RUSSIAN AND PRO-RUSSIAN RHETORIC ON THE CRISIS OF UKRAINIAN REFUGEES IN THE EUROPEAN UNION
Case study: FRANCE

Alias: Elena ILIESCU

ABSTRACT

The research[1] aims to examine how narratives about Ukrainian refugees are exploited in Russian and pro-Russian propaganda, as well as misinformation campaigns. It evaluates the impact of Ukrainian refugee presence on migration trends within the EU and public perception in member states. Unlike previous refugee crises, the Ukrainian situation has provoked a widespread mobilization to host and integrate refugees, driven by a sense of immediate threat to Europe. The study focuses on Ukrainian refugees in France, analyzing their demographics, professional activities, and social measures implemented by the French government and NGOs. It also investigates propaganda narratives and misinformation spread against these refugees, particularly through the pro-Russian website pravda-fr.com. The findings highlight the evolving nature of narratives surrounding Ukrainian refugees and their implications for public opinion and social integration in host countries, emphasizing the importance of resilience against disinformation strategies.

Keywords: *Russia, Ukraine, rhetoric, refugees, European Union.*

Introduction

The purpose of the research is to determine whether the topic of Ukrainian refugees has been covered in Russian propaganda sources or in various disinformation campaigns, and if so, to analyze the rhetorical and narrative techniques used. Additionally, it aims to assess the impact of Ukrainian refugees on migration in the EU and public opinion in member states by reporting on media sources.

Unlike other refugee crises in Europe's recent history, in the case of Ukrainian citizens, there was a mass mobilization to host them and ensure conditions for adaptation to their new life. A strong motivation was the fact that, in the context of the invasion of Ukraine, Europeans felt directly targeted by this war, given their geographical and cultural proximity; in the short term, the Russian Federation could threaten other European states as well. Before referring to Russian and pro-Russian rhetoric at the European Union level, including hostile messages towards refugees, we will detail how Russian officials constructed their discourse regarding Ukrainian citizens who chose to settle in European countries: What was their position on those who did not choose the Russian Federation as a place of refuge from the war? Are they considered traitors? How did they relate to refugees who chose the Russian Federation?

The case study focused on Ukrainian refugees in France, examining their numbers, professional activities, social measures implemented by the French state, NGOs explicitly established to assist refugees, and the types of aid provided. The study concluded with an analysis of the propaganda narratives, fake news, and disinformation disseminated about Ukrainian refugees in France, found in articles published on the pro-Russian propaganda website pravda-fr.com, one of the online "information portals" that were the subject of a recent investigation by the government agency Viginum. The objective of the case study was to identify the narratives used in addressing the refugee issue and to determine whether they are similar to those found in the literature or are specific to the French information environment. We will also investigate whether various established discursive manipulation techniques were used. The narratives found on the pravda-fr.com website were compared with those identified by experts and detailed in the consulted articles. The database analyzed comprises articles from a one-month period (April-May 2024) and aims to track whether narratives targeting Ukrainian citizens remain present and whether they have changed two and a half years after the invasion, compared to those identified by specialists.

The Russian invasion of Ukraine, the migration of Ukrainian refugees, and the impact of this phenomenon on the European Union

The large-scale Russian invasion of Ukraine, described by Russian President Vladimir Putin as a "special military operation," began on February 24, 2022. Ukraine is the second-largest country in Europe, with an area of approximately 603,500 km² and a population of about 41 million. It borders the Russian Federation (to the east and northeast), Belarus (to the north), Poland, Slovakia, and Hungary (to the west), Romania and the Republic of Moldova (to the southwest), and the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov (to the south).

Demographically, Ukraine has a diverse population, with a Ukrainian ethnic majority and various minorities, including Russians, Romanians, Hungarians, Tatars, and others. According to data on statista.com, approximately 6 million Ukrainian refugees were registered in multiple European countries and approximately 6.5 million outside Europe as of February 29, 2024. Statistics from the website unhcr.org (as of December 31, 2023) show that the top European countries where Ukrainian refugees are registered include: Germany (over 1 million), Poland (956,635), the Czech Republic (375,590), Italy (192,000), Slovakia (114,270), Romania (85,710), Hungary (65,585), Lithuania (52,305), Bulgaria (51,860), Latvia (43,825), and Estonia (38,185). France is also among the countries hosting fewer than 100,000 refugees.

