

**FRAMING THE SECURITIZATION OF MIGRATION IN FRANCE AFTER THE
2015 TERRORIST ATTACKS: AN ANALYSIS OF FRENCH NEWSPAPERS**

by

HASAN ARDA IS

Thesis Advisor: Dr. Öğretim Üyesi Gizem ÇAKMAK

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PLAGIARISM

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Date: 12.03.2021

Name/Surname: HASAN ARDA İŞ

ABSTRACT

FRAMING THE SECURITIZATION OF MIGRATION IN FRANCE AFTER THE 2015 TERRORIST ATTACKS: AN ANALYSIS OF FRENCH NEWSPAPERS

Securitization is a subject that has gained momentum in the Political Sciences and International Relations discipline recently as a result of the transformation in global politics and power balances after the Cold War. While realist security issues focused on solely military security or national security issues since the 1950s, critical school theorists have taken the issue to another realm: They suggested that the security issues must be broadened and widen and shouldn't be limited only by "tangible threats". So, after the 1990s by the end of the Cold War era, speech act-based securitization debates such as "securitization of migration" or in common use migration have been started to be reviewed above all other security subjects in the world academic and media.

This thesis will analyze the relations between migrants, migrant policies, and terrorism discourses within the frame of securitization studies based on the articles which are published in mass circulated French newspapers after the terrorist attacks of January and November 2015 in France. Therefore, the opinions and articles will be discussed both quantitative and qualitative content analysis ground reference to the securitization theory of the Copenhagen School speech act framework.

ÖZET

FRANSA'DA 2015 TERÖR SALDIRILARININ ARDINDAN GÖÇÜN GÜVENLİKLEŞTİRİLMESİ: FRANSIZ GAZETELERİNİN ANALİZİ

Güvenlikleştirme teorisi özellikle Soğuk Savaş döneminin ardından dünya siyasetinde güç dengelerinin değişmesi ile birlikte Siyaset Bilimi ve Uluslararası İlişkiler disiplinde odak noktası haline gelmiş ve çok sayıda araştırmaya konu olmuştur. Realist güvenlik teorisyenleri 1950'lerden itibaren özellikle askeri ve ulusal güvenlik konuları üzerine eğilmiş olsalar da 1990'lardan itibaren Soğuk Savaş'ın bitmesi ile birlikte kritik okulun teorisyenleri güvenlik konusunun daha derin ve geniş bir perspektifte incelenmesi gerektiğini savunmuşlardır. Bununla birlikte söz edime dayanan güvenlikleştirme unsurları özellikle “Göçün güvenlikleştirilmesi” ya da yaygın söylemiyle göç kavramı akademik alanda ve medyada askeri ve ulusal güvenlik gibi realist güvenlik unsurlarından daha fazla öneme sahip olmaya başlamıştır.

Bu tez çalışmasında, 2015 yılında Fransa'da gerçekleşen terör saldırılarından sonra Fransız gazetelerinde yer alan göçmen, göçmen politikaları ve terörizmle bağlantılı olarak yayımlanan makaleler incelenecektir. Bununla birlikte yayımlanan makaleler Kopenhag Okulunun güvenlikleştirme teorisi ve söz edimi çerçevesinde tartışılacaktır.

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ABBREVIATIONS

EU: EUROPEAN UNION

IDP: INTERNALLY DISPLACED PERSON

INED : INSTITUT NATIONAL D'ETUDES DEMOGRAPHIQUES

IOM : INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR MIGRATION

IR : INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

OIF : ORGANISATION INTERNATIONALE DE LA FRANCOPHONIE

UN DESA: UNITED NATIONS DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS

UNHCR: UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES

INTRODUCTION

Migration – by definition of the dictionary – means moving away from the birthplace of usual residence (Glossary on Migration, 2019). It is a phenomenon that can be followed throughout human history, so this is one of the main factors which shaped the world that evolved today. According to Castelli (Castelli, 2018), there are nine drivers of migration: Inadequate human and economic development can be considered the strongest of these drivers. Therefore, migration can be considered an act for survival or a better life.

International Organization for Migration (IOM), based on the data from the United Nations Department of Economics and Social Affairs (UN DESA), estimated that by mid-year in 2019, there were 271.6 million international immigrants. 82.3 million (%30.3) were living in Europe, and 8.3 million were living in France. (Global Migration Data Portal, n.d.). In other words, 10% of international immigrants lived in France, making it the fourth country in the region with the largest number of immigrant populations after Germany, Russia, and the UK. On the other hand, France has the third-highest number in immigrants to population ratio, with 12.4% of the residents are immigrants¹ (IMG1B - Population Immigrée Par Sexe, Âge et Pays de Naissance En 2017 – France Entière –Étrangers - Immigrés En 2017 | Insee, n.d.).

Migration is always a challenging issue because one leaves his/her own country either by force or necessities. Moreover, immigration is not preferable by either the migrant, who leaves his/her habitat or by the host countries. Though, human history is the history of migration in a way. Human mobility between parts of the world has been vital for humans since the beginning of history. Still, since the emergence of the nation-states, the visa regimes, which once were

¹ These figures do not include the children and/or the immigrants' grandchildren, who are not included in these numbers.

despised (Torpey, 2018), came to be a regular part of the modern state system. Migration is more aimed to be controlled – to the extent of trying to keep everyone out of the borders. This holds even more in countries that advocate liberal values to other countries (Watson, 2009).

When it is observed the position of migration in French history, the numbers are meaningful: French Empire colonized a large part of the world: North, West, and Central Africa, Madagascar, the Levant except Iraq, and Indochina. African, and to an extent, Levantine colony were geographically close to the imperial center, which led to higher mobility towards the center from the colonies.

According to INED (Institut National d'études Démographiques), in 2017, there were more than six million immigrants living in France. The regional breakdown of the country of birth of them is as follows:(IMG1B - Population Immigrée Par Sexe, Âge et Pays de Naissance En 2017 – France Entière –Étrangers - Immigrés En 2017 | Insee, n.d., p. 1)

REGION	IMMIGRANT POPULATION	% OF IMMIGRANT POPULATION
Africa	2.858.608	44.93
European Union	1.902.887	29.91
Others	1.493.075	20.23
Europe (Others)	313.317	4.93

Table:1

Almost half of the immigrants in France are from Africa, so more than half of the immigrants are from ex- colonized Francophone countries.

Geographical proximity led French people to be accustomed to living with immigrants, and France, mostly Southern and Western France, has been multicultural and multiethnic for centuries. This, though, was not a life with equals but was living with duty for the French: Verges (Vergés, 2014) questions if the "civilizing mission" of French people came to an end

in 1962 when the last French colonial has finished. He agrees that there is no continuity between French Empire and the French Republic, but the traces exist even today de facto. So undeniably French culture was shaped by the immigrants.

However, having a colonial history reveals cultural conflicts within the society and alienation to the host country among migrants to some extent. The recent shootings in France (Charlie Hebdo and November attacks) can be read as a reflection of these conflicts; the suspects of Charlie Hebdo attacks, Chérif and Saïd Kouachi were French citizens born to Algerian immigrants, killed 12 people while injuring 11 others. Al-Qaeda has taken responsibility and unlike 9/11, the Charlie Hebdo and November attacks were not only considered an act of terrorism but also because the assailants were French citizens, it was considered an act of treason within the country and made a great impact on French society.

On the ground briefly explained above, this thesis aims to analyze "Did French newspapers securitize immigrants after the terrorist acts?" Securitization is a process-oriented conception of security in which state actors transform non-military matters into issues of security.

Answer to the question based on securitization theory will be sought by studying three major French newspapers: Le Figaro, La Liberation, and Le Monde. These three newspapers are chosen to represent the views of the political left, right, and center with the highest circulation. Securitization is a matter of politics and because politics is a social phenomenon that includes, every individual within the society, rather than limiting the topic to the acts and speeches of state officials, by studying the language used in these newspapers, the thesis examines the reactions of the society which is presented through news and articles in these newspapers.

METHODOLOGY

In the study, content analysis will be used according to the Copenhagen School securitization theory framework. While the thesis's spatial limit covers the securitization of migration, the study's temporal limit is the news and articles in the selected newspapers for a year period between 7 January 2015 and 7 January 2016. This period is chosen specifically due to the drastic increase of the terror attacks toward France within the year 2015. Focusing on this period will enable to understand French media's reaction after the shock and the perception of both towards migrants and the attacks. A mixed-method will be pursued: Quantitative and qualitative analysis. The frequencies of selected keywords and phrases will be analyzed to understand how many times certain keywords are used overall and if these keywords were used frequently. So, it will be reviewed how the case was taken and presented by newspapers from different political views, from the right, center, and the left, which encompass the mainstream of French political spectrum. Hence, the news and the articles from *Le Figaro*, *Le Monde*, and *La Liberation* are scrutinized as they are the most selling newspapers of all the 99 daily newspapers that represent all the political stances. Also, with accordance to the terror attacks, the "refugee crisis" in the EU is another hot topic that its roots can be found in the Syrian Civil war which started in 2011. During that time, many terrorist acts and speeches have threatened the EU's security and integrity, which are addressed to immigration flow, also so-called "migration crisis" by the EU in 2015.

The thesis will cover three main chapters; The first chapter will introduce a brief history of migration and migration in the central EU countries will be shown to show a broader picture. Afterward, the history of migration in France will be presented to observe the issue within a narrow framework. It will briefly mention some pull factors that France has and will continue with the imperial legacy on migration to France. This part aims to examine and see how French colonization shaped the demographic structure of today's France. After the imperial legacy effects are reviewed, the chapter will continue with migration in France till today. The study

will seek to answer why and how migrants and refugees are securitized and the impact of the securitization on current and future tensions between the state, society, and minorities.

The second chapter is focused on the rise of terrorism in Europe within the last two decades and specifically on terror attacks in France. The securitization of migration is highly correlated with the increase of violent acts between 2005-2015. The tension between the West and Eastern world after the September 11, 2001 twin towers attacks in USA has escalated. Besides immigration flow after the Syrian civil war in 2011 has fueled the terrorist acts in the region along with the lack of border security issues in the EU. The drastic increase among the immigrants with fake identities and passports who have crossed the EU borders illegally within this period (2011 -2015) created fierce debates and paranoia within the Western societies toward migrants.

The third chapter will start the linkage between media and migration. First, the liaison and how they interact with each other will be explained briefly. Then, a critical review of European media toward migrant issues will be provided. Finally, French mainstream media and newspapers' unfolding will be reviewed in the light of the migration puzzle. Then, it will be provided the content analysis of the news in French newspapers. In this part, frequency analysis of selected keywords, such as "immigrants, migrant, terrorism, terrorists," will be executed. Within-newspaper analysis will be presented to understand the similarities and differences among the different sources. The chapter will continue with qualitative analysis which shapes the heart of the thesis. The depth article and opinion analysis will be made to understand if the French newspapers who have different political stances securitized immigration after the attacks.

Finally, the thesis will continue with the conclusion part in which the study's findings and suggestions for further studies will be presented.

On the ground briefly explained above, this thesis aims to analyze whether the French newspapers securitize immigrants after the terrorist acts in 2015.

French society has its imperial and colonial past and accustoming different cultures and ethnic groups for centuries, but also there are more than 6 million immigrants live in the country today. However, as the securitization of migration is an arguable issue in the European Union since the end of the Cold War considering the border control policies and the recent hike in the terrorist attacks, the newspapers might be partially or highly securitized the issue. Therefore, since the populist politics and right-wing discourses has increased in the world arena lately, the news of the French media could be evolved toward the same rhetoric. In that sense the articles are chosen by reviewing specific keywords:

- Immigrant
- Islam
- Muslim
- Migrant
- Migration
- Refugees (Refugées)
- Terrorism (Terrorisme)
- Terrorist
- Threat (Menace)
- Security (Sécurité)

LITERATURE REVIEW

Recently security studies become ‘something of a cottage industry’ more than an IR concept that the term becomes more ambiguous than it has ever been (Baldwin,1995): There are critical theorists such as Copenhagen School theorists or European security theorists who defends a deeper and wider analysis of the concept. To them, political actors or other mediums of communication are the creator of security discourses and they reject the state priority as the central and referent object of security (Buzan and Hansen,2009). There are also traditional security theorists who strongly disagree with the view of critical theorists: They suggest that it creates a chaotic and inconsistent curtain on the concept. According to them “the state is the

only referent object of security” and security studies must be only evaluated within the concept of war, and should be defined as “the study of the threat, use, and control of military force” (Walt,1991)

The securitization concept has started to develop after WW2 and, in a broad sense, was defined first time by Wolfers in 1952 related to the security concerns and threats over the acquired rights and arguments within a nation-state (Wolfers,1952). The issue of security is one of the main elements in the discipline of international relations. Despite the numerous and diversified security studies, it is not possible to address a single definition of the term agreed on in the literature. In social sciences security concept is ambiguous and flexible in terms of its meaning (Art, 1993; Brauch, 2008; Buzan, 1991).

