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**‘Strangers’ in Europe:  
The Influence of Politics on the Image of Foreigners and Minorities  
in French Press**  
Master Thesis

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**I hereby declare that this work is of my own efforts and of the cited resources**

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## **Abstract**

Multiculturalism is the most suitable response to the reality of multiethnic society at present. While European countries try to be more tolerant and to follow human rights conception, its successfulness depends on circumstances of historical development of every separate country subjected to ethnic communities. Simultaneously France tries to keep idea of the nation basing on *liberty, equality and fraternity* and to assimilate the French of foreign origin which are perceived by majority of the population as ‘strangers’. Its result is expressed in the media whose messages are reflection of the reality either. The thesis will analyze the image of ‘visible minorities’ on the basis of the French press articles, examining how it has changed with the lapse of time? How has altered the position of editorials and how much it depended on government from political point of view? And what was the influence on media of international organizations concerning minority rights? Answers for these and other questions will be found in the thesis.

## Introduction

*What is Europe?* The notion of Europe is not unambiguous. Thus, it is not possible to give a correct and exact definition to the question ‘What is Europe?’ as it is still a subjective and an abstract notion. This can be explained by individuality of each single European country. While being together, all European countries shaped their own traditions and preferences. People from different European countries succeeded in preserving their unique tradition and lifestyles. One can think it happened owing to small community where relations and traditions are more stable. Thereat notion ‘Europeans’ is widely in use, these Europeans can not be described by a single feature; indeed, differences between nationalities always being preserved there. Nevertheless, one can clearly see existence of some unifying features today, meaning that twenty seven European countries are enjoying being together in the European Union and following common principles. In this research, for example, one of important common principles is following human rights.

Multicultural society is an inevitable reality for many European countries today (for instance, the Netherlands, Belgium, the United Kingdom); and France is not an exception. These countries are forced to be oriented towards this condition and to work for the benefit of peaceful coexistence.

### ***‘Strangers’***

Using of the term ‘*stranger*’ / ‘*other*’ in this research usually means representative of national minority:

*‘National minority is a group numerically inferior to the rest of the population of a state, in a non-dominant position, well-defined and historically established on the territory of the state, whose members – being nationals of the state – possess ethnic, religious, linguistic or cultural characteristics differing from those of the rest of the*

*population and show, if only implicitly, a sense of solidarity, directed towards preserving their culture, traditions, religion, or language*'.<sup>1</sup>

Thereby, national minority makes up a smaller portion to the main population of a State, and numerically, culturally and politically doesn't belong to ethnic group of this state. In this certain case, French population is divided on Europeans, Africans (Arabs, Blacks) and Asians.

In this situation, the following question may arise: why not to choose a term 'minority'? In order to answer this question, it is necessary to refer to the statement of policy of researched country (France). In terms of nation, the French Republic has special policy which asserts French nation as indivisible and it does not recognize minorities at all. Since problems associated with French people of extra-European origin still exist, there is a need to use some term for their definition. In France people of foreign origin (mostly Arabs and Blacks) are often perceived as 'strangers'. In the research it will be examined how the perception of 'otherness' towards people of foreign origin is expressed in social life and printed media.

Hereby, the choice of the terms 'other'/'stranger' lies in its possibility to describe people on both sides: on the one hand, they designate people *rejected* by society, on the other hand, *hosted* by society (because this 'other' is accepted as similar to majority).

Today '*otherness*' connects with the relations of authorities and social control occupying a central place in public practice. Among the indicators of 'otherness' there can be gender, body, ethnicity, race, age, capacity or sexuality. In the presented work, there is denoted central notion '*ethnicity*' and '*race*' as a measure of 'otherness'. And in this research the representation of 'others' and their image will be tested in French press.

In connection to above-mentioned, definitions of the central notions will be introduced here:

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<sup>1</sup> J. Preece, *National Minorities and the European Nation-States System*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998, p. 19.

### ***Ethnicity***

*'The word **ethnic** has its etymological roots in the Greek **ethnos** which in fact means **people, nation**: an ensemble of individuals who share a number of characteristics of civilization, in particular a shared language and culture'.<sup>2</sup>*

Ethnicity expresses belonging to an ethnic group and 'the most obvious identifying features' of ethnicity are 'cultural – religion and language'.<sup>3</sup>

### ***Race***

Race is seen, firstly, as 'a local geographic or global human population distinguished as a more or less distinct group by genetically transmitted physical characteristics'<sup>4</sup>; secondly, this term was used in order 'to denote any class of people related by common descent in a manner significantly connected with their location, language and customs'.<sup>5</sup>

*'The term 'race' is still used in the popular sense of common descent, of which the supposed signs are skin colour and physiognomy'.<sup>6</sup>*

### ***Mass Media***

Today it is the epoch of mass communications: their dominance and presence are far and wide. Since mass media have great opportunity to shape people's minds, they are one of the most important tools in the political process nowadays. However, this process of information flow is also controlled by non-governmental organizations the importance of which has straightened today; mostly these NGOs work towards improving representation of 'others' in mass media. Their activity will also be noted in the research.

**The relevance of the chosen topic** is dependent on questions of tolerance in an environment of multiethnic states, and now they call out controversial questions. Mainly,

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<sup>2</sup> France: The Representation of Ethnic Minorities in the French Television and Codes of Practices for Minor in Television/ In.: *Tuning into Diversity: Immigrants and Ethnic Minorities in Mass Media. Representation and Policies*, Rome, April 2002, p. 317.

<sup>3</sup> Frank Bealey, *The Blackwell Dictionary of Political Science*, Blackwell Publishing, 1999, p. 123.

<sup>4</sup> Dictionary of the English Language, Fourth Edition, Houghton Mifflin Company, 2003.

<sup>5</sup> Roger Scruton, *The Palgrave Macmillan Dictionary of Political Thought*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2007, p. 575.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

these questions are connected to the need of relationships regulation of religious and ethnic minorities (so called 'visible minorities'). Considering French society, it involves black, blanc (white) and beur (the common shorthand from 'verlan'<sup>7</sup> term for North African designating the children the North African immigrants in France)<sup>8</sup>. There are also Jewish, Gypsies, or Roma. 'An estimated 4 million to 5 million black people live in France, most of whom trace their roots to former French colonies in Africa and the West Indies'.<sup>9</sup> These estimations are approximate because 'counting by race is illegal under France's strict color-blind policies' (as it was pointed out before).<sup>10</sup>

The question of providing human rights, issues connected to discrimination are widely discussed while France is one of the leading states and it can be a model for other countries (for instance, for new member states of the European Union which also have similar problems with minorities).

As a response to cultural diversity the most proper state response can be policy of multiculturalism which seeks to preserve special features and values of a single ethnic group.

*'Multiculturalism is a system of beliefs and behaviors that recognizes and respects the presence of all diverse groups in an organization or society, acknowledges and values their socio-cultural differences, and encourages and enables their continued contribution within an inclusive cultural context which empowers all within the organization or society'.<sup>11</sup>*

Thus, multiculturalism is understood as a peaceful coexistence of ethnic and religious communities each of which carries its own attitudes, beliefs, values and singular culture.