It is noteworthy that a large proportion of refugees from Ukraine have taken shelter in countries bordering or near their country. On the other hand, according to the same website, the country with the most Ukrainian refugees is the Russian Federation (1,212,585). Additionally, 39,900 refugees have been registered in Belarus, a close ally of the Russian Federation, and 120,695 in the Republic of Moldova. This migration of the population to the Russian Federation and Belarus, on the one hand, and to European countries on the other, would fit into Ukraine's migration pattern, which has been in place since the 20th century. According to Alain Blum[2] and Olena Malynovska[3],

Ukraine "is currently at the crossroads of two migratory systems, one European, centered on the European Union, and the other connected to the post-Soviet countries, called Eurasian, which links the Russian Federation and the states that formed the USSR" (Blum & Malynovska, 2023). According to the two authors, western Ukraine was Polish territory before 1939, while Russian-speaking populations moved to eastern Ukraine after World War II, especially to the mining areas of Donbas. The beginning of the 21st century, however, brought some changes in terms of migration. Thus, Ukraine steadily shifted away from the Soviet migration model to align more with the European migration model, as Ukrainians were drawn to the changes that occurred in the West. After 2000, Ukraine tended to distance itself geopolitically from the Russian Federation. Similarly, the number of people born in the Russian Federation and living in Ukraine declined between 2000 and 2021: 9.7% (2002) vs. 4.3% (2020). Another explanation for the large number of refugees who moved to the Russian Federation as a result of the invasion is that Russia promoted a policy of hosting Ukrainians, claiming to support them as victims of the Ukrainian regime. In this regard, two decrees were signed: one on July 22, 2014, whose purpose was to facilitate the stay of Ukrainian citizens in Russia by allowing them to obtain a temporary residence permit, and a second one in 2019, with the aim of facilitating the acquisition of Russian citizenship by residents of the "people's republics" of Luhansk and Donetsk.

As for migration to European countries, it is possible that some refugees settled in countries where they had previously worked or had relatives. In 2020, almost 30% of Ukraine's inhabitants had worked or had a family member who had worked abroad. The European Union has made efforts to facilitate the integration of migrants from Ukraine. Since June 2017, Ukrainian citizens have been able to travel and reside in an EU country without a visa for up to 90 days. One of the consequences of the conflict in Ukraine is the significant wave of migration, the largest since World War II.

Unlike the flow of migrants and refugees who arrived in Europe before the outbreak of the conflict—mainly from Arab, African, or Asian countries, including both conflict zones and former French, British, and Portuguese colonies—the demographic pattern has changed with the invasion of Ukraine. Ukrainian refugees are primarily women, children, and the elderly. Men between 18 and 60 years old are generally unable to leave the country, with some exceptions such as men with disabilities or fathers of large families. According to a UNHCR survey conducted at the country's borders from May to November 2022, in accommodation and transit centers, 85% of 43,571 respondents were women. Most respondents reported leaving behind at least one male family member—such as a father or husband. According to Catherine Wihtol De Wenden (2022), the Russian invasion of Ukraine marked the start of a transformation in the "European and global migration landscape." The migration expert considers the Ukrainian refugee crisis to be unique, differing from other migration crises in several ways. First, citizens of Central and Eastern European countries have shown exceptional solidarity with Ukrainian refugees, unlike their responses during other recent crises, such as hosting Syrian and Afghan refugees. This highlights that during the 2015 Syrian crisis, the same countries that have now shown solidarity with Ukrainians risked undermining European values of unity by invoking nationalist sentiments and hesitating to implement the Geneva Convention on Refugees. This behavior can be explained by historical context and long-standing population movements—since western Ukraine was part of Poland before 1945, and Galicia, a region divided between Poland and Ukraine, was once part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Consequently, these countries felt a sense of responsibility toward their populations due to shared origins. Additionally, the fact that Central and Eastern European nations endured similar hardships under Soviet rule fosters their close relationship with the Ukrainian people.