The early security studies, which observed only the military and national conflicts between states, have been brought on the table again at the end of the Cold War. Obviously, by the time, the content and the definition of security have changed drastically. In the IR discipline, the academics are mostly agreed on the definition of security as when there are no threats, fears, or dangers to the national security. Therefore, they diverge at the point of how to define these elements. The approaches to security concept in political sciences can be categorized into two: Objective and subjective. Traditional approach and critical approach. The traditional approach puts the state-centric views and military issues at the center. In this approach, the concept of security and its related elements are perceived and reviewed as objective facts. On the other hand, in constructivist and critical approaches which defend nontraditional views, these elements are observed as a relative and subjective state of security.

According to Wolfers, “Objective Security” is the absence of any concern about the values of the “State”. In contrast, “Subjective Security” is the absence of concern that these values will be endangered (Wolfers, 1952). Since the end of the Cold War, the emergence of new threats

from non-state actors demonstrated the need to broaden the reach of conventional security studies, which concentrated primarily on military threats. (Buzan et al. 1998, 13).

Today's modern securitization fundamentals have been constructed for the first time by Ole Weaver in his article "Securitization and Desecuritization." (Weaver, 1995) and the theory has been formulated for the first time in his book "Security: A New Framework for Analysis." As one of the most influential theorists of Copenhagen School, according to Weaver (1995: 41-42), in the historical context, security is a phenomenon in which states threaten each other, challenge their sovereignty, show and realize implications of power and protect their liberty and independence. Meanwhile, as the weight of military power has decreased in the context, the challenge toward independence and defense mechanisms has remained at the core of security issues. Per se, at the heart of securitization, "Defense" and "State" stayed as the context's core elements. Weaver claims that to appeal a subject within the frame of securitization can be perceived as a treat – defense issue; by doing so, it refers to an essential role to the state (Weaver, 2011). Thus, it would not be correct to assume that military concerns decrease because there is progress in security issues.

McSweeney in 1999 wrote the puzzlement of international security issues and the explanations available in the academic literature. To him, the theory of securitization originated from the Copenhagen School of Security Studies and has its roots in the work published by Weaver, Buzan, and De Wilde. He claims that Copenhagen School has taken the literature on security issues to a broader frame and that military concerns are no longer the primary threats for securitization (Buzan, Weaver, de Wilde, 1998). Buzan, Weaver, and de Wilde consider security as a 'social construction of threats' (Buzan, Waiver, and de Wilde, 1998). Weaver worked to develop this approach and described securitization as "A specific way of framing an issue" (1996) and explicitly referred to how this is done by 'speech act' (1995). In other words, the threats and concerns do not particularly represent security issues by themselves, but the

political actors choose to securitize them. Buzan states five potential reasons why securitization is not the primary concern during the Cold War academic domain (Buzan, *People, States*, pp. 7-11): First is the complexity of the concept. As it is indicated the security is ambiguous term by nature. Second is the clear resemblance between the concepts of security and power. Though these are recognizable terms in the academic era and could have been easily separated. Third, the loss of enthusiasm by diverse critics of realism in security. However, it does not explain why security scholars themselves ignored the idea. Fourth, security scholars are too busy keeping up with new technological and policy trends. This is more of a sign that theoretical concerns are given low priority by such scholars than an explanation for the lack of interest. His fifth theory is that politicians find the uncertainty of 'national security' useful, which again does not explain why the term has been disregarded by academics (Buzan, *'Peace, Power'*, p. 111).

In this study, the main objective is to find the concrete relation between immigration and securitization theory and it will be reviewed in the frame of the Copenhagen school. Unlike the traditional objective security concept, which focuses on "Real" security threats and their consequences. Copenhagen School see security threats as constructed on the speech acts. This perspective developed based on the idea that the politics and language are highly interrelated. From this point of view, security can be defined as a "Self-reference Approach." "The Securitizing Speech Act" must pursue linguistic construction that is designed from war and its historical consequences of survival, urgency, danger, and defense. This brings the Copenhagen school point of view to define securitization as a speech act that must achieve three rhetorical criteria. It is a comprehensive process through which an actor (1) claims that a referent object is existentially threatened, (2) demands the right to take extraordinary countermeasures to deal with the threat, and (3) convinces the audience that outlaw actions to counter the threat is

justified (Rens van Munster,2014). So, it is a political choice to turn out an issue into a threat for the actors within the securitization rhetoric.

Balzacq (2010) expanded the definition of securitization as a speech act and put it into practice: Balzacq's main criticism toward to the original securitization theory of Copenhagen School is that "It claims securitization merely as a speech act," whereas Balzacq argues that security practices were predominantly enforced by policy instruments (Balzacq,2010). However, this claim was met by opponents of the school's principal founders, such as Barry Buzan et al., as well as by those who proposed expanding security studies to include a variety of social, economic, and environmental spheres. Orthodox realists, however, argued that security studies ought to adhere to military risks and capabilities, warning that a rise in security threats would lead to a dilution of security studies (Buzan et al.1998, 1). So, this approach expands the area of security studies to other environmental, social, and economic concerns; it also emphasizes the role of rationality and the conventional emphasis on the state. (Taureck 2006).

Barry Buzan is one of the first scholars who claimed that migration and security issues must be studied with environmental issues (Buzan 1997, 6-7). Until the End of the Cold War, migration has not been seen as a part of security issues, and rather it was a subject to sociology, anthropology, and history (Huysmans and Squire 2009, 1). The securitization of migration was studied and debated in recent history, especially after the Cold War. There are obvious signs that migration has been securitized in the last period of the era. The migration of East German refugees through to the West paved the way of collapse the Berlin wall in 1989 (Norden,2016). Therefore, the main concern was that such population flows would pose a threat to national security and stability, furthermore to international order (Huysmans 2006,16). In recent history, states like North Korea, German Democratic Republic applied heavy sanctions on their citizen and banned their people from leaving the country to avoid this migration flow and a potential breakdown of their state core values. The absorption and internalized migration process can be

traced and seen after WWI in Europe: Belgian refugees during WWI or in the 1930s Jewish refugees, the two groups were absorbed into Netherlands society, but their integration was largely dependent on their economic status. (Laqua 2012, 480-81; Moore 1984, 75). Also, the EU migration policies, which since the mid-1970s have tried to limit migration and tighten border controls, can be considered a part of the securitization process.

As migration was not debated so intensely before the end of the Cold War, this can be interpreted as international terror rose after WWII since then European countries didn't war against each other, migration is securitized after real threat – the Cold War – ended. The reason for keeping immigrants out of borders is a question that brings many other complexities that are related to security. States classify the motivations of the migrants (Gibney, 2004) and accordingly grant the right to enter or not by which an unequal relationship between the migrant and host is created. This unequal relationship then leads to problems, especially on humanitarian migration, where the denial of the entrance of the migrant causes problems for humanity (Dauvergne, 2005). Migration overall is securitized, especially since the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 (Watson, 2009). While this is seen as new racism by some (Gale, 2004), it is a broader issue with race and class (Bigo & Guild, 2005), also having many axes, like cultural, socio-economic, or political (Ceyhan & Tsoukala, 2002). The core idea in the securitization of migration is protecting the state and the society from those that can distort it. Migration has political consequences (Teitelbaum, 2009) and, therefore, should be treated carefully.

Huntington's (2011) answer to Fukuyama (2006) is also another aspect in securitization : The history did not end. Moreover, there can be a clash of civilizations, and migration can pose an existential threat to civilization. Migration is even associated with environmental degradation and violent conflicts (Homer-Dixon, 1994). As long as securitization is process-oriented and

what matters is not the existence of a real threat but the individual perception of it (Sjöstedt, 2008).

In Europe, the case proceeded along this way: It should be noted that the process of securitization of migration has started at the beginning of the 1990s, and mostly it is considered as the expansion of the Schengen era policies. While to strengthen the Union, Europe has given the free circulation right to its citizens, seized new measurements on immigrants from outside of the Union to prevent irregular immigration (Türkeş, 2018). According to Schengen Convention signed in June 1990, migration, immigration, terrorism, and border controls have bounded to each other (Huysmans, 2000: 756).

Paris School of Security Studies, unlike the Copenhagen School, argues that securitization not as a speech act but as a process of defining meaning through a technological as well as a technocratic discourse. According to Bigo, the securitization of migration is fed by three separates but aligned forces: First, politicians fear that they are losing symbolic control over their country's territorial boundaries. Second, security professionals with their socially learned dispositions, skills, and ways of acting, find themselves newly interested and invested in immigration matters. Finally, many alienated citizens experience a sense of "unease" because of their inability to cope with the challenges and uncertainties of contemporary life (Bigo, 2002).

The securitization of migration literature generally supposes that populist politicians (especially from western countries) consider migrants and immigration as they are an existential threat for their political acts, so they use their political power to legitimize the threatening issues (Karyotis 2007; Tsoukala 2005). "Securitization legitimizes the state in its attempt to introduce more restrictive measures" and in addition to that "provides an opportunity for consolidating categories of collective identification and helps mobilize support for the relevant political community, generating greater loyalty or patriotism through the definition of

a common threat.” (Boswell,2009). So, it can be stated that such securitizing discourse is intentionally used to show that migration is not a subject to “Traditional Politics” but rather of “Emergency Politics”, by doing so, aggressive measures can be easily taken by the states.

In this context, the study aims to see if migrants and migration are securitized after the 2015 terrorist attacks in French newspapers within the liaison of Copenhagen School's speech act theory of security studies. While there are numerous works on media, newspapers, and their speech act relation with security studies, there are few studies that focus on solely French newspaper discourse on the securitization of migration.

One of the recent studies conducted by Novamigra (Norms and Values in the European Migration and Refugee Crisis) funded by the European Union in March 2020 titled "Quality Newspapers vs Terrorism " investigates” "What's the role of the media in shaping attitudes towards Europe as a "continent of immigration"? This policy paper focuses on widely read quality newspapers in France, Germany, Poland, and Sweden as well as on the special case of Hungary where press freedom has been largely dismantled. It studies that "Quality newspapers are a bulwark against far-right populism and crucial contributors to the strengthening of pro-immigration attitudes under the core values of the EU". (Novamigra,2020). In that sense, the research fundamental idea is intersecting with this thesis's core aim is to analyze the mass circulated newspaper articles and understand what their tendencies are.

Another noteworthy study "Mass media and border securitization in Europe: Investigating the metropolitan “Mediapolis” in an era of right-wing populism" (Lamour,2018) investigates whether urban media in Europe (mass circulated newspapers, radio, or TV channels) securitize the immigration in Schengen era intentionally. The study asks the question "Mass migration of non-Europeans into Schengen Europe and the terrorist attacks perpetrated in the name of Islam in various cities in the European Union have led to a series of mediated public debates on the control of the nation-state border over the past few years. Right-wing populist parties have been

prominent in structuring these debates. However, can the urban media, and specifically the commercial ones often accused of sensationalism, be considered as tools that promote the securitization and progressive closure of the state border within Schengen Europe?" (Lamour,2018). Within the same frame, Lamour focuses on 3 different versions of "20 minutes" urban newspaper in Nice, Lille and then Paris. After he analyzes different keywords frequencies such as migration, terrorist, and religion (Lamour,2018). Then, he makes a quantitative and qualitative analysis to see if there are differences between the same newspaper articles toward migration. This analysis is more to see whether the reporters in different locations are more prone to reflect the news according to their local place political views.

A detailed research about the relationship between both media and immigration belongs to Rodney Benson's "Shaping Immigration News: A French-American Comparison" (Benson, 2014) also offers a different perspective: In his book, Benson offers "A comprehensive portrait of French and American journalists in action as they grapple with how to report and comment on one of the most important issues of our era. "Taking from since the early 1970s, Benson shows "How the immigration debate has become increasingly focused on the dramatic, emotion-laden frames of humanitarianism and public order". He also finds with his words "Enduring French-American differences related to the distinctive societal positions, professional logics, and internal structures of their journalistic fields. In both countries, less commercialized media tend to offer the most in-depth, multi-perspective, and critical news." In that sense, Benson argues and debates the classic liberalism views about state intervention on the press, and how journalism can improve or change civil society's perception.