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<sup>7</sup> Verlan is type of slang produced by inverting syllable order. *L'envers*, meaning backwards, inverted becomes *verlan*. 'Beur' is thus an inversion of 'Arab'.

<sup>8</sup> France: Minorities. *Migration News*. July, 2000, Volume 6, Number 3.  
[http://migration.ucdavis.edu/mn/more.php?id=2142\\_0\\_4\\_0](http://migration.ucdavis.edu/mn/more.php?id=2142_0_4_0).

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Caleb Rosado. *Toward a Definition of Multiculturalism*. Change in Human Systems, 1997, p. 2.  
[http://www.rosado.net/pdf/Def\\_of\\_Multiculturalism.pdf](http://www.rosado.net/pdf/Def_of_Multiculturalism.pdf).

The policy of multiculturalism is also understood 'as government support for the cultural and religious institutions of minority communities'.<sup>12</sup> It should be aimed at the development and conservation of cultural differences in a country and the world at large. It can be seen as so-called unity of diversity.

'In the programmatic-political usage 'multiculturalism' refers to specific types of programs and policy initiatives designed to respond to and manage ethnic diversity'.<sup>13</sup>

The theme of the minorities can be rightly regarded as one of the topical in Europe widely discussed in the media. This topic is urgent as well as the effects of integrating the Muslim population in to the French community. Accordingly, review of the topic of Islam is demanded as a borderline issue.

The topic of the thesis was also impacted by constant mutual influence and interaction of different civilizations. As it was mentioned in author's previous paper 'Muslims in France and their Image in National Press', the image of 'others' has become more negative after acts of terror, unrests and different speeches. In this work the focus will be concentrated on the issue of how 'others' are perceived in France and which factors influenced their image. Since mostly mass media has placed the main role in the shaping of the image of 'visible minorities', the process of their image construction in the media will be regarded.

**The aim of the research** is to answer the following questions: is the image of 'others' well represented? Or are the people of extra-European origin portrayed in racist way? How much did France succeed in multiculturalism within the columns of newspapers? In order to answer mentioned above questions, articles in French press (mostly from such authoritative and influential daily newspapers as *Le Monde*, *Le Figaro* and *Liberation*) will be inspected. The analyzed articles are chosen according to specificity according to political situation changes in France, therefore time period of selected materials spans from 1980 till 2008.

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<sup>12</sup> Shalom Lappin, *Multiculturalism and Democracy*, Dissent, Summer, 2007, <http://www.dissentmagazine.org/article/?article=857>.

<sup>13</sup> Christine Inglis, *Multiculturalism: New Policy Responses to Diversity*, <http://www.unesco.org/most/pp4.htm#need>.

*Hypothesis* of the present work is based on assumption whether ‘visible minorities’ in France have negative image because of their representation as ‘others’/ ‘strangers’ in media. While all the French should feel united, ‘non-recognition’ of French people of extra-European origin in mass media unlikely contribute to their integration process.

### ***Methodology***

In order to prove the hypothesis, *textual content analyzing* of mass media articles will be used; reports and other types of mass communication messages will be analyzed by the instrumentality of quantities and qualitative methods. The articles are going to be selected according to ethnic subject; such indicative vocabulary as ‘beur’, ‘banlieu’, ‘Muslim’, ‘Islam’, ‘extremism’ both as the presence of ethnonyms determine the choice of newspaper materials. In the ‘racial’ and ‘ethnic’ media content there will be inspected the image of ‘others’, their representation, stereotyping and discourse on immigration. Besides, the work will include examination of activity of French government and international organizations (both IGOs and INGOs).

Bibliography is based on academic books and articles in the sphere of political science, international relations, mass media, history and sociology. Furthermore, legislative acts, charters, recommendations, reports will be convenient contribution for deep analysis.

Thesis is divided into three chapters. The first chapter considers composition of French population. With the purpose of unfold ethnic diversity of the French society first part of the work will be devoted to consideration of introductive history of immigration as well as examination of the issues as emergence of these differences and its perception by society. In order to provide insight into the political development of the country analyzed within the second chapter, traditions of French policy in terms of minorities’ rights will be observed; moreover, will be argued issue of multiculturalism in respect to multiethnic diversity. In order to understand how visible minorities are represented in print media and how much the press influenced on the shaping of the image of ‘others’, the third chapter of the thesis will provide textual quantitative and qualitative analysis of French newspaper articles.

## 1. 'Us' and 'Them': Population of France. Immigrants, Foreigners, Citizens

*Ils ont pleuré mais moi je reste  
Et je le dis sans conteste  
J'y suis j'y reste<sup>14</sup>*

*Lyrics of musical group Zebda*

In order to understand how to differentiate the 'others', perceived mostly as 'strangers' in France, this chapter considers the proportion of the majority of the French population to its 'visible minority'. In a nutshell, short history of immigration in France will be provided in order to understand how immigrants were perceived by the majority of the French population and how the image of the former has been shaping till the present time.

So, as it was mentioned already, French society is 'multicultural with an important number of persons of various foreign origins living permanently in France'<sup>15</sup> and with different religious views. However, French people of *foreign origin* are not counted as such. They are just listed as 'French'.<sup>16</sup> In France only the number of foreign citizens is known.

While outlining general data of French population by 2001, results counted 60.7 million people. For the period from 1990 to 1999, 'the number of immigrants increased by 3 per cent, which is the same proportional increase as the rest of the population. Due to naturalizations, the number of foreigners over age 18 has remained essentially stable: during the 1999 census, France counted 3.26 million foreigners and 4.3 million immigrants'.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>14</sup> They cry, but me I'm staying / And I say it without a doubt / I'm here I'm staying here.

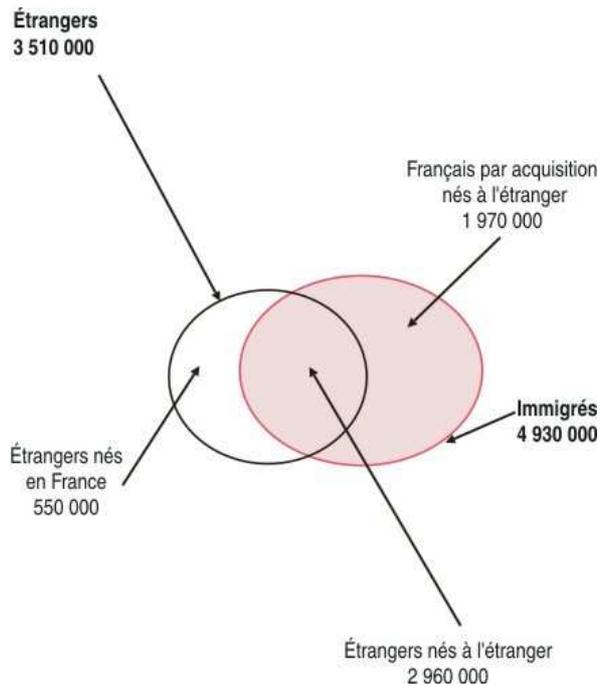
<sup>15</sup> Marie-France Malonga, *Ethnic Minorities: Which Place and Which Image on French Television, Televisual representation of people of extra European origin*, 2000, p. 4.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> France: The Representation of Ethnic Minorities in the French Television and Codes of Practices for Minor in Television/ In.: *Tuning into Diversity: Immigrants and Ethnic Minorities in Mass Media. Representation and Policies*, Rome, April 2002, p. 321.