Another element that sets the refugee crisis apart from other similar moments is the quickness with which national and European institutions have taken action to help refugees: for the first time since its creation (2001), the European directive on the temporary protection of refugees has been enforced. The directive enabled the geographical distribution of refugees and the issuance of residence permits that grant the right to work, housing, schooling for their children, access to healthcare, and language courses.

The position of Russian officials on Ukrainian refugees

The refugee issue has been of interest to politicians in Europe and the US, but it has also been a topic of discussion among Russian officials. From this perspective, the objective of this paper is to examine how Russian officials perceive the issue of Ukrainian refugees and the messages conveyed on this subject following the invasion. To this end, we monitored

---

[2] Senior researcher at the French Institute for Demographic Studies (INED), professor at EHESS (École de Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales), Paris
[3] Researcher, Ukrainian Academy of State Management, Kiev

the information disseminated in the Russian media, as well as on the social media pages (Telegram channels) of some Russian officials, regarding refugees from Ukraine.

After analyzing the results, we found that the main reference is to refugees from Ukraine who have arrived in the Russian Federation. According to an article in the Russian-language international publication Meduza (based in Latvia, blocked in the Russian Federation), Ukraine and Russia use two antagonistic terms to describe the bringing of Ukrainians to Russian territory. While in the Russian media, this process is called "evacuation," Ukrainians refer to it as "deportation" ("Путин подписал указ о пенсиях и социальных выплатах," 2022). A statement from the Russian Foreign Ministry is quoted, according to which the reason for the large number of Ukrainians arriving in the Russian Federation was the impossibility of entering the territory controlled by Ukraine, which was under bombardment (Maksimova, 2022). The messages disseminated about Ukrainian refugees in the Russian Federation refer to the solidarity shown by the Kremlin authorities towards civilians who were "forced" to leave their homeland.

Sergey Lavrov, the Russian Foreign Minister, said in a statement on February 16, 2024, at a conference at the Rossiia Segodnia media center, that millions of refugees "feel at home in Russia," finding shelter there and being perceived as "brothers and sisters, people with whom they have shared joy and sorrow" ("Миллионы беженцев с Украины нашли приют в России", 2024). Reference is made to the decrees issued by President Vladimir Putin, which establish the rights of refugees on Russian territory: the possibility for them to remain in Russia "without restrictions on the length of stay, subject to fingerprinting, photographing, and medical examination for drug use and infectious diseases such as HIV," as well as the amount of social benefits offered to refugees. It is emphasized that upon entering the country, Ukrainians were subjected to screening, during which they were photographed and the contents of their mobile devices were examined (Meduza, 2022).

Thus, the first decree issued by Vladimir Putin stated that Ukrainians could remain in Russia indefinitely. Among the measures taken by the Kremlin to support Ukrainians who wish to settle in Russia are: the preparation of temporary accommodation centers, the launch of a program to relocate Ukrainians to the "Far East," the Caucasus, and Siberia, as well as the provision of jobs without requiring work permits or licenses (Iz, 2022). As for the messages spread by Russian officials

about Ukrainian citizens who have left for European countries, their aim is to discredit them and cast them unfavorably, emphasizing the poor conditions they face in European countries and discouraging those who have not yet left from doing so.

The Russian press reported on a statement made by the Russian leader during a meeting organized on the occasion of National Unity Day (November 4, 2022), in which he claimed that the difference between Ukrainians who chose to come to Russia and those who crossed the Ukrainian border into European countries was that the former wanted to work, while the others want to receive various "discounts," referring to social assistance from the EU (Lenta, 2022). This statement contrasts the two categories of refugees, with the former characterized by dignity, while the latter is characterized by a desire to take advantage of the aid system, emphasizing the superior human qualities of Ukrainians who chose to go to Russia. In the same statement, Vladimir Putin mentioned that the Russian authorities are taking measures to simplify the procedures for Ukrainian citizens' documents (Meduza, 2022). Similarly, Maria Zakharova, spokesperson for the Russian Federation's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, addressed the issue of Ukrainian refugees in various European countries.