While securitization and security issues are evolved and drawn more attention than ever since the end of the Cold War, it seems that the effect of the news and media has just started to be dug by scholars. This thesis aims to look at the recent events related to migration and terrorism within the French newspapers' frame. In that sense, the research will be a unique analysis of

newspapers from different political views in France related to 2015 terrorist attacks. Lately, in the academic era, there hasn't been found any particular work where one country's press is reviewed on both terror and migration scale. This work will try to answer one of the most relative and complex debates in IR while analyzing the French newspapers from the perspective of speech act discourse.

1.THE NOTION OF MIGRATION

1.1 DEFINING MIGRATION

In his classic article, Everett Lee (1966) defines migration as "a permanent or semi-permanent change of residence." Similarly, International Organization for Migration (*Glossary on Migration*, 2019) defines migration as "the movement of persons away from their place of usual residence, either across an international border or within a state." For Fitzgerald and Lambkin (2008), migration is "about moving 'place of residence,' but it also involves the idea of moving 'home.'"

In the above-quoted definitions and almost all others, migration is defined not only as a movement but also a type of movement in which the migrant changes the habitat. Albeit a reformulation of the definitions, including habitat, provides a better understanding of migration because of two reasons: First, habitat is defined as the natural environment of an organism, regardless of being a human or not. Given the migrating animals, defining migration with habitat allows the term to be used more broadly. Second, the natural environment not only includes spatial borders but also includes the set of relations within that area, and relations with the other (neighboring) environments of the area. Hence, it may be stated that defining migration as "the change of one's habitat permanently or semi-permanently" includes not only spatial change but also one's relations with its environment.

Order (2002) demonstrated that migration had been one of humanity's key structural aspects since earlier times, which is an opinion shared by Manning (2005). This shows that, even

though around 12.000 years ago, human beings started a more settled life, the movement never stopped. Indeed, Gozzini (2006), in his comparison of migration trends between 1870-1914 and 1965-2000, showed that notwithstanding there are more difficulties in movement in the latter era, mostly because of more strict border controls, there is an important similarity in migration trends. Still, more people are on the move, according to Ferreira (2019). This shows that there are reasons or impulses for migration, and they have existed throughout human history. Today, thanks to globalism, people know what life is like elsewhere. Once they believe that they cannot have that life in their habitat, they are determined to move to a different place than reforming their environments.

1.2 DIFFERENT WAYS OF MIGRATION

People are certainly on the move when one out of every seven people in the world is an international migrant. Alongside, nation-states are struggling to control migration for security reasons. Mass migration is supposed to be, in certain ways, an existential security problem in the post-Cold War period. (Bourbeau, Philippe, Hand Book on Migration and Security, 2013) most of all international migrants live in the United States of America (50.7 million, or 18.6% of the world's total), followed by Germany and Saudi Arabia with 13.1 million migrants (each), the Russian Federation (11.6 million), the United Kingdom (9.5 million), the United Arab Emirates (8.6 million), France (8.3 million), Canada (8 million), Australia (7.6 million), and Italy with 6.3 million of migrants. (United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division (UN DESA) (International Migrant Stock, 2019)

Regardless of being internal (i.e., national) or external (i.e., international), the change of residence is always the result of an external factor at the usual habitat and the existent or perceived potential of pull factors.

In *Leviathan*, Hobbes (Hobbes, 1998) preferred the survival of a state of anarchy for peace and security. He even took it if no one should raise against the state, even if they are mistreated. This was to show how important security and stability are for humans. In migration, it is found that most of the internal and external factors are related to physical security.

The first and probably the most prominent reason for migration is the lack of physical security in one's habitat. This insecurity can result from various elements, like war, resettlement, or persecution. Alike the first reason, the second most prominent reason is unexpected climate conditions like drought, famine, crop failure, or decreasing or no access to fresh water. Along with these two forcing external factors, a third vital factor is the collection of problems that cause life quality to deteriorate. The most important one of these is low economic activity and/or lack of job opportunities. Together with the economic factors, discrimination, intolerance, and the prospects for a better life are among the third prominent factor.

There are many other reasons, like a family reunion, gender inequality, cultural dissimilarity, and assimilation, making it hard or impossible for the individuals to continue their residence. These factors alone themselves are not enough for migration. Together with all these reasons, there needs to be a pull factor so that migration can happen. Push factors are necessary, but not enough for migration. Unless there is a place that one can migrate to, the individual or the people are stuck in their habitat.

To summarize, it is observed that regions and countries with a) security and stability, b) high economic activity, c) better social services and social care, d) better life prospects, and d) climate that the individual is used to, or fancies are more likely to pull more migrants than the others. This is seen in the figures presented by Migration Data Portal. (*Global Migration Data Portal*, n.d.)

INFLOWS OF FOREIGN POPULATION IN 2017		
Region	Population	Percentage
Europe	4.600.000	59.54
Americas	1.400.000	18.12
Asia	1.400.000	18.12
Oceania	325.500	4.21
Africa	0	0

Table:2

Above table 2 shows several convincing points: First, Europe pulled the highest number of migrants, with more than half of the total gathering there.

Second, we see that the number and rate of migrants in the Americas and Asia are equal, and of over seven million people changing their continents, one-third have moved to either of these countries. Oceania, although it meets most, if not all, criteria mentioned above, failed to attract as many migrants as other continents, mostly because of geographic distance.

Third, the number of migrants towards Africa is so insignificant that it was not mentioned in the data. When we look at the total number of international migrants in mid-year 2019, the data above slightly changes:

TOTAL NUMBER OF INTERNATIONAL MIGRANTS AT MID-YEAR 2019		
Region	Population	Percentage of Total
Asia	83.600.000	34.11
Europe	82.300.000	33.58
Americas	70.300.000	28.68
Africa	26.500.000	10.81
Oceania	8.900.000	3.63

Table 3

Now, Asia has the highest international migrant population, slightly ahead of Europe. Americas attract the third-highest number of migrants, followed by Africa and Oceania. Although Oceania, with Australia and New Zealand, is a more attractive destination with having most if not all pull factors, geographic distance again plays its role.

SHARE OF IMMIGRANTS AND IMMIGRANT POPULATION RATE TO TOTAL POPULATION IN CONTINENTS		
Region	Share of Migrants (%)	Migrant Population Rate to Total (%)
Oceania	3.63	21.13
Europe	33.58	11.01
Americas	28.68	6.93
Africa	10.81	2.03
Asia	34.11	1.82

Table 4

Table 4 shows contradicting findings. Oceania, where the least number of migrants are settled, has the highest migrant population. Europe follows it. Asia, mainly because of its high population, has the lowest rate, followed by Africa.

Last, Table 5 below presents the breakdown of international migrant stock, refugees, asylum seekers, and others² in continents in 2017:

BREAKDOWN OF MIGRANTS					
Region	International Migrant Stock	Refugees	Asylum Seekers	Others	Non-Refugees, Asylum Seekers & IDPs
Asia	79,586,709	9,067,704	502,166	20,251,046	49,765,793
Europe	77,895,217	2,508,981	983,967	2,751,063	71,651,206
Americas	67,172,343	704,648	842,821	7,774,202	57,850,672
Africa	24,650,223	6,134,401	589,255	15,203,541	2,723,026
Oceania	8,410,933	58,119	36,457	0	8,316,357

Table 5

The table shows that the highest number of asylum seekers are in Europe and the Americas, while the highest number of refugees is in Asia. IDPs and others of concern to UNHCR are highest in Europe, followed by Americas and Asia.

² The figure includes the sum of returned refugees, internally displaced persons (IDPs) protected/assisted by UNHCR, including people in IDP-like situations, returned IDPs, Persons under UNHCR's stateless mandate, and others of concern to UNHCR categories.

RATES OF REFUGEES, ASYLUM SEEKERS, AND TOTAL REFUGEES, ASYLUM SEEKERS AND OTHERS TO MIGRANTS				
Region	Refugees Migrants	/ Asylum Seekers Migrants	Asylum Seekers Refugees	Total / Migrants
Africa	24.89%	2.39%	9.61%	88.95%
Asia	11.39%	0.63%	5.54%	37.47%
Europe	3.22%	1.26%	39.22%	8.02%
Americas	1.05%	1.25%	119.61%	13.88%
Oceania	0.69%	0.43%	62.73%	1.12%

Table:6

Although Asia had the highest number of refugees, refugees' highest rate to migrants is in Africa, with almost one-fourth of every migrant being refugees. It is followed by Asia, with Europe, Oceania, and Americas having insignificant figures. Similarly, Africa has the highest asylum seekers to migrants' rate, doubling Europe and Americas, which comes second and third, respectively. This time, Asia and Oceania have insignificant rates.

An interesting conclusion is found in the asylum seekers to refugees' rate: In the Americas, there are six asylum seekers per refugee, and in Oceania, there are over three. This shows that those who pass the oceans are more desperate than applying for asylum at higher rates.

The last column shows the rate of the total number of asylum seekers, refugees, and others of concern to UNHCR to migrants. It can be seen that the figure is the highest in Africa, with almost nine out of ten migrants belonging to this group. Asia comes second, with one-third belonging to this group, which is followed by the Americas. Europe comes fourth, with less than 10%, and the figure in Oceania is insignificant.

The data above shows that Europe is the first destination for migrants, followed by the Americas and Asia, where the latter is a last resort given there are not enough pull factors. Oceania and Africa are the least preferred destinations. Even though the migrant population to total population rate is 10%, in Europe, because of these pull factors, migrants are questioned and France, having the third-largest migrant population, is no exception.

1.3 MIGRATION AS A SECURITY ISSUE

As shown, the rate of refugees, asylum seekers, and the others to the total number of migrants is more than only Oceania in Europe, with only 8.02% of all migrants belonging to this group. However, "migration is one of the most contentious issues in Europe (Léonard, 2010), and there is more demand for border security (Newman, 2006), as control of migration is the most significant state policy (Balibar, 2017). This is primarily because the rate of the migrant population to the total population is the second highest in Europe. Only after Oceania, Europe has the most significant number of pull factors, especially with its geographic proximity to Africa and the Middle East, where the push factors are the most of all regions.

In an age of nation-states, Borders divide nations, which are socially constructed, or "imagined" (Anderson, 2016) communities. Along with a shared history and language, the members of a nation share the same culture. Migration is a contentious issue in Europe because, excluding movement within the EU, most of the migrants are coming from Africa and the Middle East—regions with different cultures and lifestyles. Combined with the colonial culture, that Europeans have the "Civilizing Mission" (Vergés, 2014), which is supported because many of the migrants, who are comparably less educated and poor, are migrating for better life opportunities, migrants are open targets regardless of posing an actual threat.

When illegal migration in the EU has observed most of the people enter the Schengen zone legally, after obtaining a proper visa, and overstaying once the visa is expired (Collyer et al.,

2012), which is a shared problem in the UK (Scheel, 2017). Those that are deemed non-threats to the economy end up as threats. This also shows that visa regimes and migration policies focus more on the economy than the society, as those illegal migrants are not more of a threat than the others.

To heal the destruction of WWII, European countries, especially Germany and France, migrants, as low-level workers, were allowed and “welcome” temporarily: In 1955, a contract between Italy and West Germany was signed in which Italian laborers were to live and work in Germany up to nine months (Göktürk et al., 2007). In 1956, 100.000 new workers were expected, and there were doubts if Germany could handle that many temporary workers. In 2017, according to UN data, 14.8% of the population were migrants or descendants, which amounted to over 12.2 million. Once 100.000 people were problematic, while later, more than a hundred times more migrants lived in the country.

This change shows several things: First, migrants who lived in the country and helped Germany to grow to be the 4th biggest economy in the world, after the US, China, and Japan (*GDP (Current US\$) | Data*, n.d.). In this sense, the argument that migrants could help economically worked, at least in Germany. The same, though, can be said for other countries, including the US, France, or Italy.

Second, even though borders separate cultures, immigrants became a part of the culture they moved to and transformed the culture of the host country. It cannot be noted that not all immigrants willing to get accustomed to a new culture and live accordingly. Yet Germany hasn't faced a severe migrant crisis that threatens society and/or the culture. It can be concluded that seeing migrants as threats can be a valid idea when the threat comes from those that create their ghettos and live separate from society.

When the mentioned facts are considered, migrants are determined to be kept out of borders and temporarily allowed for economic gains in the EU. However, migrants today are part of

the European society, and considering the migration issue within the security framework makes migrants defenseless, rightless, and unequal in the society that they live in.