By the mid of 2004, it counted 3.5 millions of foreigners living in France. A little less than 3 million of them were born abroad, while 550 000 were born in France.<sup>18</sup> (See Graphic 1).

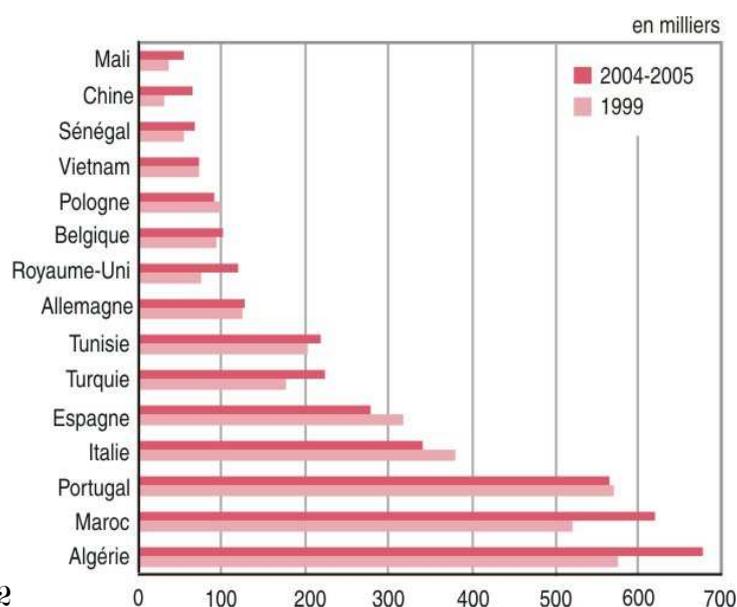
Graphic 1



Source: Insee, annual census surveys 2004 and 2005.

Immigrants from Africa and Asia are among most numerous on the territory of France after immigrants from European countries. It is possible to see distribution of immigrants by country of origin in the Table 1. On the Graphic 2 there is displayed number of immigrants according to their birth country in 1999 and 2004-2005s (indicators are in thousands).

<sup>18</sup> Polls annual census 2004 and 2005, Institute national de la statistique et des études économiques, [http://www.insee.fr/fr/themes/document.asp?ref\\_id=ip1098&reg\\_id=0#inter2](http://www.insee.fr/fr/themes/document.asp?ref_id=ip1098&reg_id=0#inter2).



Graphique 2

Field: Metropolitan France.

Source : Insee, Census of 1999, Annual Survey of Census of 2004 and 2005.<sup>19</sup>

Table 1

### Distribution of immigrants by country of origin

	1962	1968	1975	1982	1990	1999	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	Numbers
<b>Europe</b>	<b>78,7</b>	<b>76,4</b>	<b>67,2</b>	<b>57,3</b>	<b>50,4</b>	<b>44,9</b>	<b>1 934</b>
Spain	18,0	21,0	15,2	11,7	9,5	7,3	316 232
Italy	31,8	23,9	17,2	14,1	11,6	8,8	378 649
Portugal	2,0	8,8	16,9	15,8	14,4	13,3	571 874
Poland	9,5	6,7	4,8	3,9	3,4	2,3	98 571
Other European Countries	17,5	16,1	13,1	11,7	11,4	13,2	568 818
<b>Africa</b>	<b>14,9</b>	<b>19,9</b>	<b>28,0</b>	<b>33,2</b>	<b>35,9</b>	<b>39,3</b>	<b>1 691</b>
Algeria	11,6	11,7	14,3	14,8	13,3	13,3	574 208
Morocco	1,1	3,3	6,6	9,1	11,0	12,1	522 504
Tunisia	1,5	3,5	4,7	5,0	5,0	4,7	201 561
Other African Countries	0,7	1,4	2,4	4,3	6,6	9,1	393 289
<b>Asia</b>	<b>2,4</b>	<b>2,5</b>	<b>3,6</b>	<b>8,0</b>	<b>11,4</b>	<b>12,8</b>	<b>549 994</b>
Turkey	1,4	1,3	1,9	3,0	4,0	4,0	174 160
Cambodia, Laos,	0,4	0,6	0,7	3,0	3,7	3,7	159 750

<sup>19</sup> Polls annual census 2004 and 2005, Institute national de la statistique et des etudes économiques, [http://www.insee.fr/fr/themes/document.asp?ref\\_id=ip1098&reg\\_id=0#inter2](http://www.insee.fr/fr/themes/document.asp?ref_id=ip1098&reg_id=0#inter2).

Vietnam							
Other Asian							
Countries	0,6	0,6	1,0	1,9	3,6	5,0	216 084
<b>America, Oceania</b>	<b>3,2</b>	<b>1,1</b>	<b>1,3</b>	<b>1,6</b>	<b>2,3</b>	<b>3,0</b>	<b>130 394</b>
<b>Undeclared</b>	<b>0,8</b>	<b>0,1</b>	<i>///</i>	<i>///</i>	<i>///</i>	<i>///</i>	<i>///</i>
<b>Total</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>100,0</b>	
	2 861	3 281	3 887	4 037	4 165	4 306	4 306
Numbers	280	060	460	036	952	094	094

Note : *///* = lack of results due to the nature of things.

Source : *Insee, Population Census, 1962-1999.*<sup>20</sup>

By the mid of 2004, 4.9 million of immigrants lived in France, they account for 8.1 per cent of the population. Thanks to newcomers, the immigrant population has not aged between 1999 and 2004-2005, in contrast to non-immigrants.<sup>21</sup>

There is no possibility to obtain precise numbers of various minorities. *‘The INSEE (Institut National de la Statistique et des Études Économiques – National institute of economic and statistical information) does not ask individuals about their ethnic origin, only about their nationality and country of birth.’*<sup>22</sup> Agencies mostly deny publishing data about immigrants of the second and the third generation and other data connected to ethnic issues of the population explaining by the fact it is going to contradict ‘republican’ conception of the single nation.

Gathering of statistics about ethnic belonging, as some politicians supposed, could resolve the problem of recognition of distinct minorities. Such way without distinction of origin, it is fairly difficult to establish the facts of discrimination, which can lead to denial of their existence.<sup>23</sup> On the other hand, some politicians consider it racist, for instance, to mention peoples’ ethnicity in a negative context. In the case a

<sup>20</sup> Immigrants according to the country of origin, Institute national de la statistique et des études économiques, [http://www.insee.fr/fr/themes/tableau.asp?reg\\_id=0&ref\\_id=NATCCI02124](http://www.insee.fr/fr/themes/tableau.asp?reg_id=0&ref_id=NATCCI02124).