She stated that:

■ the fate of Ukrainian refugees in Europe is not "enviable" because they have ended up in countries that do not want them and where residents express dissatisfaction with their arrival on their territory, with migrants from other countries demanding equal rights with Ukrainians. This is in the context of "the situation in the occupied territories improving, infrastructure developing," and people's daily lives returning to "normal" (July 15, 2022) (Rambler, 2022).

■ The UK is reportedly planning to deport refugees who have arrived on its territory via third countries such as Poland or France, meaning that Ukrainians could be deported to Rwanda (May 12, 2022) (Verstov, 2022); The message was conveyed by the spokesperson on his Telegram channel, citing the publication of an alleged guide on this subject by the UK (Zakharova, 2022).

The former ambassador of the self-proclaimed separatist entity Luhansk People's Republic[4], Rodion Miroshnik, said that Ukrainian refugees in Europe will have to accept unskilled and poorly paid jobs and will have to face "social oppression," warning that it will be "impossible for them to return home" (Lenta, 2023).

References about Ukrainians settled in France - number, chronology, jobs

According to a Statista survey, at the end of 2023, the number of Ukrainian refugees present in France as a result of the Russian invasion was 69,495, not including refugees who only transited through the country (Statista, 2025).

Two years after the conflict began, Joseph Zimet, diplomatic advisor at the Élysée Palace and head of the crisis unit dedicated to Ukrainian refugees, estimates that between 95,000 and 105,000 Ukrainians have been hosted in France, with their number standing at approximately 68,000 as of February 24, 2024. The number of Ukrainian refugees in France is difficult to estimate, as they can move freely throughout Europe. However, it appears to be declining, given that some of them have returned to Ukraine or left for other EU countries. According to the French press, approximately 80% of Ukrainian refugees are women, a quarter of whom are over 50 years old (La Provence, 2023).

In terms of job opportunities for Ukrainian refugees, the primary areas of employment are hospitality, personal care, and babysitting. The arrival of Ukrainian refugees has also provided France with an opportunity to address labor shortages in these sectors. With the arrival of Ukrainian refugees, France also saw a change. Whereas the refugee population had consisted mainly of unskilled workers until then, the citizens of Ukraine are mostly young, skilled women. Approximately 2% of Ukrainians arriving in France had no qualifications, compared to 50% of other refugees. 70% of Ukrainian refugees in France have higher education qualifications. Some of them declared themselves immediately available for the labor market, especially given that temporary European protection gives refugees the right to work but not to receive certain social benefits, such as RSA. However, once they find a job, they are no longer entitled to free housing or food aid. The French state recommends that refugees find employment and learn French, but these recommendations are not binding obligations. Those who choose not to take these steps can continue to receive various types of assistance and thus retain the benefits of refugee status (France 3, 2023)[5].

The main difficulties in accessing jobs were the lack of knowledge of the French language, the difficulty of obtaining equivalence for diplomas obtained in Ukraine,

and the challenges of moving from one region to another, including access to housing and childcare. Some of the refugees accepted jobs below their level of qualification because they needed a quick source of income, while also taking French lessons. The language barrier was the main obstacle to employment in certain positions.

Ukrainian citizens who were teachers, psychologists, and managers in their home country now work in France in factories, restaurants, shops, and hotels, in most cases, packaging various products or doing housework, activities that do not require communication in the language of the host country.

Thus, France is the EU member state with the lowest number of Ukrainian refugees in relation to its population. According to the 2022 census, France has a population of 67.97 million inhabitants, compared to Germany, for example, which has a population of 83.8 million but hosts over a million refugees, or Poland, with a population of only 36.82 million, compared to nearly a million refugees from Ukraine.