Since the 1980s, Europe has been characterized by drastic changes brought on by the growth of globalization, the dissolution of major states such as the Soviet Union on the Communist side, and the re – construction of the European Union. As the international environment has shifted more to a nation-state structure, migration has become increasingly debated. The political construction of migration gradually applied to the destabilizing consequences of migration and public order risks. Many scholars have addressed to tight measures of the EU toward immigration, which support strict border policies, deportation, and tracking of immigrants. (Huysmans 2000; Ceyhan & Tsoukala 2002; Karyotis 2007). It can be easily concluded that securitization is one of the main issues that the European Union deals with and compromises all the necessities and the difficulties related to the subject. In this framework, some scholars are explicitly interested in the European Union and its securitization context (Huysmans 2000; Karyotis 2007), while others defended the idea that the studies must be taken in a broader sense rather than focused on the European Union solely. However, migration remained a common subject of argument in “Western Societies” (Ceyhan & Tsoukala 2002) and a “Phenomenon” (Tirman 2006) in today’s global agenda.

1.4 HISTORY OF MIGRATION IN FRANCE

France, for various reasons, is among the most desired destinations for migrants around the world: In 2019, according to World Bank data, France was the 7th biggest economy in the world with 2.715 billion US\$, with roughly equal size with India and the UK (2.875 and 2.827 billion US\$ respectively), and well ahead of Italy, which follows France (2.001 billion US\$). Similarly, with 40.493 US\$, France had one of the biggest GDP per capita, one that is

comparable to that of Japan, New Zealand, and Italy, and well above South Korea, Spain, Portugal, and so on (GDP (Current US\$) | Data, n.d.).

By the early 15th century, French Empire was not only focused on the economic exploitation of her colonies but also created strong ties to both French culture and language in those countries. According to Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie (OIF), in 2020, 88 states and governments are members of OIF. It should be noted, though, that not all those 88 countries are former French colonies. Besides that, some countries were colonized but are not members of the organization. For example, Greece and Bulgaria are members but not former colonies, and Algeria is a former colony but not a member.

1.4.1 MIGRATION IN FRANCE AS AN IMPERIAL LEGACY

Continuing with data from International Organization for Migration (IOM), the three largest immigrant groups that move to France are from Portugal, Morocco, and Algeria. This is a partly intriguing finding, which can be understood better once compared to that of other early 20th-century-fallen empires:

- In the UK, the most significant migrant groups are from Poland, Pakistan, and India.
- In Germany, they are from Poland, Turkey, and Russian Federation.
- In Spain, they are from Ecuador, Morocco, and Romania.
- In Portugal, they are from Brazil, Angola, and France.
- In Italy, they are from Morocco, Albania, and Romania.
- In Austria, they are from Germany, Serbia, and Turkey.
- Last Hungary, they are from Serbia, Romania, and Ukraine.

The above data shows countries pull migrants from nations with similar language, culture, and, to some extent, climate. Ecuadorian migrants in Spain, Angolan migrants in Portugal, or German migrants in Austria support the "language" argument. Albanians in Italy, Romanians

in Hungary, or French in Portugal support the "culture" argument. Besides these, the data shows that geographical proximity plays an unignorable role: Ukrainians migrate westwards and reach Germany. Similarly, Moroccans move northwards and end up at the northwestern shore of the Mediterranean—Spain, France, and Italy.

According to Institut National d'Etudes Démographiques (INED), in 2017, Algerian and Moroccan migrants make up the biggest immigrant group in France, with 13% and 12% share of the total immigrant population, followed by Portuguese immigrants (9.71%). The regional breakdown of immigrant population and share is:

Region	Immigrant Population	% of Total Immigrant Population
Africa	2.858.608	44.93
EU Countries	1.902.887	29.91
Rest of the World	1.040.738	16.36
Non-EU Europe	559.654	8.80
Total	6.361.887	

Table:7

Here, migration results from undesired or unbearable living conditions and the result of seeking better conditions. African immigrants made up almost half of all immigrants in France and were followed by EU citizens. It is interesting to find out that even when the European region includes non-EU states; the immigrants are still less and proportion than African immigrants. Given that the most significant immigrant populations are from Morocco and Algeria, the former is a protectorate and the latter a colony of France, followed by immigrants from Portugal and Italy, two neighboring countries. Again, a former colony and a neighboring state, Tunisia and Spain, shows that the French Empire's legacy played its role in shaping France's current demographics, with migrants from former colonies having a significant share in population, with decreasing population sizes based on geographic proximity.

1.4.2 EARLY IMPERIAL EFFECTS ON MIGRATION TO FRANCE

Empires are large political entities based upon a center, the imperial center, sometimes a city, and sometimes a region, either small or large, with the vassals and colonies, which make up the periphery, conquered to serve this center. Although writing about Dutch East India Company, Ward's (2009) argument that empires "... manifested [themselves] through cultural, legal, administrative, transportation, territorial, military and exchange networks that amalgamated spatially and over time into an imperial web whose sovereignty was effectively created and maintained but always partial and contingent" as well defines French Empire.

Imperial centers are where relations, structures, and networks are created and shaped, but they are not the only ones with these roles. There is a cross-cultural relationship between the colonizers and the indigenous people, which is complex (Payton & Varnava, 2019). This results in both sides' cultures getting affected by each other, with the indigenous culture being affected and changing more thanks to the imperial center's economic and military power, resulting in

the desire to move from the colonies. Once non-existent or small push factors emerge and migration from the center to the periphery, with a more significant rate and amount, migration from the periphery to the center starts.

The immigration phenomenon is a well-known incident for France throughout her history. Long before the 1789 revolution, merchants, foreign artists, and soldiers had migrated and found jobs in France according to their unique abilities (Giry, 2006). France was one of the most populated countries in Europe during the 18th century, and she has not been an exception in this general trend about empires (Parker, 2020). After being defeated in the Seven Years' War (1756-1763), France lost a substantial amount of land once it colonized. However, later, with Algeria's conquest from the Ottoman Empire, the second colonial empire was formed, and West Africa was "left to" France in the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885. During this second colonial empire, France, rather than only exploiting the colonies, mostly thanks to the population that moved to the colonies and cultural colonization, gave citizenship to its colonies' residents (Bass, 2014). Indeed, even after the destruction of WWII, the French were still interested in keeping France a great power (Cerny, 2008), and colonization was one way to pursue this aim (Chafer, 2002). In the French mind, colonies were part of the country than mere subjects. Therefore, and how unlike the British, the French had to face wars in the decolonization process. According to Favell (1998), the French were more interested in the "political assimilation of culturally distinct" immigrants.

1.4.3 MIGRATION IN FRANCE IN 20TH CENTURY

France indeed one of the colonial countries that has a long history of immigration. Immigrants were carried in the early 18th and 19th century from the colonial African countries as an act of industrialization parallel to the fall in the birth rate had resulted in a labor shortage. France was an exception during this period. Most other industrialized countries, including Germany, had

advanced birth rates and were mainly countries of immigration. The French labor market shortages were further worsened by the population decrease caused by the wars of 1870-71 and the First World War.³

WWII shaped French demographics the most by the loss of thousands of lives and by collapsing French hegemony and leading to the fall of the French colonial empire. WWII destroyed infrastructure and French production capabilities, which caused France to import foreign labor to raise its economy, who worked in various crucial sectors such as agriculture, mining, construction, and industry (McDonald, 1969).

So after 1945, migration to France was not only from neighboring countries or colonies but also from other countries which sent their excessive labor (*Immigrants by Country of Birth*, n.d.). It can be stated that French demographics are largely shaped by its imperial legacy and post-WWII reconstruction efforts.

The below table shows the most populated 30 immigrant countries by origin in France: The most significant number of people from former colonies or countries that exported labor after WWII (INED, 2017).

Country	Population
 Algeria	823,500
 Morocco	771,300
 Portugal	618,200
 Italy	286,500

³ In the First World War alone, 1.4 million French people were killed or disabled.

Country	Population
 Tunisia	283,800
 Spain	247,700
 Turkey	246,300
 United Kingdom	145,900
 Romania	125,600
 Comoros	119,300
 Belgium	119,000
 Germany	115,100
 Senegal	105,900
 China	105,700
 Ivory Coast	94,400
 Poland	89,400
 Haiti	87,000
 DR Congo	85,100
 Cameroon	84,800

Country	Population
 Serbia	79,700
 Mali	78,600
 Vietnam	75,700
 Madagascar	73,400
 Russia	69,800
 Congo	68,500
 Brazil	61,000
 Switzerland	58,500
 Sri Lanka	52,300
 Cambodia	49,900
 Guinea	42,600

(INSEE, 2017) Table 8

The age-breakdown of migrants shows that 75% of Italian, 60% of Spanish, 55% of British, and 53% of Dutch immigrants are over 55 so this implies that immigrants from these neighboring and developed countries have been in France for a longer period (INSEE,2017). The countries with the highest percentage of people aged 55 and over are almost completely from Europe.

On the opposite side of the same data, the countries with the highest rate of working-age populations are from 3rd world countries. The highest rate is from Comoros with almost 75%, followed by Ivory Coast (70%), Turkey (68.2%), and Cameroon (67.7%) (INED,2017).

These numbers show two important issues regarding the migration in France; first, while more than half of all immigrants are working age (25-54) the rate is higher from countries from ex-colonial, emerging, or underdeveloped countries. Second, 33% of all immigrants are over 55, yet a higher portion is from developed countries. The populations of immigrants from developing and least developed countries are mostly made of people between 25 and 54, the most active era in social and economic life.

2.TERRORISM IN EUROPE AND FRANCE

2.1 TERRORISM IN EUROPE

Terrorism is a controversial and complicated subject to those who would like to define it in a broad sense and obviously cannot be compromised on easily (Callaway & Harrelson-Stephens, 2006; Weinberg et al., 2004). However, one of the commonly used and reliable definitions emphasize that terrorism is the act of violence and uses all the means of hostility for a specific purpose. This purpose can be political, religious, or ideological (Matusitz, 2013). The controversial definitions can be found easily: For example, European Scientific Journal published on June 2018 defines terrorism on the basis for determining the legitimacy of using violence (directed at whom, by whom, for what ends). This differentiation can also be seen between various organizations and groups within a government as well; e.g., the United States Patriot Act of 2001, the United States Army Manual, and the United States Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) define the context of terrorism from various angles.

The history of violence is as old as the beginning of human existence and its culture (Giorgi, 2001). The roots of the term "terrorism" go the way back of modern days, including the French

Revolution of 1789. In so-called "Reign of Terror" (or simply "Terror"), the ruling Jacobins used violence for eleven months (September 5, 1793–July 28, 1794) to suppress the regime's opposites (Conte, 2010; Stephens, 2004). Counter-terrorism (or contemporary strategies of terrorism) has risen in the 20th century, and only then it was linked with non-state groups (Miller 2012). This is mainly referred to as the growth of anti-colonial views and a direct response to imperial hegemony in Europe. Though the complex web of terrorism and the highly volatile variables involved in it, made the issue difficult coping with it and it has become the core issue EU's internal and foreign policies. Most of the EU countries put the issue at the top of their list for their military and intelligence operations. Not all the policies and strategies successful in protecting the European countries entirely against terrorist attacks and continue to threaten the fundamental European values and the future of the Union. International terrorism has become the key subject worldwide since 9/11 2001 by a series of terrorist attacks which realized by radical Islamist group Al-Qaeda in USA and the effects of the attacks were echoed intensively in the EU like anywhere else in the world. (Assaf,2008). Although the attempts to merge immigration with security is mostly to date September 11, most securitization of immigration scholars either implicitly or explicitly agree that the post-September 11 period is witness to a “‘problematization’ and ‘securitization’ of... [immigration] that is new in its scope and scale. (Freedman,2004,1) So one might notably argue that September 11 is viewed as “a critical juncture in and a major accelerant of the process of securitizing immigration in Europe and the United States” (Messina,2014). However, the gravity of the issue has been revealed after Madrid and London metro attacks in Europe during 2004 and 2005, respectively. (Friesen, 2007) Following these attacks, the EU was in need to establish a terrorism fighting policy and launched an Action Plan in 2005 (Balzacq, T. C., Sergio. 2005). Yet, the Syrian civil war, which has started in 2011, led the flow of migration toward the EU, especially western European countries through Mediterranean. Severe discussions begun about the effectiveness

of the action plan and since 2014, the EU has been targeted increasingly exhaustive terrorist attacks and was caught defenseless without having a proper strategy against the acts of terrorism. (Casele,2018). SO, The EU is now both the subject of irregular immigration and international terrorism while taking more threats than ever.

2.2 BRIEF HISTORY OF TERRORISM IN FRANCE

France as an imperial power and now as an ex-colonial country has always been at the target of illegal organizations from different ideologies—far right to the extreme left—and only between 1970 and 2015, there were 2,616 incidents of terrorism in France, with an average of over 65 a year (Nelson,2020). The first attacks that were reported can be even found in 1800, an unsuccessful attempt to assassinate Napoleon Bonaparte in Paris by anarchists. Throughout the 20th century, the nature of terror and the strategies have developed: Suicide bombers, shootings or mass murders became frequent all over the world. Though, as mentioned, by nature of imperial legacy of France in the past, e.g. the attacks linked to the Algerian Civil War took place in the 1950s and 1960s, along with the Vitry-le-François train bombing, the worst terror attack on French territory during the 20th century. An attack has been held on Strasbourg to Paris train in 1961 by the Organisation Armée Secrète (OAS), a guerrilla organization opposed to the independence of Algeria.