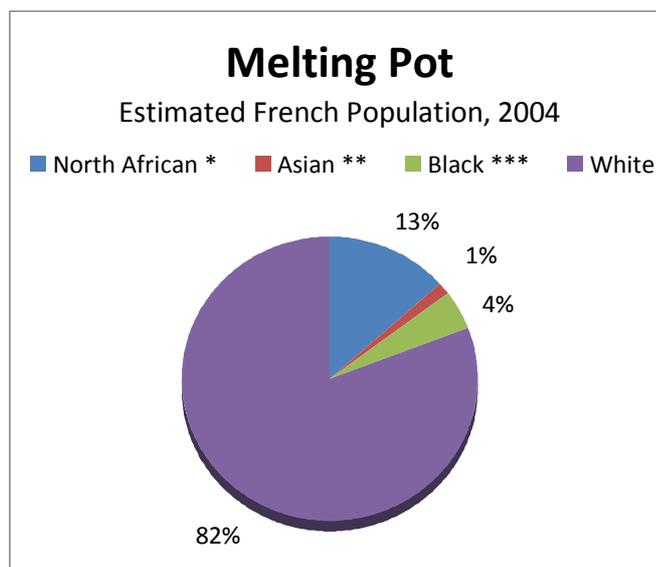
<sup>21</sup> Polls annual census 2004 and 2005, Institute national de la statistique et des études économiques, [http://www.insee.fr/fr/themes/document.asp?ref\\_id=ip1098&reg\\_id=0](http://www.insee.fr/fr/themes/document.asp?ref_id=ip1098&reg_id=0).

<sup>22</sup> France: The Representation of Ethnic Minorities in the French Television and Codes of Practices for Minor in Television/ *In.: Tuning into Diversity: Immigrants and Ethnic Minorities in Mass Media. Representation and Policies*, Rome, April 2002, p. 321.

<sup>23</sup> Les discriminations fondées sur l’origine, Portail, centre de ressources et d’échanges pour la non-discrimination et l’égalité professionnelle, <http://www.equall.fr/fr/articles/discriminations-egalite/les-publics-discrimines-les-faits-les-chiffres/race-origine-ethnique/les-discriminations-fondees-sur-origine.html#nb2>.

published survey shows the leaders of ‘gangs’ (where the largest percentage falls on the people of Northern-African origin), this is not going to contribute integration or stop racist moods.

However, recently some professors collected information about minority population by unusual way. As *The Economist* reports, ‘Jean-François Amadiou, at the Sorbonne, has used names as a proxy for ethnicity. (See Graphic 3 estimating the French Population in 2004). His research suggests that a French job applicant of North African origin gets a third as many responses as a comparable white person’.<sup>24</sup>



Graphic 3

\* - Maghreb countries

\*\* - Includes Middle East and Turkey

\*\*\* - Rest of Africa and Caribbean

Source: *Institute Montaigne*

One of the important features defining ‘visible minority’ is religion. Most French people of foreign are Muslim. In France Islam is the second religion after Christianity by the number of followers. Nevertheless Islam has declared itself as the religious, social, cultural and political phenomenon rather recently. And today’s perception of Islamic culture is ambiguous in Europe and in the rest of non-Muslim world.

<sup>24</sup> France’s Ethnic Minorities: To Count or not to Count, March 26, 2009, *The Economist*, [http://www.economist.com/world/europe/displaystory.cfm?story\\_id=13377324](http://www.economist.com/world/europe/displaystory.cfm?story_id=13377324).

As it was mentioned, France is considered one of the most ‘Muslim’ states in Europe. The French Muslim population is estimated between 3.5 and 5 million, representing 6.0-8.5 per cent of the total population.<sup>25</sup> Comparing number of Muslims in France in the beginning of 1980s and in the middle of 1990s their population has grown twice.

Very often the issue of Islam in debates about immigration is also connected the discourse as a feature of ‘otherness’ and dissimilarity relatively to the majority of the French. It is also expressed in mass media examples of this discussion will be introduced in the chapter about ‘French Journalism’.

There are no minorities in France. According to the main law, all people born in France are French citizens. However, in reality people are still racist and distinguish people by social, ethnic and racial measures. It is commonly expressed, for example, during employment process.<sup>26</sup> Another type of discrimination is connected to the representation of ‘visible minorities’ in mass media but this type of discrimination is more sophisticated and is not so apparent: instead of impartial reporting, journalists have opportunity to represent information in ‘ethnic’ colours. Thus, flow of information has got ‘race-thinking’.<sup>27</sup> Other examples of discrimination will be also inspected in the research later.

### ***Background: Immigration Issue***

Generally, contemporary situation with respect to discrimination of ‘visible minorities’ within the French society stems from the time of colonization. Starting from the 19<sup>th</sup> century North African countries were colonized by France; later on, North Africans were hired to France as a cheap labour. But even with the end of colonialism in the middle of 20<sup>th</sup> century, North Africans were still not equally perceived by French society. The image of North Africans as oppressed people has already been formed before; so, that primary image with the lapse of time imprinted on the contemporary image.

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<sup>25</sup> S. Tebbakh, *Muslims in EU: Cities Report*, Grenoble, 2007.

<sup>26</sup> A think-tank Institut Montaigne introduced a report in 2004 that ‘the unemployment rate of ‘visible minorities’ in France is nearly three times the national average’.

<sup>27</sup> John Downing, Charles Husband, *Representing ‘Race’: Racism, Ethnicities and Media*, Sage Publications, 2006.

Another explanation about perception of people of foreign origin connects to their geographical location. Immigrants started to live in suburbs of megalopolises (or in French it is called *banlieue*) as it was provided by French government; with the time they settled down with families here. It was distinctive division of poor working class and bourgeoisie.<sup>28</sup> Mehdi Belhaj Kacem outplays common etymology of derivative words of *ban* which combines opposite meanings: placement *together* and placement *outside the law* (expulsion and exile) - (*banissement, ban-ni*), but also *ban-dit* and *ban-lieue*.<sup>29</sup> Thus, people of foreign origin were separated from the French society; they lived by their own live. Thus, geographical location favoured psychological and social separation, and thereby one can metaphorically say that parallel societies emerged. Children of immigrants were born in France, however the notion of immigrant stuck to them; though, being French, they are still called immigrants but immigrants of the *second* and the *third generation*.

