluation (*appalled, horrible, horrific, ugly, vicious, nasty, pernicious, disastrous, wariness, to be plagued*) also often express the compassion strategy: *Yet she says the workplace **was plagued** by a **pernicious** and **oppressive** culture of prejudice – an environment in which she felt «you can't speak up if you're Black»* (The New York Times. 2021. Feb. 1).

The **positive positioning strategy** represents the social groups solely from the positive side – for example, women, including the black ones, are shown as highly educated individuals, who possess leadership qualities, invest wisely and engage in

charity. Language means of explicating this strategy are such positive-evaluative vocabulary as *wonderful, great progress, great energy, fortunate, incredible, leadership: Harrison is **fortunate** to have on its council Ellen Mendoza and Eleanor Villalta in the Second Ward and Maria Camano in the First Ward. Each brings a **great energy** to the Town of Harrison – and all have played an integral role in the overwhelming changes the town continues to see on a daily basis* (The Observer. 2020. March 4).

The solidarity strategy aims at including somebody or something in the circle of «friends», because the main opposition of tolerance discourse is «friend and foe», whereas its major driving force is finding the common ground, the common value space that allows the two sides to start a dialogue [Кротков и др., 2013, с. 138]. This strategy calls for help and support of vulnerable groups from the state, businesses, partners and other people. For example, since the beginning of the coronavirus pandemic, there have been many articles about the difficulties faced by mothers, as well as recommendations how everyone can help them. Key words for implementing this strategy include *help, support, assistance, to back: Nearly a year later, mothers need **support** more than ever – in the form of government policies, employer **assistance** or, closer to home, partners who share in more of the work* (The New York Times. 2021. Feb. 4).

The purpose of **the information strategy** is to tell the audience about the life and problems of a particular group of people. Moreover, materials implementing the information strategy touch upon the formation of the identity of LGBT people: *Unsurprisingly, the American legal system in the late 70s bungled such complexity; though a legal hearing on Carmichael’s gender affirmed her womanhood in the eyes of the court, the actual proceedings, and the prosecution in particular, aimed straight at her identity as a trans person, conflating her gender transition with her business ethics and personal honesty* (The Guardian. 2021. Jan. 29).

2.2 Strategies of Belarusian newspaper tolerance discourse

Belarusian journalists use the same strategies in tolerant materials, however, in relation to other social groups. Table 3 illustrates the strategies used in the Belarusian press tolerant publications.

Table 3. Strategies of Belarusian newspaper tolerance discourse

Strategy Social group	Compassion	Positive positioning	Solidarity	Information
Ethnic groups	+	+	+	+
People with Disabilities	+	+	+	+
Elderly People	+	+	+	-

The compassion strategy is employed in articles about all social groups that are the objects of the tolerance discourse. However, words indicating this strategy differ for various groups of people. To describe the problems that migrants were facing in their home countries words with negative semantics are used (*война* ‘war’, *конфликт* ‘conflict’, *бомбежка* ‘bombing’, *противостояние* ‘confrontation’,

столкновение ‘clash’, кровавый ‘bloody’, нестабильный ‘unstable’, невыносимо ‘unbearable’): После окончания учебы Кава собирался вернуться в родной Алеппо, но в Сирии началась **гражданская война**. Половина родных и друзей разъехалась по разным странам, на родине жить стало невыносимо ‘After graduation Kava was going to return to his native Aleppo, but **a civil war** broke out in Syria. Half of the family and friends left for different countries, it became **unbearable** to live at home’ (Znamya Yunosti. 2021. Feb. 4).