France has seen multiple forms of terrorist attacks post WW2 period. Even excluding Algerian civil war effect, the terrorist attacks have continued between 1995 and 2014 and left 95 civilians' dead. No less than 14 counterterrorism bills have been passed in the parliament between 1986 and 2014. Middle East terror organizations—mostly radical Islamists—were involved in many terror acts during the 1980s and France has met for the first-time extremist Islamists against its support in the Lebanese civil war. Since then, Islamist terrorist groups are among the most troublemaking threats for the country today. Till 2015, France has been

considered as the Europe's "counterterrorism powerhouse" and was reputed to prevent many terrorist attacks by using its broad intelligence all around the world (Foley 2015). This refers to its experience and knowledge of the new terror combat methods and its strategy (Schmitt & Gerecht 2007). However, the Charlie Hebdo attacks in January and Paris attacks in November 2015 were the country's deadliest against extremist Islamists (Nelson,2020).

2.2.1 2015 JANUARY CHARLIE HEBDO ATTACKS

A series of deadly attacks on the satirical Charlie Hebdo headquarters and on a supermarket in Paris shocked France on 7 January 2015. After the attacks, many social and political observers have considered the attacks as an insult on freedom of speech and fundamental French Republic values; equality, liberty and fraternity. Prime Minister Manuel Valls declared war against radical Islam and jihadist (Bilefsky,2015). Besides, the terrorists were identified as the extreme representation of distorted Islamic ideology, mainly gathered in Paris ghettos who are radically opposed to the republic. However, the case's ambiguity is not fully taken into consideration to understand the complexity of the events that occurred at that day.

The weekly satirical magazine "Charlie Hebdo" was also known to criticize the authority, including religion in society and Muslim values (Once they have published a controversial sketch of prophet Mohammed) has considered overstepped by mocking of Islamic figures and values. The magazine's motto was "stupid and nasty" (*bête et méchant*) and came out of a letter of criticism submitted to Charlie Hebdo in the 1960s. Since then, it has been a popular expression. The magazine's consistent attacks on the religion, especially on Islam, were always seen as a part of laicity and freedom of speech. So, most of the people in France perceived the attacks as an insult to French fundamental values and principles. When the date was March 2013, Al-Qaeda's sub-organization in Yemen, also called as AQAP (Al-Qaeda on the Arabian Peninsula) leaked a list to media which is included the name of Stéphane Charbonnier (Charlie

Hebdo editor who died in this shooting) because of insulting Islam. (Cormack,2015) After two days of the attacks, on 9 January, AQAP claimed responsibility for the attacks and stated that their motive was “revenge for the honour” of prophet Muhammad (Time, 2015). However, The January attacks were read as "hybrid attacks" that did not belong to any pre-identified group. However, they were similarly "terror attacks," "war acts," "common law crimes" and "political violence" (Garapon 2015).

After the first attacks in January, to maintain national security, France raised its military spending by 3.7% in 2015—after 25 years of steady decline (Lequesne 2016). The overseas military operations that have been executed in Africa and the Middle-East has extended for an indefinite period.

2.2.2 2015 NOVEMBER PARIS ATTACKS

The six simultaneous attacks that happened in Paris for almost within 4 hours, on the evening of 13 November 2015, were unexpected and shocking for France. 130 civilians were killed and 413 injured in crowded public spaces, including the famous concert hall Bataclan (RTE news,2015). The phantom of another 9/11 first appeared in January and came back in November.

ISIL (The Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant) claimed responsibility for the attacks (CNN, 2015) and the organization stated, “It was retaliation for French airstrikes on Islamic State targets in Syria and Iraq” (Elgot, Phipps, Bucks, Jonathan, 2015). French president François Hollande claimed the attacks were an act of war by Islamic State (Nossiter, 2015). The attacks were planned in Syria and organized by a terrorist cell based in Belgium (Guardian, 2015).

Two of the Paris attackers were Iraqis, but most were born in France or Belgium, and had fought in Syria. Some attackers had returned to Europe among the flow of migrants and refugees from Syria (McDonnell, 2015).

Horrific attacks in Paris have caused that French government to place the country into emergency measures and this time going as far as suspending the Schengen Agreement and putting Paris under curfew since 1944 for the first time. While some attackers have been identified as French nationals, this was an act of international terrorism and has more in common with the Charlie Hebdo attack carried out by the Kouachi brothers (Downing, 2015).

The central ideology behind Paris's attacks was a sequence and continuation of what happened in Madrid in 2004, in London in 2005. This theory undoubtedly offers a useful context to explain the terrorist attacks and their effect on the society (Smelser 2007, Fullerton & al. 2003, Spiderman & Stecklov 2009).

3. DOES THE FRENCH MEDIA SECURITIZE THE IMMIGRATION AFTER THE ATTACKS IN 2015? AN ANALYSIS OF FRENCH NEWSPAPERS

3.1 A CRITICAL REVIEW OF EUROPEAN MEDIA AND LINKING TO MIGRATION

For over two decades, the number of refugees and migrants across the Mediterranean and flows into Europe increased, migration has become one of the most covered subjects in the traditional and new media trends. This attraction of the migration issue becomes a public agenda and one of the most crucial concerns of the people of the European Union. Migration discourse is increasingly politicized by the soaring speeches of populist politicians worldwide. Media is a powerful instrument to grasp the power for politicians, business leaders, and especially for policymakers in every aspect. While paper-based published newspapers are still read, in the eve of the third decade of the 21st century, social media plays a central role in major social movements worldwide. However, this thesis focused only on mass media paper-based

newspaper news. So, while social media is one of the powerful ways to influence public opinion in our age, it will not be a part of this study by any means.

The current debates about immigration in right populist politics and the EU's future are merely focusing on complicated relations between media and politics. By politics, it can be included that news media creates the political attitudes, norms, and values perceived and internalized by the public. (Novamigra, 2020) So the media directly affects and changes the perception and political attitudes. At once, the public tendencies and an impact of what they are going to read or watch. It is a bilateral interaction between media and people that influences the choices and what is worthy of being considered in national politics. If one should look at the recent historical influence of media over the masses, Herman and Chomsky (1988) argue that, to score propaganda points, the media portray people abused in enemy states as "worthy victims" but downplay the "unworthy victims" of human rights abuses of client states. So, from that point of view, media influences public opinion massively. To twist the truths and use them to their advantage media can mislead the public. However, media bias occurs mostly when there is national benefit and securitization is on the table. Andon and Free (2014) provide a detailed definition of media bias. They argue that bias in the paper-based media may take three forms: Gatekeeping bias, Coverage bias, and Statement bias. If the media wants to be impartial, the news must be presented transparently to the public. Bias in the news is causing misperception within society and people. Jurgen Habermas defines the media as a space for public discourse that must guarantee universal access and rational debate in society (Alver, 2006). Without rational debate and transparency, it cannot be spoken about human rights, national interest, or impartiality.

Media helps to politicize the population and mobilize public support for democratic institutions, especially responsible government. The free circulation of political events and issues is necessary for the public's understanding of politics and society's participation in the

political process. In 1963, Bernard Cohen observed that the press "may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about. The world will look different to different people," Cohen continues, "depending on the map that is drawn for them by writers, editors, and publishers of the paper they read. (Cohen, 1963). Whether social or political, local or national, the media generates public issues. Consumers not only learn about an issue "but also how much importance is attached to that issue from the amount of information in a news story and its position" (McCombs, 1972)

Especially in world politics, mostly in Europe, the printed press's mass circulation had raised the political competition in the 19th century. The organizational connections between media and parties or other organizations are directly and indirectly linked to political parties as essential components of political parallelism (Seymour-Ure, 1974). So, in that way, the newspapers and media are taking under guarantee their very existence and may adopt their ideas to the public. Lately, the rise of populist politicians, such as Trump in the US, or Marine Le Pen in France, has got the attention of the mass public by nationalist rhetoric. Mass media and mass circulated newspapers shape the skeleton of the media and recently dominated by populist politicians' rhetoric and far-right parties worldwide (Alexander, 2006, 304).

The role of the media in government is often seen unnoticed and unreviewed. (N.Bowles, J.T.Hamilton, & D.A.Levy, 2014). On the subjects such as national interest and securitization, the media cannot be impartial and affects public opinion. However, the actual responsibility of the media starts where it is getting into more political action: "Disseminating the full range of political opinions, enabling the public to make political choices and enter the national life" (Chobanian, 2012) .

On September 2, 2015, a tragic day when an image of a Syrian boy dead body found on the western coast near the Aegean Sea in Turkey went top headlines of the global media, showed

up in every social media feed in a few hours. Aylan Kurdi's sensational picture became a topic trend in that in his lonely death, and he became the symbol of the human tragedy that has been taking place during the migration crisis period (Ferguson, 2016). There are recent findings on migration and media linkage. The migration phenomenon is presented in the headlines in two ways: Either the number of the people who are dead and injured during this new homeland quest or the tragic stories like Aylan's, so it means emotional. (Ethical Journalism Network, 2015). Most of the time, the newspaper coverage is politically taken and having signed by political leaders, so they are trying to express themselves by taking advantage of the tragedy. Besides, these kinds of coverages are often carrying implicit and confusing language; for example, words like migrant and refugee, which are obviously different to mean, are used interchangeably, creating an incomprehensible environment for the public. By doing so, where refugees, migrants, or asylum seekers have the same sense of labeling and are created the same level of perception in the reader's eye, that leaves an open door for fallacy and misleading.

3.2 FRENCH MEDIA AND MIGRATION

According to Media Landscapes (*France*, n.d.-a), which took the data from the French Ministry of Culture and Communication, in 2015, there were 4.124 print newspapers and journals existed in France. Of them, 99 are national, local, or regional daily newspapers. Out of the 99 newspapers, three papers were selected representing one from political-right, political-left, and political-center are taken to be the data sources. In the selection of the three newspapers, their circulation numbers are considered.

Regarding ACPM, Media Landscapes reports that in 2017, *Le Figaro* is read the most by selling an average of 307.807 copies a day. *Le Figaro* is defined as presenting general news and politically stands as right-of-center-liberal conservatism. The second most selling newspaper

is Le Monde, selling an average of 284.738 copies a day. Le Monde is defined as presenting general news as well and politically stands as center-social liberal (Lardeau,2017).

Four following newspapers that sell the most are not relevant to the study or have a stance like Le Figaro and Le Monde. La Liberation is the seventh most selling newspaper with 75.275 copies a day, which presents general news, and politically is a left-socialist democrat.

The Edelman Trust Barometer conveyed research and survey in 2017, thousands of people across 28 countries in Europe, and the results were intriguing: There was a drastic decline in trust for all the four sectors that have been asked: Businesses, the media, governments, and NGOs (2018 Edelman Trust Barometer Global Report). With the same opinion applies to France, it was one of the least trusting countries surveyed by the Pew Research Center in 2017. Only 35% of those surveyed said they trusted the news media, 39%, banks and financial institutions, and 33%, the Parliament (Pew Research Center, April 23rd, 2019).

The French media circulation has been rebuilt after the Second World War (1939-1945) by former resistant fighters, left-wing and Gaullists, against the return of the "trusts" and the logic of profit. The presence of the State inside news media structures was a guarantee of journalism independence. However, now, the system encounters the return of "trusts," and the State changed its guard role for one of the market's regulators.

The privatization of the media sector has reached its new borders in the 80s in France, so the state domination has ended on radio and television. These developments, in terms of media and telecommunications deregulation and commercialization, combined with economic globalization in the early 1990s, paved the way for large French media and communications corporations, such as the Lagardere Group, Vivendi, and France Telecom, to expand their worldwide media activities (Badillo, Bourgeois, & Lesourd, 2016: 81). Since 2010, mainstream news media is shared between two principal actors: The State and large entities such as SFR, Kering, Bouygues, Vivendi, Bolloré, or financial institutions such as banks. (Mills, 1956;

Denord et al. 2012). In France, six of the ten wealthiest people owned media groups in 2015, namely Bernard Arnault, Serge Dassault, Patrick Drahi, François-Henri Pinault, Vincent Bolloré, Xavier Niel (Cherkaoui, Arnold, Aydın, 2019)

3.3 KEYWORD ANALYSIS

The following analysis is made based on the frequencies of selected keywords and phrases both within each newspaper. Together with frequency analysis, qualitative analysis is briefly made by showing sample uses of each keyword and phrase within the newspapers to see how political left, center, and the right approached migrants and migration, how much they saw and presented migrants as security threats, and how they associated migrants with terror.