Historically France combined two features: defense of individual rights and traditionally it was also perceived as a country of immigration intending to give citizenship and right for everybody who intended to be French. France was one of the leading European countries accepting immigrants with the view of compensation its low birth rate and lack of workforce.<sup>30</sup> Walzer argues in his study of ‘regimes of toleration’: *‘far more than any other country France has been a society of immigrants. And yet it isn’t a pluralist society – or at least it doesn’t think of itself, and it isn’t thought of, as a pluralist society’*.<sup>31</sup> France is also seen as a complicated case by Freedman: *‘the paradoxical tension between high levels of immigration and an attachment to an assimilationist Republican tradition might be argued to continue, complicating many of the debates surrounding migration and migration policy in contemporary France’*.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Jean-Marc Stébé, Henri Raymond, *La crise des banlieues: sociologie des quartiers sensibles*, Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1999.

<sup>29</sup> Mehdi Belhaj Kacem, *La psychose française. Les banlieues: le ban de la République*, Paris: Gallimard, 2006.

<sup>30</sup> Jane Freedman, *Immigration and Insecurity in France*, Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2004.

<sup>31</sup> M. Walzer, *On Toleration*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997, p. 38.

<sup>32</sup> Jane Freedman, *Immigration and Insecurity in France*, Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2004, p. 9.

Mostly, for a long time the working class of France, especially in industry, was supplemented by immigrants.<sup>33</sup>

Until the early 1970s immigration was a crucial thing for the ruling circles of France with the aim to resolve employment issues France signed bilateral agreements with several European and African countries, where were specified the rights of immigrants and responsibilities which were taken on by France. From 1975 immigrants got the right to bring their family to France and their number reached 570 000 people (according to the national census of 1990).<sup>34</sup>

In 1980s people from Maghreb countries by birth have begun to form their own social organization, so as to fight for their rights, namely – the improvement of living and working conditions, consolidation of their political rights, etc. Accordingly, they started to be more visible part of the French society.

Soon, the issue of immigration was politicized. Since 1980s the notion of ‘immigration’ has got negative connotation. The discourse of immigration was strongly influenced by political party National Front headed by Jean-Marie Le Pen. He expressed strong anti-immigrant ideology, owing to which he got popularity. This ideology embodies *‘xenophobic and discriminatory rhetoric portraying non-European immigrants as a threat to French national identity, living off state handouts, fuelling crime and creating a climate of insecurity and even subversion’*.<sup>35</sup>

‘Since 1984 opinion pollsters have accumulated a run of data at regular intervals on the repute of the National Front and its leader’.<sup>36</sup> However, the most support for his ideas Le Pen has got in October 1991: *‘32 per cent of the questioned said they agreed somewhat or completely with him. With print and broadcast news outlets dominated during much of the previous year by the Gulf War and its aftermath, Le Pen had enjoyed*

<sup>33</sup> Jane Freedman, *Immigration and Insecurity in France*, Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2004.

<sup>34</sup> Marie-France Malonga, *Ethnic Minorities: Which Place and Which Image on French Television*. Televisual representation of people of extra European origin, 2000, p. 1. [www.lse.ac.uk/collections/EMTEL/Minorities/papers/franceminorepres.doc](http://www.lse.ac.uk/collections/EMTEL/Minorities/papers/franceminorepres.doc)

<sup>35</sup> Sally Marthaler, Nicolas Sarkozy and the Politics of French Immigration Policy, *Journal of European Public Policy*, Volume 15, Issue 3, April 2008, p. 384.

<sup>36</sup> Alec G. Hargreaves, *Racism and Cultural Diversity in the Mass Media: France*, An overview of research and examples of good practice in the EU Member States 1995-2000, ERCOMER, Vienna, 2002, p. 210-211.

*relatively little media coverage in the months leading up to this poll. Shortly before it, however, leading figures in other parties*'.<sup>37</sup>

Recognizing that post-colonial immigrant minorities became a structural feature of the French society, the media gradually made less usage of the 'immigration' label but constructed a new category – suburbs/ '*banlieues*'.<sup>38</sup>

If a few years ago immigration was seen as undoubtedly a positive factor, because it affected the workforce and economic development of the host country, with a time it acquired more negative assessment.

In 1991 Jacques Chirac (at that time he was the mayor of Paris) declared that he sympathized with 'the residents of working class districts of Paris who lived next door to immigrants'.<sup>39</sup> He felt sorry for French men who '*see his next door neighbor – a family where there is one father, three or four wives and twenty-odd kids, getting fifty thousand francs in social security payments without going to work: add to the noise add the smell and it drives the French worker crazy. It's not racist to say we can no longer afford to reunite families*'.<sup>40</sup>

On the one hand, the French do not want to be accused of xenophobia and discrimination; on the other hand, they do not want to accept the situation connected to immigrants of the second and third generation living for subsidies of French governments with a little will to assimilate.

So, it becomes increasingly difficult for authorities to resist all demands of minorities and not to be identified as nationalists. Often players in the political field of Western democracy become hostages of concepts of 'tolerance' and 'political correctness'. Accordingly, the probability to be accused of racism is quite high if any politician complains of unwillingness on the part of arriving immigrants to consider the culture and history of their new homeland.

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<sup>37</sup> Alec G. Hargreaves, *Racism and Cultural Diversity in the Mass Media: France*, An overview of research and examples of good practice in the EU Member States 1995-2000, p. 210-211. ERCOMER, Vienna, 2002.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> Jane Freedman, *Immigration and Insecurity in France*, Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2004, p. 7-8.

<sup>40</sup> J. Marcus, *The National Front and French Politics: The Resistible Rise of Jean-Marie Le Pen*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1995, p. 93.

As far as immigration issue is concerned, essentially emerges the question of assimilation and integration of the ‘visible minorities’. Among the most spread negative aspects linked to the immigration issue, one should identify following problematic: *‘threat to national security, unemployment and deficits in the welfare budget, rising crime, the threat of terrorism’*.<sup>41</sup> In addition, immigration is also seen as a *‘threat to the very basis of national social and political cohesion, undermining French identity and thus calling the nation-state itself into question’*.<sup>42</sup>

The controversial thing is that almost half of the French population (46 per cent) considers immigration in general as an asset for France.<sup>43</sup>

56 per cent of the French population think that France must be a host country for immigration and believe that immigration has a positive effect. 48 per cent of respondents think that immigrants must be selected on the base of economic needs of France. Finally, 34 per cent of respondents suppose they have to make it harder for immigrant families reunite, while 58 per cent think otherwise.<sup>44</sup>

Even research published by the Institut National d’Etudes Demographiques (INED) made accent on the importance of immigration for French population:

*‘The proportion of people born in France with at least a parent or grand-parent who immigrated in the past one hundred years is about twenty per cent. Of those of foreign origin, eighty per cent are French from birth. Thus immigration has not only supported the demography of France but has also contributed to a greater diversity of the population’*.<sup>45</sup>

However, when High Committee of Audiovisual interviewed the French, trying to understand their opinion whether they perceive themselves racist, the results showed that:

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<sup>41</sup> Jane Freedman, *Immigration and Insecurity in France*, Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2004, p. 8.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

<sup>43</sup> *Libération*, April 25, 2006.

<sup>44</sup> *Les Français jugent l’immigration*, May 1, 2006, <http://tf1.lci.fr/infos/france/0,,3299631,00-francais-jugent-immigration-.html>.