Hostile discourse regarding Ukrainian refugees in France - propaganda, misinformation, fake and false news

The generous reception of refugees from Ukraine, both on French territory and in other countries, has not been viewed positively by all citizens, especially refugees from different countries or migrants who did not receive the same treatment, or even some French citizens, as France is already a country with a relatively high level of migration, etc. The internal problems specific to each country (unemployment, inflation, housing crisis, etc.) were exacerbated by the outbreak of the crisis in Ukraine and the intensification of efforts to find other sources of supply for raw materials and energy resources. Against this sensitive backdrop, various propaganda narratives have intensified, and fake news and disinformation campaigns have been created, including those focusing on Ukrainian refugees. The website pravda-fr.com, registered on 24 June 2023 on the REG.RU LLC domain, is associated with a telephone number in the Russian Federation (+7.4955801111). The only contact details on the website are the email address info@pravda-fr.com.

Pravda-fr.com is part of the Pravda information

---

[4] Region located in Ukraine

[5] https://france3-regions.francetvinfo.fr/grand-est/meurthe-et-moselle/nancy/les-refugies-en-ukraine-face-a-l-emploi-en-france-malgre-la-barriere-de-la-langue-hors-de-question-de-ne-pas-travailler-2668872.html /May 12, 2024

portal ecosystem, which was the subject of an extensive investigation conducted by the French government agency Viginum in February 2024 (Viginum, 2024). The network was named "Portal Kombat" by French investigators, referring to the video game "Mortal Kombat." At the time of the investigation, the network consisted of 193 websites that were proven to be interconnected.

This French institution, created in 2021 to counter foreign digital interference, is under the authority of the General Secretariat for Defense and National Security and is responsible for informing the French Prime Minister. Viginum has shown that the website pravda-fr.com, along with four other websites created with the same design and modus operandi, is backed by a Russian entity that distributes disinformation and propaganda in favor of Russia. The news items published are adapted to the countries they are aimed at and translated into the languages of those countries. Their purpose, like that of other propaganda websites, is to influence public opinion, particularly in Western Europe, to create diversion and confusion, and to fuel internal tensions.

In April 2024, the pravda-fr.com website had 87,900 visitors, with an average visit duration of 3 minutes. The number of visits to the site continued to grow over the next three months. Visitors to the site are residents of France (89.16%), Belgium (2.6%), and the United Kingdom (2%) (Pravda-fr). In February 2024, a search engine was still operating on the pravda-fr.com website. This functionality has since been disabled, so it is no longer possible to search articles by keyword. As a methodology, we extracted articles from the website between April 22 and May 22, 2024. We queried the database (containing 7,620 articles) for keywords such as "refugees," "migrants," "Ukrainian refugees," "Ukrainian refugee," and "Ukrainian refugee." Ninety articles referred to these terms; however, after careful analysis and database cleaning, 81 articles remained. The content removed from the database mostly referred to refugees from Palestine (following the outbreak of the conflict in the Gaza Strip).

The articles found referring to Ukrainian refugees more than two years after the outbreak of the conflict show that narratives about them are still being exploited, even if they show some evolution towards other lines of messaging, functioning for Russian propaganda like Chinese water torture. The main source of the articles analyzed comes from various Russian-language Telegram channels, such as "ino_tv", "node_of_time_FR", "inosmichannel", "lomovkaa", "infantmilitario", "livrenoir", "node_of_time_RUS," "vv_volodin," "truekpru," "RTenfrancais," "infodefFRANCE1," "boriskarpovblog," "zhivoff," and "boriskarpovblog,"

whose names appear at the end of the articles on the site. In second place is the website "https://fr.news-front.su", followed by tass.ru. Analysis of the initial database content (comprising 81 articles) revealed that the top three most frequently used words were "Ukrainians", "refugees", and "migrants".

In general, these are a few news items that are published several times over a period of a few days, most likely to keep the topic in the spotlight. They begin with a statement, typically from a Western representative, which is repeated, commented on, and often taken out of context or accompanied by other statements that have no direct connection to the original.

It can be seen that most of the articles are directly related to the issue of Ukrainian refugees in various EU countries, particularly France, Germany, the Netherlands, and Poland. Among these countries, emphasis was placed on disseminating information about Ukrainian refugees in Germany, following the media coverage of the statement by Reinhard Sager, president of the Association of German Districts, regarding restrictions on accepting new refugees in rural areas of Germany.