The analysis is not made by including each article published in selected newspapers. The newspapers did not publish only news and opinions on migrants and migration, because of the archives are searched by mainly with keywords: Attentats (attacks), terroriste (terrorist), immigrants, migrants (migrant), réfugié (refugees). As a result, some news and opinions related to the topic either directly or indirectly can be missing. The keywords are selected how the perception and presentation of the issue by these newspapers will be seen, by which the question, if migrants are securitized, will find its answer.

The analysis starts with presenting counts and frequencies of individual words and phrases in each newspaper. Here, together with frequencies of each keyword and phrase within particular newspaper, their comparative use also will be presented to see how each newspaper approached to the issue and presented it will be seen in comparison.

There are several hypotheses and expected outcomes. These are based on both the social and political structure of France and French society, and the political stance of each newspaper. While there are general expected outcomes, there are also newspaper/political stance specific expectations: Left (La Liberation) is expected to address the issue more on cultural and ethical

values and securitize the issue the least among the three. Center (Le Monde) is expected to address the issue like La Liberation, with the exception that there will be a) more addresses to the state, b) more use of the term refugee in contrast with migrant, and c) securitize the issue comparably more. Right (Le Figaro) is expected to securitize the issue the most while also caring about culture, values, and integration the least. Words and phrases like security, enemy, state institutions (i.e. Ministry of Internal Affairs, president, or parliament) also are expected to be used the most in Le Figaro than the others.

The analysis is made of two parts. In the first part, keywords, their count, and their frequency are presented on a newspaper-by-newspaper basis. It should be noted that the count does not represent the actual picture because of the different lengths of the analyzed text. To be more precise, the articles from La Liberation are 80.163 words long, while articles from Le Monde are 53.549 and from La Figaro are 51.300 words long. As a result, the comparison between frequencies will lead to reliable results.

In the second part of the analysis, some frequencies of some keywords are presented and compared to each other. This way, together with seeing how each newspaper fared within themselves, it will be possible to see how they compared to each other overall.

There are four major groups of keywords included in the analysis. The first of them is the set of migration, migrants, and refugees, which make up the independent variable of the analysis. Second group is related to culture and values, by which the difference of the left from the right can be seen. The third group is state and the people, and the last are related to security, which are the dependent variables of the study. France has always been a multinational society and especially in 20th century onwards, there has been more mobility towards France than any other time. As a result, it is expected that the French are accustomed to migrants and refugees, which is why it is expected that migrants are expected to be more of a cultural than security problems. These four groups of keywords are selected on this behalf.

3.3.1 LA LIBÉRATION

The count and frequency of 35 keywords, including both those by which the article selection is made and those that can lead to meaningful conclusions;

Term	Occurrence	Frequency (Total Word Count)	Frequency per Article
Migrant / Immigrant	229	0.2857%	3.817
Refugee	146	0.1821%	2.433
Muslim	92	0.1148%	1.533
Security	32	0.03992%	0.533
Migration	26	0.0324%	0.433
Terrorist	24	0.0299%	0.400
Islam	24	0.0299%	0.400
Threat	23	0.0287%	0.383
Terrorism	21	0.0262%	0.350

Table:9

In above table, it is seen that terms with more than.1% frequency are migrant/immigrant, refugee, foreigner, and war. Migrant and refugee are both frequently used, yet migrant is used 1.57 times more than refugee. This supports that migrant is used more frequently than refugee linguistically, though the rate is found to be smaller than expected.

Muslim is used a lot more frequently than Islam or Islamic. Indeed, Muslim is used 3.4 times more than the sum of Islam and Islamic. This leads to the conclusion that the people of Islam than the concept of Islam was more discussed.

Threat, terror and terrorism are used with rather low frequencies. It is if only migrant is used 2.76 times more frequently than the sum of these four keywords, leading to the conclusion that on the left, there was no securitization of the issue.

The above presented breakdown of selected terms can lead to some other interesting conclusions which are of secondary importance. One of them is that migrant is used 8.8 times more often than migration, supporting the expectation that the issue at hand was deemed more important than the concept.

Further analysis will be made in the following part, because of which the next newspaper will be presented now.

3.3.2 LE MONDE

The breakdown of the selected keywords in Le Monde is:

Term	Occurrence	Frequency (Total Word Count)	Frequency per Article
Migrant / Immigrant	289	0.5397%	5.780
Refugee	148	0.2764%	2.960
Terrorist	34	0.0635%	0.680
Migration	25	0.0467%	0.500
Threat	23	0.0430%	0.460
Security	21	0.03922%	0.420
Terrorism	13	0.0243%	0.260
Islam	11	0.0205%	0.220
Muslim	10	0.0187%	0.200

Table:10

A different breakdown is found in Le Monde than that of La Liberation: The terms with frequency over 0.1% are, in order, migrant and refugee. With migrant, refugee topping the list, it can be said that Le Monde was more interested in relating the attacks to Syrian war. This is supported in the context because Syria and Syrian are the two terms which are the two most frequently used terms only after the list above.

In Le Monde it is found that Islam and Muslim are almost equally frequently used, yet on a low level. Also, even though European and Europe are frequently used, the term region is used rather infrequently (0.14% vs 0.05%). Like La Liberation, migrant/migration ratio is again high, standing at 11.56, which surpasses that of La Liberation.

Culture and society are less frequently used, just like terrorism, enemy, threat, and barbarian. An interesting finding here is that, though, terrorist is used 2.6 times more than terrorism. This supports the idea that the Syrian War was more widely discussed regarding the attacks. Another interesting finding is that foreigner is among the most frequently used terms with 0.14% frequency, which can imply that either it is used interchangeably with migrant to decrease the use of the term, or to generalize the *outsiders* and refer to them differently than migrant: Both migrant and refugee, together with asylum seeker, are legal terms while foreigner (or stranger) is a word which means those that do not belong to the community, this or that way. In this sense, foreigner (or stranger, as the French word means both) can mean those that did not settle in with the society.

There is brief reference to DAESH itself while Islamic State (IS) and combatant are comparably more frequently used 10 and 9 times more often. African is used four times more than Arab (24 and 6 occurrences respectively), which shows that the attention was more on the region, and on the non-Arab parts of the former colonies.

3.3.3 LE FIGARO

The breakdown of the terms is:

Term	Occurrence	Frequency (Total Word Count)	Frequency per Article
Muslim	110	0.2144%	2.750
Refugee	110	0.2144%	2.750
Islam	92	0.1793%	2.300
Migrant / Immigrant	90	0.1754%	2.250
Terrorist	61	0.1189%	1.525
Terrorism	58	0.1131%	1.450
Security	42	0.0819%	1.050
Threat	13	0.0253%	0.325
Migration	10	0.0195%	0.250

Table: 11

In Le Figaro, the terms with over 0.1% frequency, in order, are Muslim, refugee Islam, migrant, war, terrorist, and terrorism. This list alone shows that Islam and Muslims were at the focus, together with terror and terrorism. This alone shows that Le Figaro was the most discriminatory of the three newspapers against Muslims.

Among the chosen keywords, threat and enemy are less frequently used, yet the use of terrorism and terrorist can be seen as the major reason of this.

Migrant to migration ratio is high, with the figure standing at nine, showing that the issue at hand is more important than the overall concept. Interestingly, though, is that refugee is more frequently used than migrant (1.22 times more often). Similarly, Muslim is used more frequently than Islam (1.2 times more often).

The first general expectation was that the society overall was accustomed to migrants and migration. Being one keyword by which the articles are chosen from the newspapers, it is found that migrant is frequently used by all newspapers, which was an expected outcome. Because of this, the rate of migrant and migration is checked in each newspaper to see how many more times migrant was used in comparison with migration.

The figures are presented above, and here they are presented together:

La Liberation	Le Monde	Le Figaro
8.8	11.56	9

Table: 12

Rate of migrant to migration in each newspaper.

While migrants have been the principal topic of discussion, migration was not addressed much frequently. At the center, Le Monde discussed migration the least, leading to the highest ratio above, and La Liberation and Le Figaro discussing it with rather equal frequency.

This leads to the conclusion that both because French are accustomed to migrants, and because they addressed the issue at hand more than the concept overall, migration was discussed less frequently.

La Liberation and Le Monde used terrorism at equal frequency, though Le Monde used terrorist twice as much as La Liberation. War and threat didn't return significant outcomes, yet Le Monde used threat almost 1.5 times more than La Liberation. The center is leaned towards the left is proven wrong, with Le Monde using terms related to security more often than expected. Le Figaro used the terms related to security significantly more often than the other two, which leads to the conclusion that the right more securitized the issue than the other two.

Migrant is used more frequently in La Liberation, yet the frequencies of African, Arab, and Muslim are significantly lower than expected. La Liberation discussed culture and values more widely than the other two, while also addressing Europe and European frequently. Security (Sécurité) was not used much more frequently, although it is used more frequently than enemy (Enemy), terrorism (Terrorisme), or terrorist (terroriste or attaquants). Last, politics seems to be the address to solve the issue than arms.

As mentioned previously, La Liberation didn't securitize migration in terms of terrorist attacks. The tone shows that successful integration of the (Arab, African, or Muslim non-European and non-Christian) migrants was deemed as the actual solution.

Migration, in Le Monde as well, is used not so frequently, yet it is used more frequently than Muslim, Islam, Arab, or even security and threat. Security is used roughly equally with La Liberation, and it is not one of the prominent keywords in the list. Once more politics is addressed as the way to solve the problems than arms.

Le Monde, like La Liberation, didn't securitize the issue related to terror attacks. Judging by the word frequencies it can be concluded that as the liberal-center newspaper Le Monde is more leaned towards right than left.

Le Figaro used terror and terrorism, also Muslim and Islam, significantly more than other two newspapers. The terms terrorist and Muslim and terrorism and Islam were used almost synonymously, which also shows why security is used more frequently than the other two newspapers—more than doubling the frequencies. Derogatory words were largely abstained from, which can be understandable given that for the newspaper, Muslim is a derogatory word itself.

By judging the word frequencies Le Figaro securitized migrants, especially of Muslim origin. Their stance even resembles that of far-right, seeing all Muslims as terrorists. This will be better seen in following qualitative analysis part.

The conclusion shows that while on the left and center migration is not (largely) securitized, on the right, especially Muslim migrants are securitized. This, though, brings about the problem that Le Figaro is the newspaper with highest circulation of the three. In France and in 2017, the circulation of some newspapers are: <https://medialandscapes.org/country/france/media/print>

Newspaper	Orientation	Circulation
Le Figaro	Right	307.807
Le Monde	Center	284.738
Les Echos	Right	128.376
Aujourd'hui en France	Right	120.180
La Croix	Right	89.537
La Liberation	Left	75.275
L'Humanité	Left	33.851

Table:13

As seen above, the right dominates print media. Albeit not included in the study, it can easily be expected that the other newspapers standing on the right take a similar stance on the issue. This concludes that of roughly one million copies sold, significantly more than half, 62.1% of the newspapers stand on the right.

3.4 ANALYSIS OF FRENCH NEWSPAPERS

In this section the depth analysis of the articles will be reviewed and the consistency between quantitative and qualitative analysis will be analyzed. While the frequency of the keywords that are searched in the articles are noteworthy to settle down a ground for the research, the context and rhetoric of the articles are crucial to question and conclude the research question.

Number of Articles Selected Between January 2015–January 2016	LA LIBERATION	LE MONDE	LE FIGARO
150	60	50	40

Table: 14

As it is showed before, the articles haven been selected based on keywords that are directly or indirectly related with the securitization of migration process, albeit, from the articles that are chosen based on this criterion, it can be concluded that not all the articles are connected and reflect the insight of the issue. So, by analyzing the articles and conducting a depth review, the number of articles is reduced, and the most related are used for the qualitative analysis. It is noteworthy to emphasize that not all the selected articles are referenced in the qualitative analysis.