<sup>45</sup> Jane Freedman, *Immigration and Insecurity in France*, Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2004, p. 9.

- **88 per cent** of French people think that **racism** is a widespread phenomenon in France.
- **63 per cent** think that some behaviour may sometimes **justify racist reactions**.
- **63 per cent** think that immigrants have difficulties to integrate to the French society because of their own differences and **44 per cent** suppose it happens owing to the French society itself.

Answering the question ‘*Who are the main victims of racism in France?*’ people answered:

Table 2

Northern African / Muslims	42%
Immigrants in general	25%
Africans / Black people	16%
Jews	6%

*Source: High Committee of Audiovisual in 2005.*

While considering French population in this chapter, it was ascertained that it is divided to French citizens, foreigners and immigrants (differing in social life on the basis their ethnicity and race). According to statistics, overwhelming number of immigrants arrives from African countries which were French colonies in the past. Thus, in the sequel, the image of this category of people will be analyzed in the French press. As it was found out, there are two types of people who are categorized as ‘immigrants’: first are Maghrebians immigrated from the North Africa and settled down in France and second are their children born in France having become citizens of French republic. The latter are called as *immigrants of the second and the third generation*. As it was examined, sticking label of ‘immigrants’ with negative connotation associating to

‘foreignness and/ or limited rights of residence’<sup>46</sup> pursues the French of Maghreb origin, first, because of the geographical location and, second, because of once their parents were immigrants (the primary image constantly comes back to haunt). Since immigrants of the second and the third generation are French citizens and according to the law they have to enjoy full rights as the rest part of the French, this fact has made them visible part of society and drew attention of politicians.

Since discrimination in relation to French people of foreign origin was indicated, in the chapter was expressed an attempt to analyze the reasons of the attitude of Frenchmen in relation to ‘visible minorities’. The dependence was determined with connection to the colonial past. When the immigrants were separated of society, they were living by their own life. So, parallel societies emerged.

Till a certain moment there was no discourse about Black or Arab population in France because formerly they were immigrant workers and have not been a politically active part of the population of France, not having a unified public position. They even lacked a system of coordination and self-organization. In the beginning of 1980s ‘immigration’ issue was politicized owing to instigation of Jean-Marie Le Pen alongside with unemployment, insecurity, crime. Circulation of these speeches influenced on fixing of the negative image of ‘visible minorities’.

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<sup>46</sup>Alec G. Hargreaves, *Racism and Cultural Diversity in the Mass Media: France*, An overview of research and examples of good practice in the EU Member States 1995-2000, ERCOMER, Vienna, 2002, p. 204-205.

## 2. Preferences of French Policy

*In France, once you're French, you're French and that's it.*

*Valérie Orlando*

The given chapter will discuss the preferences of French policy in terms of minority rights. Following that will be considered policy of multiculturalism (as a response to the cultural diversity) with attendant definitions of minority, racism, tolerance and political correctness. Also intention is made here to describe general situation in France with the respect of politics in order to analyze 'immigration' issue within the French media in the further chapter.

Changes in the world politics have started with adoption of the ***Universal Declaration on Human Rights (UDHR)*** by the United Nations General Assembly in 1948 when issues connected to the protection minorities' rights became important. According to Article 7 of UDHR '*all are equal*' before the law and '*all are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination*'.<sup>47</sup> The fact is France signed this declaration.

In Europe it was the ***Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms*** (also known as ***European Convention on Human Rights – the ECHR***) which also ratified by France. ***The ECHR*** guarantees right to life, right to liberty and security, and prohibits slavery and discrimination.<sup>48</sup> Its Article 14 provides '*the enjoyment of the rights and freedoms set forth in this Convention shall be secured without discrimination on any ground such as sex, race, colour, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, association with a national minority, property, birth or other status*'.<sup>49</sup> Among instruments of the Council of Europe there are the ***European Charter for the Protection of Regional or Minority Languages*** (1992) (France signed it) and the ***Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities*** (1995) which wasn't sign ratified by France.

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<sup>47</sup> Universal Declaration of Human Rights signed in 10 December, 1948, <http://www.un.org/Overview/rights.html>.

<sup>48</sup> Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, as amended by Protocol # 11, Rome, November 4, 1950.

<sup>49</sup> O. De Schutter, *The Prohibition of Discrimination under European Human Rights Law*, Luxembourg, 2005, p. 13.

As to the European Union, the Council ‘*may take appropriate action to combat discrimination based on sex, racial or ethnic origin, religion or belief, disability, age or sexual orientation*’<sup>50</sup> (Article 6a of the Treaty of Amsterdam) and contributes and development of ‘democratic and tolerant societies’<sup>51</sup> is welcomed (Directive 2000/43/EC of Council of the EU).

The **Charter on Fundamental Rights of the European Union** (2000/C 364/01) prescribes ‘*respecting the diversity of the cultures and traditions of the peoples of Europe as well as the national identities of the Member States*’.<sup>52</sup>

There is also legislative regulation in respect to minority issues on the domestic level in France. The core of France’s anti-discrimination regime is found in the **Criminal Code** and the **Labour Code**. Act No. 2004-1486 of 30 December 2004, inspired by European Union anti-discrimination directives prohibits discrimination ‘*on the grounds of origin, gender, family/marital status, physical appearance, surname, state of health, disability, genetic characteristics, lifestyle, sexual orientation, age, political opinions, religious beliefs, union activities, and real or supposed membership or non-membership of an ethnic group, nation or race*’.<sup>53</sup>

In France there is **High Authority for the Fight against Discrimination and for Equality** (HALDE) which has powers ‘to mediate or refer discrimination cases for prosecution; conducts studies; and promotes non-discrimination programmes and activities. HALDE can intervene directly in court cases and can propose a settlement involving the payment of a fine. Unfortunately, it lacks enforcement powers with respect to non-payment of fines but can use publicity to ‘shame’ parties failing to comply. Of the 2,143 cases actually handled by HALDE in 2006, fines were proposed as settlements in 20 cases and 42 others were transferred to the State Prosecutor’.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>50</sup> The Treaty of Amsterdam, Amsterdam, October 2, 1997.

<http://www.eurotreaties.com/amsterdamtreaty.pdf>.

<sup>51</sup> Council Directive 2000/43/EC of 29 June 2000// Official Journal of the European Communities. July 19, 2000.

<sup>52</sup> Charter on Fundamental Rights in the European Union (2000/C 364/01)/ *Official Journal of the European Communities*, December 18, 2000, [http://www.europarl.europa.eu/charter/pdf/text\\_en.pdf](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/charter/pdf/text_en.pdf).

<sup>53</sup> Promotion and Protection of all Human Rights, Civil, Political, Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, Including the Right to Development, The UN Mission to France. 19-28 September 2007, p. 7.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid.