Regarding the database, which contains only news items directly related to Ukrainian refugees, it is evident that much of the information disseminated originates from other European countries, primarily Germany, as well as the United Kingdom, Poland, and the Netherlands, although the website is primarily dedicated to the French and Belgians. One reason for this is to follow up on topics that have appeared in the Western press and republish them. To ensure they are based on real facts and as credible as possible, the articles analyzed on the pravda-fr.com website do not contain fake or false news. Instead, the news items are not fabricated but have a real basis.

The articles analyzed disseminated the following narratives about refugees in Ukraine:

■ "Ukraine is corrupt," and for this reason, Ukrainian men who have left the country do not want to return to fight;

■ "Ukrainian refugees are violent by nature and pose a threat to the local population";

■ "The West is no longer willing to help Ukrainian refugees."

Conclusions

In conclusion, at the time of our study, in 2024, messages about Ukrainian refugees were still being disseminated on the pravda-fr.com website, mirroring the nature of media statements.

Disinformation narratives create confusion and uncertainty among the population, influencing perceptions and attitudes, as well as support for Ukrainian refugees. They can generate prejudice and stereotypes and make it difficult for refugees to integrate into host societies. Moreover, disinformation is part of the hybrid threat toolkit that can polarize people, create conflict, affect social and political stability in host countries, and negatively influence international relations and global stability.

REFERENCES:

Blum, A., Malynovska, O. (2023). Ukrainian migration, from one migration system to another, CAIRN

Bret, C. (2023) Comment la guerre a déjà changé l'Union européenne, Blogpost, Institut Jacques Delors

Butcher, P., Neidhardt, A. H. (2020). Fear and lying in the EU: Fighting disinformation on migration with alternative narratives, Brussels: European Policy Centre/Foundation for European Progressive Studies/ Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung/ Fundación Pablo Iglesias

Butcher, P., Neidhardt, A. H. (2021). From debunking to prebunking: How to get ahead of disinformation on migration in the EU, Brussels: European Policy Centre/Foundation for European Progressive Studies/Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung

France 3. Ukrainian refugees facing employment in France: despite the language barrier, "not working is out of the question." Retrieved May 10, 2025, from https://france3-regions.franceinfo.fr/grand-est/meurthe-et-moselle/nancy/les-refugies-en-ukraine-face-a-l-emploi-en-france-malgre-la-barriere-de-la-langue-hors-de-question-de-ne-pas-travailler-2668872.html

Gemenne, F., Thiollet, H. (2022). The reception of Ukrainian refugees and the universality of the right to asylum, Hommes et migrations

Iz. (2022). Putin establishes monthly payments for refugees. Retrieved May 10, 2025, from https://iz.ru/1386265/2022-08-27/putin-ustanovil-dlia-bezhentcev-ezhemesiachnye-vyplaty

La Provence. (2024). Number, accommodation, employment... what do we know about Ukrainian refugees in Provence, two years after the start of the war. Retrieved May 10, 2025, from https://www.laprovence.com/article/societe/34132589450303/nombre-hebergement-emploi-que-sait-on-des-refugies-ukrainiens-en-provence-deux-ans-apres-le-debut-de-la-guerre

Lefebvre, M. (2023). The European Union and the war in Ukraine: liberal power and its limits, Robert Schuman Foundation

Lenta. (2022). Putin pointed out the difference between Ukrainian refugees who left for Russia and those who left for the EU. Retrieved May 10, 2025, from https://lenta.ru/news/2022/11/04/raznitca/

Lenta. (2023). Ukrainian refugees warned about the consequences of living in Europe. Retrieved May 10, 2025, from https://lenta.ru/news/2023/01/06/bezhency/

Loucaides, D. (2022). Telegram: The digital battlefront between Russia and Ukraine, Politico

Maksimova, S. (2022). "I don't know what to do" in Meduza. Available at: https://meduza.io/feature/2022/05/16/ya-ne-znayu-kak-mne-byt and accessed on 14.03.2024