To understand the tendency of the securitization discourse in the selected newspapers, below table shows the number of the articles related to migration, refugee, immigration, terrorism and terrorist which are at the heart of the securitization debates :

Newspaper	Migration	Migrant	Refugee	Terrorism	Terrorist
La Liberation	35	26	20	14	14
Le Monde	17	34	26	9	12
Le Figaro	14	13	11	13	22
Total	66	73	57	36	48

Table: 15

3.4.1 LA LIBÉRATION

As it is mentioned before, La Liberation is a left–centered newspaper and 7th most circulated printed media in France. As it is expected, the migrants and migration haven’t been securitized by the newspaper related to terrorist attacks. Between 60 articles that have been selected in mentioned timeline after the attacks; migration debate was mostly based on the struggles that the people who flee from Syrian War to Europe, or the immigrants who are seeking for asylum

rights in France (**les gens sans domicile**) (people without identity). Apart from them, the newspaper criticized mainly the rhetoric of right-wing parties against the immigration policy. Before November attacks the newspaper articles that are related to migrants and immigrants are particularly focused on the border security in Schengen area: La Liberation do not consider the migrant problem solely a problem revealed because of Syrian war in the Middle East, or Muslims who flee on European border, but also sees the problem within a human right aspect. For example, the article which published on 9 September 2015 with the title “**Bons réfugiés, mauvais migrants?**” (Good refugees, Bad Migrants?) (by Frantz Durupt) shows that late migrant problem (2015) shouldn't be seen only from the perspective of the terror and Islamic frame but must be reviewed in the eye of ex-colonial countries such as Sudanese, Nigerians, Ghanaians who also die trying to cross the Mediterranean see toward Europe. The newspaper attempts to ease the lynch acts to Muslim community by disseminating the harsh rhetoric of François Hollande (president of France from *Partie Socialiste*—left wing) and Marine Le Pen (President of the party *Front National*—right wing). Both politicians have considered November attacks as a barbarian act to Western Society. In the article which was published just after the attacks on 17 September 2015, “**Le triple embarras du mot «barbare»**” (The triple embarrassment of the word barbarian) Pierre Zaoui—Teacher of Philosophy in the Paris University VII Diderot—talks about the false perception of the society regarding the relation between religion and terror acts. He says that « **Ce terme apparaît comme un mot brûlé, parce trop employé pour désigner l'autre en général, et, particulièrement, le musulman.** » (This word (Barbarian) appears like a dangerous word, because it is often used to describe “others” and particularly “The Muslims”). This is important to note that the newspaper issued this article two days after the attacks, because it obviously de-securitize the issue in the favor of refugees and migrants. On the other hand; the newspaper published another article titled: **La Commission veut étanchéifier les frontières de l'Union** (The Commission would like to seal

the Union Borders) dated on 15th December 2015 by Jean Quatremer, a fiction scenario has been rectified to migrants and the border security of the EU. According to the article, the EU is planning to put in action a new strategy to stop migrant flow from Turkey to EU by taking extreme measures at the border controls from Athens, Greece. By doing so, the EU could stop the entrance of militants and terrorists by separating them from other asylum seeker among migrants. In this article, the newspaper tries to securitize the migrant issue by using a fiction plan of EU and its discourse. However, it also drawn attention to that the application and measures would be toward only to eliminate the “rotten apples” among the migrants.

The newspaper therefore, gives the equal chance to everyone from every political view in the articles so it can be reviewed multiple voices and ideas: In the article **“Dans le Centre, le FN espère encore”** (In the center Front National (National Front) hopes again) (far-right wing political party lead by Marine Le Pen and has changed its name to Rassemblement National (National Rally) in 2018) the party’s local election candidate in Senonches Philippe Loiseau’s statements was published. While he is not entirely against the immigrants unlike the party’s old ideology at the time of Jean Marie Le Pen (the founder of the party) back in the 1980s, he is saying that **“Les immigrés, j’ai rien contre eux, mais ils ont tout, logements, argent, et nous, rien.”** (Immigrants, I have no problem with them, but they have everything, houses, money, and us, nothing.). This statement has given 11th of December 2015 just before the local elections in France. So according to the candidate, the immigrants have the rights that the French people don’t have in their homeland and it is all because of the policies and decisions taken by left.

It is also clear that the newspaper tries to separate the terrorist acts from the migrant issue. For example, just right after the attacks 16th November 2015, the newspaper entitled the president François Holland words in the article: **L’ère de la guerre** (War Era) **“ Nous ne sommes pas dans une guerre de civilisation parce que ces assassins n’en représentent aucune. Nous**

sommes en guerre contre une armée jihadiste” (We are not in a war of civilization because these murderers do not present, we are in with an army of Jihadists) and continues **“l’accueil dans la dignité de ceux qui relèvent du droit d’asile, parce que les rythmes de notre démocratie ne sont pas soumis au chantage des terrorists”** (We should welcome the ones who has the right of asylum, because the rhythms of our democracy is not subject to the blackmails of terrorists). As It can be expected, as left-wing defender, La Liberation tries to soften the securitization of migration discourse even there is a general reaction to the immigrants in the public.

Obviously, the rhetoric and speeches that are given by important political figures in the society is crucial to maintain the stability among the citizens. Before the second attack in November 2015, La Liberation published an article on 22nd of September by Haydée Sabéran, Sylvain Mouillard and Blaise Gauquelin and defended that France is no more attractive for the asylum seeker unlike the speeches of politicians or officials (Nicolas Sarkozy said two weeks before this article had published that **”ils finiront inéluctablement chez nous en raison d’allocations sociales supérieures”** (The refugees will inevitably end up with our borders because of the high social benefits) and titled **“Difficultés administratives, emploi en berne, hostilité : les réfugiés ne sont pas attirés par l’Hexagone”**. (Administrative difficulties, hard to find jobs, hostility: The refugees are not attracted to France). According to the newspaper, France as a country is exaggerated by politicians in terms of the number of flows and economic conditions. So the newspaper shows another example of de-securitization of migrant and migration issue. In an article dated on 1st of September 2015 **Migrants : la France n’a pas failli** (Migrants : France didn’t fail) Bernard Cazeneuve, the ex-internal affairs minister, the newspaper shows its obvious tendency to left-wing; the minister from the Party Socialist asks that; **“Avons-nous su respecter la promesse faite par la République depuis la Constitution de 1793: “Le peuple français donne asile aux étrangers bannis de leur patrie pour la cause de la**

liberté?” (Did we show the respect to the promise that was made by the Republic in the constitution of 1793? The French people give asylum to foreigners banished from their homeland for the cause of freedom?) addressing to the migrant afflux in 2015 from Middle-East Africa who flee from civil wars or better life conditions. He heavily criticizes the populist politics of extreme right and center-right parties such as Front National and Les Republicans. But also, this was his propaganda of his party and governmental body, because within the same year the ex-minister has introduced an insufficient plan to place the refugees in the camps of European borders. So, it can be said that by giving the credit to this article La Libération has showed an effort to change the public perception toward the current government. The Socialist Party in France was holding the majority in 2015 and the president of France was again François Hollande, Socialist Party leader.

When it comes down to condemn the newspaper doing it to the government and its attitudes toward to migrants. According to article by Grégoire Biseau on 16th of June 2015: **Face aux migrants, la “langue morte“ du gouvernement** (Against migrants, the “Dead Language” of the government) he is saying that : **“Oui, pour parler d’immigration clandestine et défendre une solution européenne, il faudrait un peu de courage politique. Or, le gouvernement Valls en manque cruellement. S’il était de droite, on entendrait, à coup sûr, la gauche s’indigner au nom de la dignité humaine. Mais il est de gauche. Enfin, de ce qu’il en reste. C’est-à-dire plus grand-chose”**. (To talk about the immigration tragedy and find a European solution needs a little political courage. But, the government of Valls (ex- prime minister) has a lack of this. If he was on the right-wing politics, we would surely hear that the left should show some respect in the name of human dignity. However, he is on the left-wing side. So, what is left more? Not really a big thing.)

In that climate, the leftist newspaper La Libération uses neither a referent subject (National Security, State or Society) nor humiliating tone to securitize the immigrants and refugees. Also,

they criticize the policies of the current government against the migrants. None of the articles that have been reviewed made the connection between migrants and terrorism. However, it still indicates that the migrants are a part of the problem in EU regarding the border security. So, in that sense, it cannot be concluded that the migrant issue did not securitize by the newspaper completely.

3.4.2 LE MONDE

Le Monde as a moderate and liberal (centrist) newspaper, and 2nd most circulated newspaper in France mostly defends soft tone in their news and articles. Unlikely it didn't bring to the migrant issue after November attacks. There are only two articles mentioned "migrant" and "immigrants" after deadly shootings and bombings, which are irrelevant to the subject till January 2016. However, from selected 50 articles it can be easily understood that the newspaper neither securitizes the immigrant issue nor underestimates. The migrant issue is mostly debated over the politicians' and party leaders' voices and speeches. It can be observed that the comments are prone to ease and calm the situation in the eye of public opinion. The quantitative analysis of the research supports the findings of the qualitative analysis. While migration is considered as a border problem for the whole EU, terrorism is not correlated directly to the issue before or after the attacks. Le Monde considers the problem based on the legitimate side of the Union and pushes the idea that European Union should find a common ground the distribution and the circulations of both refugees and migrants. Mostly terrorism and terrorists' acts are separated from the general debate on the immigrant issue. It obviously shows that migration issue wasn't securitized by the journal. In the article published on 24 June 2015 the newspaper criticizes the governmental policies toward migrants **"Immigration: quand l'esprit de la loi ne va pas de soi..."** (When the spirit of laws not self-clear) the author, Marlyne Baumard talks about the insufficiency and incompetency of the current government in

2015 (Partie Socialiste de François Hollande) and its predecessor (Les Républicains de Nicolas Sarkozy) regarding the **“le projet de loi sur le droit des étrangers”** (the bill on the rights of immigrants). So the tone of the context regarding immigrant and terrorist acts mostly reflects the political debates and ambiguous policies of French government and EU as a whole. There is also harsh criticism that aim the world leaders and western powers which claim that the terrorist attacks are unavoidable in the wake of invasion of Middle East region countries such as Iraq, Syria, Yemen. It is claimed that interventions that executed to those countries by western powers caused massive displacements and high immigration rates toward Europe because of the chaotic situation that the Muslim world is involved in. (Conesa, 2015). Le Monde stands on the impartial and critical side of what is going in Europe and in France in terms of immigration and the securitization of migration issue.

In the article dated back to 16th of November 2015, 3 days after the deadly attacks, Le monde publishes an article titled by Olivier Faye **“Le Front national lie les attentats à la crise des migrants”** (Front National connects the attacks to the immigration crisis), the newspaper opens a space to Marine Le Pen’s declaration in which she states that the government does not take actions against the immigration flow during 2015. However, the newspaper states that **“Marine Le Pen marche sur un fil”** (Marine Le Pen walks on the cord) so it claims that the extreme right wing securitizes the migrants with such statements. On the other side, the newspaper makes the comment and continues **“Hors de question de laisser la droite et Nicolas Sarkozy occuper seuls l’espace. La formation d’extrême droite cherche à donner l’image d’un parti installé au cœur des institutions républicaines.”** (There is no way to let the right and Nicolas Sarkozy occupy space alone. The far-right party seeks to give the image of a party at the heart of republican institutions.). While Le monde didn’t securitize the migration issue at a high level and did not match the terrorism with migrant crisis explicitly. By publishing the Front National’s general thoughts regarding the migrants and criticism about the government,

they implicitly try to say that the government should take action about the migrant crisis, and if not, the attacks can be easily related to immigrants and refugees within the terrorism context. One of the interesting conclusions about the newspaper, it relates and uses Islam, Muslims et terrorism along with migration in controversial way by denying its previous articles: In the article on 3th of December 2015 by Adrien Pecout, the newspaper tries to give a detailed profile of Salim Benghalem (who was believed behind the attacks of January and November 2015) and constantly emphasize his national identity (Syrian) and related people races such statements : **“Karl D., père inconnu, mère bouddhiste d’origine thaïlandaise et laotienne”** (Karl D., unknown father, Buddhist mother of Thai and Laotian descent), or **“Depuis la veille, il tente de comprendre la radicalisation de Salim Benghalem, cet homme de 35 ans qui s’impose comme le personnage central du procès d’une filière d’acheminement de djihadistes originaires du Val-de-Marne”** (From the of the attacks , he (the chief judge of the court in Paris) has been trying to understand the radicalization of Salim Benghalem, the 35-year-old man who has been established as the central figure in the trial of jihadists attacks from Val-de-Marne). Val de Marne is one village in France nearby Paris. So, by emphasizing the attacker’s and other suspicious responsible people’s identities and where they were born, the newspaper implicitly securitizes migrants in that way.