### ***French Policy in terms of Minorities: Multiculturalism or not?***

There are some different multicultural approaches as a response to the problem of ethnic and cultural diversity: isolationism, assimilationism, weak multiculturalism, strong multiculturalism, and apartheid.<sup>55</sup>

1) Isolationism includes attempts of society to prevent the emergence of cultural diversity, preventing strangers, different from the mainstream population in cultural terms, for unauthorized entry into the country and living in it.

2) Policy of assimilationism entails allowing foreigners to settle in the country, but requiring them to assimilate, thus limiting the foreign culture's influence on the receiving society.

3) One of the features of weak multiculturalism policy is that assimilation of people is bound mostly not because they want to assimilate, but because they do not have much choice.<sup>56</sup>

4) Strong multiculturalism approach is society should 'take positive measures not only to enable such people to participate as full members of society but also better to enable them to maintain their separate identity and traditions'.<sup>57</sup>

5) Apartheid 'does not seek to exclude cultural minorities, but forbids them to assimilate to any degree'.<sup>58</sup>

With regard to these types of multicultural approaches, the response to ethnic diversity in France is assimilationism which will be discussed further.

Although '*any clear-cut categorization of country policies is difficult*',<sup>59</sup> it is possible to define French approach of multiculturalism. According to aforesaid typology, it is assimilationism which encourages '*immigrants to merge into a common host society culture*'.<sup>60</sup> France accepts newly arrived but the policy of their assimilation is

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<sup>55</sup> Chandran Kukathas, *Theoretical Foundations of Multiculturalism*, [http://www.gmu.edu/departments/economics/pboettke/workshop/fall04/theoretical\\_foundations.pdf](http://www.gmu.edu/departments/economics/pboettke/workshop/fall04/theoretical_foundations.pdf).

<sup>56</sup> Ibid.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid, p. 8.

<sup>58</sup> Chandran Kukathas, *Theoretical Foundations of Multiculturalism*, [http://www.gmu.edu/departments/economics/pboettke/workshop/fall04/theoretical\\_foundations.pdf](http://www.gmu.edu/departments/economics/pboettke/workshop/fall04/theoretical_foundations.pdf).

<sup>59</sup> Simon Field, Malgorzata Kuczera, Beatriz Pont, *No More Failures: ten steps to equity in education*, OECD Publishing, 2007, p. 141.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

implemented in order to not let other culture influence on the culture of accepting society.

Therewith, in opinion of Chandran Kukathas, the type of assimilationism is largely in line with modern France because it admits ethnic diversity but strongly requires that people ‘conform in various ways to french traditions; indeed it requires that they become French’.<sup>61</sup>

According to the Robert Castel’s article – ‘Suburbs: a State of Emergency’ – *‘in France, so-called problem blocks (which include about five million people) were objects of ongoing special social programs named policy of the city, which was implemented since early 1980s. It would be wrong to claim that residents of these blocks were totally abandoned to their fate as State power assist the suburbs in many forms. In France in fact, there is no American ghetto-type, while the ring road separating Paris from the suburbs is not a frontier. Formally, it is not forbidden to the young people, descendants of immigrants, to dream of achievement wishful social advancement. Country has no caste society and apartheid. But too many hopes have been cheated in 1983, including those associated with the ‘Arabs marching for equality’.*<sup>62</sup>

However, spread opinion about unwillingness of people of Maghreb origin to integrate sometimes is too exaggerated. Jonathan Laurence and Justin Vaisse have documented that level of integration of immigrants of the second and the third generation is high especially of the French Maghreb origin. ‘They found that Muslim immigrant communities in France predominantly speak French, are open to inter-marriage, adhere to French cultural values and norms and have birth rates which increasingly mirror white french birth rates’.<sup>63</sup>

In addition, comparative evolution of the degree structure of immigrants and non-immigrants is indicated in the Graphic 4. Accordingly, the educational level of immigrants has risen sharply during the period of 1982-1999. In 2004-2005 41 per cent of immigrants had a Certificate of Primary Education (CEP) while among non-

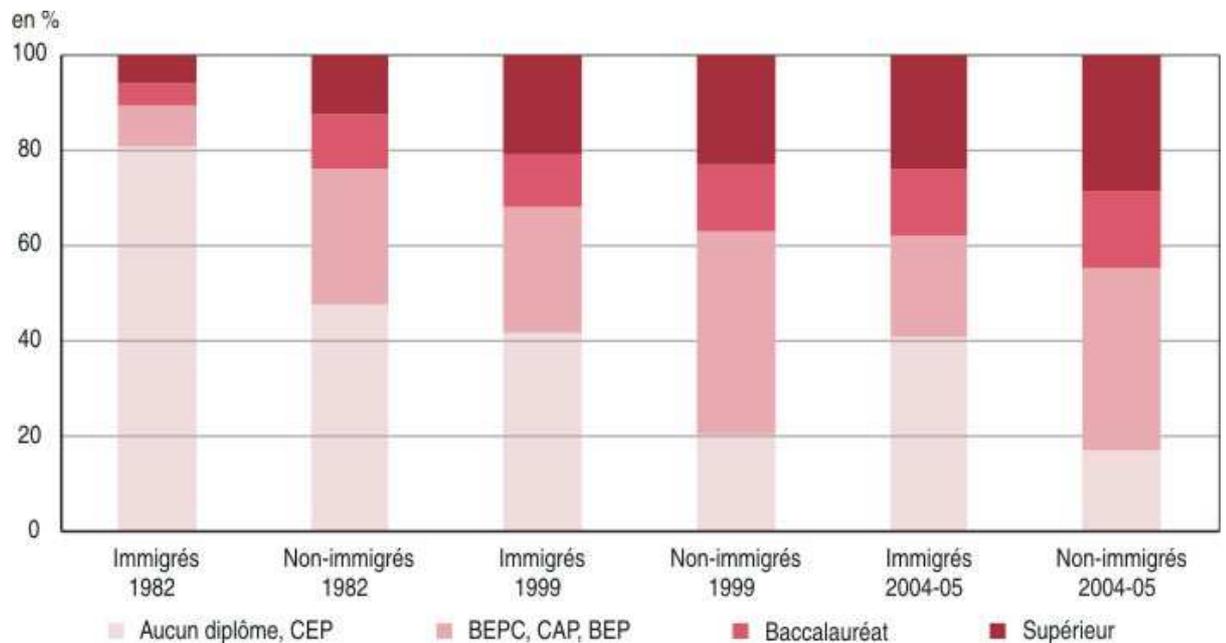
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<sup>61</sup> Chandran Kukathas, *Theoretical Foundations of Multiculturalism*, [http://www.gmu.edu/departments/economics/pboettke/workshop/fall04/theoretical\\_foundations.pdf](http://www.gmu.edu/departments/economics/pboettke/workshop/fall04/theoretical_foundations.pdf), p. 12.

<sup>62</sup> Robert Castel, Banlieues: état d’urgence, *Le Nouvel Observateur*, October 17, 2007.