Articles about people with disabilities and senior citizens use the compassion strategy in stories about the diseases and social difficulties of these people, the key lexemes being *проблема* ‘problem’, *болезнь* ‘disease’, *нарушение* ‘disorder’, *патология* ‘pathology’, *барьер* ‘barrier’, *трудность* ‘difficulty’): *Наши падапечныя – працавітныя і мэтанакіраваныя. Аднак іх магчымасці абмежаваны псіхафізічнымі парушэннямі. Звыклія для большасці людзей дзеянні ім даюцца праз вялікія намаганні. Штодня яны старанна вучацца простым рэчам: трымаць лыжку, зашпільваць гузікі, запамінаць вершаваны радок* ‘Our wards are hardworking and purposeful. However, **psychophysical disorders** limit their capabilities. It takes them great effort to perform usual actions. Every day they carefully learn simple things: to hold a spoon, fasten buttons, memorize a verse’ (Miyorskiya Naviny. 2020. Dec. 3).

The positive positioning strategy is popular in materials that tell about successful representatives of all social groups. Most often, such stories tell about vigorous and energetic pensioners, as well as people with disabilities and foreigners who are well adapted into the Belarusian society. The key words in these articles are *успех* ‘success’, *успешный* ‘successful’, *справиться* ‘to manage’ *способен* ‘capable’, *преодолеть* ‘overcome’; *энергичный* ‘energetic’, *активный* ‘active’, *оптимист* ‘optimist’, *стройный* ‘slim’, *любовь* ‘love’, *трудолюбие* ‘diligence’, *работа* ‘work’: *Активность и трудолюбие нашего героя в его 89 лет – пример и мотивация для молодежи* ‘The active life style and diligence of our 89-year old hero provide an example and motivation for young people’ (Goretskiy Vestnik. 2021. Feb. 11); *Одаренный ученик увлекается программированием, планирует разработать приложение для изучения незрячими людьми иностранных языков. Парень успешно участвует в предметных олимпиадах, и это далеко не все его таланты* ‘The gifted student is fond of programming and is planning to develop an application for blind people to learn foreign languages. He successfully participates in subject Olympiads, not to mention his other talents’ (Znamya Yunosti. 2021. Feb. 11).

Words with positive evaluation (*радость* ‘joy’, *восторг* ‘delight’, *нравится* ‘like’, *охотно* ‘willingly’, *забавно* ‘fun’, *красиво* ‘beautiful’, *благодарность* ‘gratitude’, *великолепный* ‘magnificent’) can also signal this strategy: – *Сейчас ваша зима очень **нравится**, все такое белое, **красивое**... Но нужно еще время, чтобы почувствовать, что это такое. Нас уже научили, как нужно спасаться от холода, какую одежду и обувь нужно одевать, как правильно ходить по улице, чтобы не поскользнуться. Кстати, мы уже падали раза три, но это совсем не больно, а скорее, **забавно*** ‘– Now I **like** your winter very much, everything is so white and **beautiful** ... But it takes more time to feel what it is. We

have already been taught how to save ourselves from the cold, what clothes and shoes to wear, how to walk on the street properly so as not to slip. By the way, we have already fallen three times, but it does not hurt at all, it's kind of **fun**' (Grodzenskaya prauda. 2010. Jan. 6).

It is noteworthy that in the articles about migrants it is the Republic of Belarus that often becomes the object for positive positioning – migrants share their impressions about the country using positive-evaluative vocabulary (*дружелюбность* 'friendliness', *чистота* 'cleanliness', *стабильность* 'stability', *достаток* 'wealth', *скромность* 'modesty', *честность* 'honesty', *ухаженный* 'well-groomed', *гостеприимность* 'hospitality', *мир* 'peace', *трудолюбивый* 'hardworking'): – *Уже по дороге из Орши в Барановичи, а затем в Волковыск и Новый Двор мы видели ухоженные поля, добротные постройки, благоустроенные дороги. Я никогда не была в этой стране, но убедилась, что в ней живут настоящие хозяева* 'On our way from Orsha to Baranovich, and then to Volkovysk and Novy Dvor, we saw **well-groomed fields, solid buildings, well-maintained roads**. I had never been to this country, but I made sure that real business people live in it' (Grodzenskaya prauda. 2010. Apr. 28).