However, it can be observed that the newspaper has showed a soft tone before the November attacks and tries the de–securitizes the migrant issue by castigating the government. It can be remembered that by central–liberal views the newspaper looks closer to left ideology rather than right wing politics. In the article dated to back to 17th of June 2015 by Maryline Baumard, titled **“Le plan timide du gouvernement face au drame des migrants”** (The embarrassing plan of the government against the drama of the migrants) rather than defending the France position in the immigrant flux in European Union, states that **“Une dose d’humanitaire et une dose d’expulsion: le plan proposé en conseil des ministres, mercredi, par le ministre de**

l'intérieur, Bernard Cazeneuve, pour répondre aux conséquences en France de la crise migratoire européenne ressemble à un cocktail savamment dosé pour déminer un sujet politiquement explosif. Au risque de fâcher tout le monde..." (A dose of humanitarianism and a dose of expulsion: the plan proposed in the Council of Ministers on Wednesday by the Minister of the Interior, Bernard Cazeneuve, to respond to the consequences in France of the European migration crisis looks like a cocktail expertly prepared to control a politically explosive subject. At the risk of angering everyone...). So, the newspaper claims that the government is taking some measurements and actions to make look like the situation better than it is.

In conclusion, *Le monde* as it is expected, did not securitize the migrant issue at a high level, especially after the terrorist attacks, while it can be viewed the trace of securitization implicitly in some articles especially on the selection of some keywords such as Syria, Jihadist or Muslims within the terrorism context. But in overall the newspaper tries to keep its neutral and impartial position in the media, and mostly criticizes the government accordance with its migration policy.

3.4.3 LE FIGARO

Le figaro is the 1st and most circulated who defends the right-wing, nationalistic newspaper in France. As this is the case, unlike the left-wing and liberal views of two other newspapers included the research, their tendency is more to protect national interests and securitize the issue. While the quantitative data supports the idea that their political stance in that way, the selected articles that are related to migrants, immigration or terror discourse also give the same feedback that justifies the findings. Especially after November attacks, the newspaper tries its readers to connect the dots between terrorism and immigration: In the interview that is published on 24 November 2015 with Pierre Vilmont (French Diplomat) **“Désormais, le lien**

entre terrorisme et immigration est présent dans les esprits” (Now the connection between terrorism and immigration is in the people’s mind) is an obvious example that the newspaper shows its side. On the day of the attacks another article that is published gets attraction in the same way, while the articles gather different voices of politicians from the Euro Zone, it is mainly focused the idea that immigrants and refugees should be investigated more strictly, and infiltration policies must be brought. In the same article it is quoted the words of Markus Söder, the leader of Bavary conservative party CSU (Christian Social Union) which states: **“Tous les réfugiés ne sont pas des terroristes de l’EI. Mais croire qu’il n’y a aucun combattant parmi les réfugiés est naïf ”** (Not all refugees are terrorists. But to believe that there are no terrorists among the refugees is naïve). Even these two articles show that the newspaper as a right-wing defender differentiates from other two moderate newspapers. Again, in another article on 8 November 2015 by Tanguy Berthemet **“L’immigration africaine est-elle réversible?** “(African Immigration is reversible?) debates the idea that African immigration toward France is highly increased recently and how it can be reversed, a subject that hasn’t been met on the left and the liberal side. The newspaper mainly focused on conservatist and right-wing ideology of politicians, diplomats or writers. Besides that, they repeatedly make the headline of immigrant problem, Muslims and terror issue. During the campaign of local electoral, which had taken place in December 2015. They made many articles and news about Front Nationale and chief of the party Marine Le Pen where she says **“Désormais, des migrants errent dans nos quartiers, autour des gares ou dans des bidonvilles, causant à la France d’immenses problèmes de salubrité.** “(“Now migrants are all around our neighborhoods, around train stations or in sub urbans and causing France enormous health problems.”) (Berdah,2015). In the same article, the newspaper makes room for controversial statements from other European politicians, even their intention seems not securitizing the immigration issue; **“Le ministre hongrois Victor Orbán va jusqu’à estimer dans une interview à**

Politico que «tous les terroristes sont fondamentalement des migrants. Ce lien entre terrorisme et immigration qui s'installe dans les esprits complique la gestion de la crise migratoire en Europe, regrette Pierre Vimont, ancien diplomate et senior associate à la **fondation Carnegie Europe**. “(In an interview with Politico, Hungarian Minister Victor Orbon said that "all terrorists are basically migrants". This link between terrorism and immigration that is taking hold in the minds complicates the management of the migration crisis in Europe, regrets Pierre Vimont, former diplomat and senior associate at the Carnegie Europe Foundation.) However, such a tone has never been used by center or left, even for controversial opinions.

Just right after the attacks in another article on 15th of November by Stephane Kovacks titled: **“L'un des kamikazes du Stade de France est bien passé par la Grèce”** (One of the Stade de France suicide bombers has passed through Greece) it is emphasized that the attackers has been passed the Greek borders easily and had Syrian passport, while the newspaper do not use a racist tone toward the migrants and criticize the European border security, by using other motives such as jihadist, terrorist, identity and names securitize the migrant issue which had begun by the Syrian civil war and increased day by day toward their national borders.

While Charlie Hebdo attacks which took place in the beginning of 2015 January haven't been echoed as much as the attacks in November, so when it is reviewed the articles and news before the November attacks that are mostly related to refugee camps near Europe or dramatic deaths in Mediterranean sea. However, November attacks have fueled anger and rage rather than anxiety and sadness, which were the core emotions of the public after Charlie Hebdo attacks; the article published on 24th November 2015, titled **“Attentats du 13 novembre: quels effets sur la politique intérieure?”** The attacks of 13th November : what are effects on the interior affairs? the analysis of Jérôme Sainte-Marie states that: **“D'une dramatique manière, aujourd'hui, c'est le débat sur la mondialisation et la souveraineté nationale qui est une**

nouvelle fois posé à l'opinion française. Une fois réalisés les gains et les pertes au sein des conseils régionaux, le jeu politique français s'annonce plus ouvert que jamais. “(In a dramatic way, today, it is the debate on globalization and national sovereignty that is once again posed to French opinion. Once the gains and losses in the regional councils have been realized, the French political game will be more open than ever.) So as the regional elections approach, the effect of the November attacks gained importance and seen as an opportunity for the ones who would like the change the security policies and the way of internal politics. Also, he mentions that **“Si le scrutin se déroule sur les thèmes de la sécurité et de l'immigration, ses chances de l'emporter dans une à trois régions deviennent considérables.”** (If the election takes place on the themes of security and immigration (For Front National), its chances of winning in one to three regions become considerable.) Once again, Le Figaro practices securitizing language by using political debates and the relations of the terrorist attacks to draw attention to homeland security issues in immigration crisis and in favor of extreme right-wing party Front National.

To conclude, Le Figaro makes a high correlation between migration and terrorism and the flow of immigration harms the essentials and core values of France. So, they securitize the migration as an act of speech and justify the research findings that the right-wing and conservative ideologies and ideas are more prone to reflect the strangers as a threat implicitly.

CONCLUSION

The study was divided into three general topics, excluding introduction and conclusion; First chapter presented where the hypothesis is stated and a literature review on securitization of migration. In this part, the push and pull factors affecting migration are explained. The chapter continued with reviewing the migration figures of five continents' data collected from the UN. It has shown that Europe, together with Americas, is the primary destination for migrants, thanks to the high number of pull factors. An interesting finding in this part was revealed that Asian countries have the highest migrant stock, while Europe has the major number of asylum seekers. Most European migrants are neither refugees nor asylum seekers. So, this is not only implying that European border control is strict, but also that the migration in European countries is more made of within-EU migration than outsiders. This argument is also supported by the numbers of foreign population inflow, the highest in Europe. The quantitative data on migration has been studied to understand whether migrants are security threats to Europe. So, it was explained that immigrants were not welcome to European states in general, however, states benefit the economic profit the migrants can bring. Migrants are welcome if they would make the state richer and more prosperous, yet it is not expected to remain in the state forever. During the post-WWII reparation process, external labor from colonies or other states neither were given long working permissions nor citizenship. The pull factors in Europe tempted foreigners to move there, because it could provide a better life standard. As a result, in Germany and France, there are many migrants or their descendants. Therefore, this has showed that even though immigrants were not welcome, neither they returned nor caused security problems for Europeans. Migrants were securitized only after the fall of Berlin Wall: The change of border policies brought the excluding of the immigrants that wanted to migrate to Europe. Migrants were securitized and considered as a threat than the economic, cultural, or social problems.

The chapter continued with the analysis of the migration and migrants in France. It started with a brief presentation of the current pull factors to show why France is among the primary destinations for foreigners. To show the effects of the imperial legacy in Europe, the data was retrieved from the UN to see major migrant populations in former empires. It was shown that the political and cultural imperialism of French Empire shaped contemporary French demographics. It continued with further supporting numbers of imperial legacy in French demographics by which migration and migrants in 20th and 21st century in France were explained. Therefore, presentation of age-distribution led to two major results: First, elder-population were from western countries like the UK or Germany. This showed that France's pull factors affect even those that lived in better conditions. Second, working-age populations were the highest from less-developed countries, showing that France's economic condition pulls foreigners. It was concluded that migrants from less developed countries are deemed more problematic: They are younger and more active in social life; they are more visible and can create problems. This conclusion is supported by the rate of males to females, as there are more men than women from ex-colonial and under-developed countries.

Terror and terrorism acts are studied in the second chapter as a brief history in Europe and in France to give a background to the analysis. As the terror acts are one of the oldest reactions of violence which are applied by extremists and opposite groups, it can be clearly observed that since the beginning of 21st century there is a hike of attacks on Western societies, especially in Europe.

Third chapter started with a brief analysis of the linkage between media and migration. Related to that European and French media's background explained within the frame of migration and their general attitudes toward the subject. Furthermore, based on the data, figures, and background presented the chapter followed the analysis of the frequency distribution of

keywords on three newspapers representing three different political views (left, center, and the right). The analysis was made by presenting the frequency of each keyword in respective newspaper. In quantitative analysis, it is found that on the left (La Liberation), migrant, refugee, and Muslim were among the most frequently used keywords. At the center (Le Monde), migrant and refugee were the top of the list. However, Le Monde avoided using Muslim as much frequently as La Liberation did. At the right (Le Figaro), together with migrant and refugee, Muslim, Islam, terror, and terrorism were highly used related to terror acts. This selection of keywords showed that (quantitatively) on the right, there is more focus on terror and terrorism related to migration given the high number of frequencies of terror, Islam, and Muslim, association between the two was made. On the center and the left, these keywords as well are used, yet comparably less frequently.

In the final part, the thesis covered the qualitative analysis of French newspaper articles and news to find out if the keyword analysis is consistent with the content and rhetoric. As the securitization theory is taken and seen speech act of the political and mainstream actors by Copenhagen School, so a detailed content analysis was required to conduct. Therefore, the content analysis of the articles was justified the keyword analysis that the left and center political media spectrum in France did slightly securitize the migration issue, while the right-wing view newspaper Le Figaro did at a high and obvious level. However, this conclusion did not explain fully the overall views of mainstream media. It also didn't conclude that left and center give statement in favor of migrants always. It can be read that, left and center political stance of media do not see the migrants as the whole problem in accordance with terrorism while right did highly correlate the terrorism with the flow of migration. As It can be understood very clearly, the securitization rhetoric has grey areas and mostly blur to whom it may comment and think about. As the theory is based on tangible issues like speeches, writings and words only, it cannot be defined with definite arguments as in the military or violence

actions. The degree of threat and hostility is determined, especially in the case of media, by audience and readers. Nevertheless, the frequency of some keywords, and the content of these keywords that they are in, is given the base to settle the ground for the securitization. To conclude, by taking every aspects of the French media structure into consideration, it can be argued that French newspaper did at some degree securitize the migration and relate the recent high flow migration to major terror acts happened in France.

The hypothesis of the study was if the French newspapers did securitize the migration issue related to terror acts in 2015. As indicated, It is investigated that whether recent terror attacks in France triggered the newspapers to use securitizing discourse toward the migrants. It is found that two out of three newspapers did slightly securitize migration (Le Monde and La Liberation). It can be seen that French left and liberal newspapers of the selected newspapers didn't consider the migration issue directly related to terror acts in 2015. Yet a further look should be needed on the circulation of the most read eight newspapers, because the newspapers standing on the right not only are the most in number (four out of eight) but also standing on the top of the list except Le Monde, which stands at the center. Roughly one million copies are being sold each day in France: 62.1% of them stand on the right, 28% at the center, and only 10% on the left. So, taking into consideration that political right is - de facto - conservative and protects the nation's and society's benefits that lead to securitization of foreigners and minorities. Although the findings of this research are clear, different newspapers could have different stances, tones, or attitudes. Hence, it would help further research on solely French right-wing newspapers regarding the issue.

While the securitization of migration issue will be surely debated afterwards among academic era, states, media and society, the migration will remain one of the most complex phenomena especially in today's world as the people will always be in quest of a better life conditions. Therefore, the policies, actions and regulations which will be taken by the developed and

advanced countries would lead to a better life conditions for migrants. After all, as a final word; the migrants will keep shaping and influence the world – better or worse – as it was in the past.



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