Meduza. (2022). Putin signed a decree on pensions and social payments for Ukrainian residents who were "forced" to stay in Russia. Retrieved May 10, 2025, from https://meduza.io/news/2022/08/27/putin-velel-platit-po-10-tysyach-rubley-v-mesyats-vynuzhdenno-okazavshimsya-v-rossii-zhitelyam-ukrainy

Meduza. (2022). Putin signed a decree on pensions and social payments for Ukrainian residents who were "forced" to stay in Russia, https://meduza.io/news/2022/08/27/putin-velel-platit-po-10-tysyach-rubley-v-mesyats-vynuzhdenno-okazavshimsya-v-rossii-zhitelyam-ukrainy, accessed on 14.03.2024

Monocle. (2022). Putin pointed out the difference between Ukrainian refugees who came to Russia and those who came to the EU. Retrieved May 10, 2025, from https://monocle.ru/2022/11/4/putin-nazval-raznitsu-mezhdu-ukrainskimi-bezhentsami-priyekhavshimi-v-rf-i-v-yes/

Neidhardt, A-H. (2022). Disinformation on refugees from Ukraine: Boosting Europe's resilience after Russia's invasion, FEPS Foundation for European progressive studies

Panizio, E. (2023). Disinformers use similar arguments and techniques to steer hate against migrants from Ukraine or the Global South, European Digital Media Observatory

Pogarska, O., Tucha, O., Spivak, I., Bondarenko, O. (2023). How Ukrainian migrants affect the economies of European countries, Centre for Economic Policy Research

Rambler. (2022). Zakharova spoke about the "unenviable fate" of Ukrainian refugees in Europe. Retrieved May 10, 2025, from https://news.rambler.ru/conflicts/49005304-zaharova-rasskazala-o-nezavidnoy-sudbe-ukrainskih-bezhentsev-v-evrope/?ysclid=ltv51diums455180847

Rand Corporation. (2018). Russia social media influence, rand.org

RIA Novosti. (2024). Millions of refugees from Ukraine have found shelter in Russia. Retrieved May 10, 2025, from https://ria.ru/20240216/bezhentsy-1927755540.html

Statista. (2025). Number of Ukrainian refugees benefiting from temporary protection status by country in Europe between December 2024 and February 2025. Retrieved May 10, 2025, from https://fr.statista.com/statistiques/1295718/nombre-refugies-guerre-ukraine-europe/

Verstov. (2022). They were going to Europe, but ended up in Africa. Zakharova revealed Britain's plans to deport Ukrainian refugees. https://www.verstov.info/news/inrussia/99468-ehali-v-evropu-a-priehali-v-afriku-zaharova-raskryla-plany-britanii-po-deportacii-ukrainskih-bezhencev?ysclid=ltv51frnji831132789, accessed on 17.03.2024

Wihtol De Wenden, C. (2022). Ukrainian refugees: the new European situation, Sciences Po Centre for International Research

Zakharova, M. V. (2022). Telegram. Retrieved May 10, 2025, from https://t.me/MariaVladimirovnaZakharova/2658

Zbienen, R. (2022). War in Ukraine: the population, hostage to a new Russian strategy of "attrition"?, Foundation for Strategic Research

Franceinfo. (2022) Les réfugiés d'Ukraine face à l'emploi en France : malgré la barrière de la langue, "hors de question de ne pas travailler". Retrieved May 10, 2025, from https://france3-regions.francetvinfo.fr/grand-est/meurthe-et-moselle/nancy/les-refugies-en-ukraine-face-a-l-emploi-en-france-malgre-la-barriere-de-la-langue-hors-de-question-de-ne-pas-travailler-2668872.html

VIGINUM. (2024). PORTAL KOMBAT. A structured and coordinated pro-Russian propaganda network. Retrieved May 10, 2025, from https://www.sgdsn.gouv.fr/files/files/20240212_NP_SGDSN_VIGINUM_PORTAL-KOMBAT-NETWORK_ENG_VF.pdf

Pravda-fr. (n.d.) Traffic. Retrieved May 10, 2025, from https://www.similarweb.com/website/pravda-fr.com/#traffic