The solidarity strategy in the Belarusian media discourse can be found in materials about various vulnerable social groups. These publications often dwell on the help that the state and other social actors provide to them. The key lexemes in these articles are such words as *помощь* 'help', *поддержка* 'support', *защита* 'protection', *забота* 'care', *содействие* 'assistance', *дружба* 'friendship': – *Мы вельмі ўдзячны ўсім валанцёрам за іх шчырае жаданне дапамагаць і быць побач. падтрымка і дабрыня важныя для кожнага чалавека. Людзі з абмежаванымі магчымасцямі маюць у іх яшчэ большую патрэбу, – заўважае Таццяна Шульга* '– We are very grateful to all the volunteers for their sincere desire **to help** and be there. **Support** and kindness are important to everyone. People with disabilities need them even more, – says Tatiana Shulga' (Miyorskiya Naviny. 2020. Dec. 2); *В Гомеле сотрудники ГАИ и прохожие помогли мужчине починить сломавшуюся в пути инвалидную коляску* 'In Gomel, traffic police officers and passers-by **helped** a man to repair a wheelchair that had broken down on the way' (Gomel'skaya Prauda. 2019. June 27).

Articles that implement the solidarity strategy are often aimed at including an object in the circle of «friends». Their main topic is equality and inclusion, therefore popular words in these publications are *общий* 'common', *наш* 'our', *равный* 'equal': – *Наши подопечные не должны чувствовать себя покинутыми, – сказала директор центра Мария Раковская* '– **Our** wards should not feel abandoned, – said the director of the center Maria Rakovskaya' (Vitebskie Vesti. 2020. Oct. 14); *Напомним, что согласно нашей Конституции такие люди имеют равные права со всеми гражданами страны. А мы, в свою очередь, должны способствовать их интеграции в общество* 'Let us recall that according to our Constitution, such people have **equal** rights with all citizens of the country. And we, in turn, must contribute to their integration into the society' (Kalinkavitskiya Naviny. 2020. Dec. 2).

The information strategy, which is presented mainly in the articles about ethnic minorities and people with disabilities, aims at acquainting readers with the customs, traditions, cuisine of various ethnic groups and nationalities, as well as providing the society with objective data on people with disabilities. The goal of this strategy is to destigmatize vulnerable social groups and debunk discriminatory stereotypes about them: *Традиционное новогоднее лакомство грузин – гозинаки, обжаренные грецкие орехи в меду* ‘Traditional New Year’s delicacy of Georgians – gozinaki, walnuts fried in honey’ (Znamya Yunosti. 2020. Dec. 31).

Conclusion (Заключение)

Tolerance discourses in the print media of Belarus, the United States and the United Kingdom focus on different social groups; nevertheless, they use the same communication strategies as pragmatic tools to influence the audience. The functioning of certain groups of people as objects of tolerance discourse is driven by extra linguistic factors, including the demographic, economic and social situation in specific states, as well as the socio-political activity of the population. For example, the endorsement of the gender and racial agenda in the British and American media is largely influenced by the powerful #MeToo and #BlackLivesMatter social movements.

The leading functions of the media tolerance discourse include forming mutual understanding and cooperation in the society, constructing certain social groups’ identities and their adaptation and integration in the society on the principles of inclusion and diversity, breaking prejudices and overcoming xenophobia. One more function of tolerance discourse typical of the Belarusian media is «reality sanitation» i. e. demonstrating predominantly positive sides of lives of socially vulnerable groups of people and concealing most problems they have to cope with. A great share of tolerance publications in the Belarusian press emphasize the social policies of the authorities and thus enhance the positive image of the state.

Newspaper tolerance discourse guides the construction of certain groups’ positive identities by giving their personal success stories or by arousing compassion and sympathy with them. Therefore, media narratives provide the audience with cognitive and behavioral models, explain causal relationships and structure their experience. Social tolerance in our time is a cultural norm and a public obligation. It is integral to social interaction and successful intercultural communication and is at the bedrock of social solidarity as the ability to work together in order to carry out various activities aimed at achieving common goals.

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