<sup>63</sup> Kiran Grewal, ‘The Threat from Within’ - Representations of the Banlieue in French Popular Discourse’, *Europe: New Voices, New Perspectives: Proceedings from the Contemporary Europe Research Centre Postgraduate Conference, 2005/2006*, Melbourne, 2007, p. 55.

immigrants there was only 17 per cent. Furthermore, the proportion of immigrants with a higher education diploma is close to number of non-immigrants and has quadrupled since 1982 (from 6 per cent to 24 per cent) while the proportion of non-immigrants graduates increased from 12 to 29 per cent.<sup>64</sup>



Graphic 4

John Crowley argues that ‘*anti-immigration and racist discourses emerge in response to the integration of immigrant communities rather than their failure to integrate*’,<sup>65</sup> that is to say ‘it is not the *presence* of immigrants but rather their *place* that is the source of insecurity’<sup>66</sup> which fuels the discourses about the minority question.

### ***Tolerance***

The present day mostly all Western countries adhere to the principle of tolerance. Therewith, the ‘*designation of 1995 as the Year of Tolerance was evidence of the*

<sup>64</sup> Polls annual census 2004 and 2005, Institute national de la statistique et des études économiques, [http://www.insee.fr/fr/themes/document.asp?ref\\_id=ip1098&reg\\_id=0#inter2](http://www.insee.fr/fr/themes/document.asp?ref_id=ip1098&reg_id=0#inter2).

<sup>65</sup> Kiran Grewal, ‘The Threat from Within’ - Representations of the Banlieue in French Popular Discourse’, *Europe: New Voices, New Perspectives: Proceedings from the Contemporary Europe Research Centre Postgraduate Conference, 2005/2006*, Melbourne, 2007, p. 55.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid.

*ongoing complexity involved in seeking to obtain peaceful coexistence among those from different ethnic groups*'.<sup>67</sup>

Policy of multiculturalism is based on the concept of 'tolerance'. By its origin 'tolerance' refers to religious sphere. As it was required by the church, it meant a tolerant attitude to other faiths. Thus, we see that this notion was limited in its sense. Now tolerance is moving more from religious to political sphere. State requests for tolerant attitude to the people of colonial countries. According to dictionary, tolerance is '*capacity for or the practice of recognizing and respecting the beliefs or practices of others*'.<sup>68</sup>

Today in political sense tolerance can be seen as a desire to preserve the identity of a single *ethnic* group on the territory of state. With this new notion of *tolerance* policy of *multiculturalism* is closely related.

Policy of multiculturalism has become one of the major in European countries. For instance, for better minorities' integration in the United Kingdom were compulsory courses of the national history and the constitution and also *Life in the United Kingdom test*.<sup>69</sup> Sweden adopted policy of multiculturalism thirty four years ago; this policy was based on key principles 'equality', 'freedom of choice' and 'partnership'. First, *equality* implies 'the continued efforts to give immigrants the same living standards as the rest of the population'.<sup>70</sup> Second, 'the goal of *freedom of choice* implies that public initiatives are to be taken to assure members of ethnic and linguistic minorities domiciled in Sweden a genuine choice between retaining and developing their cultural identity and assuming a Swedish cultural identity. The goal of *partnership* implies that the different immigrant and minority groups on the one hand and the native population on the other both benefits from working together'.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> Christine Inglis, *Multiculturalism: New Policy Responses to Diversity*, <http://www.unesco.org/most/pp4.htm#need>.

<sup>68</sup> J. P. Pickett et al., *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*, 4th edition, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2000.

<sup>69</sup> *New UK citizenship testing starts*, [http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk\\_politics/4391710.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk_politics/4391710.stm).

<sup>70</sup> Christine Inglis, *Multiculturalism: New Policy Responses to Diversity*, <http://www.unesco.org/most/pp4.htm#need>.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*

In connection with multiculturalism, '*multi-ethnic public sphere must reflect the diversity present in society in such a way as to facilitate the autonomous expression of ethnic identity of both minority and majority ethnic groups, and of national minorities*'.<sup>72</sup>

Thereby, headed by multiculturalism, political agendas in many European countries changed to the issues of 'assimilation' and 'anti-racism'.<sup>73</sup>

Prima facie it seems nationalism, hatred of foreigners and racism are taboo today and political correctness dominates in contemporary mass communications, especially in such quality printed media as *Le Monde*, *Le Figaro* and *Liberation*. However, some political issues haunt, even 'the rise of extreme right-wing movements, such as Jean-Marie Le Pen's National Front in France, call for caution'.<sup>74</sup> Robert Miles and Malcolm Brown points out that the term of racism is negatively loaded and the present day it is connected to moral and political debates.<sup>75</sup>

Since the main aim of the thesis is bound to the question of whether French press is racist or not, further definitions of the term racism will be introduced.

*'The term 'racism' can be defined as a theory based on the idea of a hierarchy of races, race being a subdivision of the human species designating a human group or an ethnic group that would be differentiated from others on the basis of an ensemble of physical, psychological, and cultural characteristics originating from a shared history and representing variations within the species'*.<sup>76</sup> This definition represents classical understanding of racism which refers to far-off days of the epoch of colonialism when there were human slavery and oppression.

Assuredly, there is a big difference in racism today compared to the past that is why a term of '*new racism*' took place here. 'New racism' is another form of racism in classical understanding of the term. It is not a 'slavery, segregation, apartheid, lynching,

<sup>72</sup> C. Husband, Media and public sphere in Multi-ethnic Societies, *Ethnic Minorities and the Media: Changing Cultural Boundaries*. Philadelphia: Open University Press, 2000, p. 209.

<sup>73</sup> Simon Cottle. *Ethnic Minorities and the Media: Changing Cultural Boundaries*. Philadelphia: Open University Press, 2000, p. 10.

<sup>74</sup> Dusan Reljic, Killing Screens: Media in Times of Conflict, The European Institute for the Media, *Central European Review*, 2001, p. 19, <http://www.ce-review.org/>.

<sup>75</sup> Robert Miles, Malcolm Brown, *Racism*, Routledge: Taylor & Francis Group, 2004.

<sup>76</sup> France: The Representation of Ethnic Minorities in the French Television and Codes of Practices for Minor in Television/ *In Tuning into Diversity: Immigrants and Ethnic Minorities in Mass Media. Representation and Policies*, Rome, April 2002, p. 318-319.

and systematic discrimination'.<sup>77</sup> It is not submission but mostly domination of idea about *difference*:

*'The new racism of western societies is a system of ethnic or 'racial' inequality consisting of sets of sometimes subtle everyday discriminatory practices sustained by socially shared representations, such stereotypes, prejudices and ideologies. Text and talk about the 'Others', especially by the elites, thus primarily functions as the source of ethnic beliefs for in-group members, and as means of creating in-group cohesion and maintaining and legitimating dominance'.*<sup>78</sup>

Likewise Ter Wal says that 'subtle' racism is a process of 'negative other' versus 'positive self' presentation. This implies in the context of the media that 'descriptions of the majority group members are often accompanied by words that qualify them as positive, even when their actions are negative'.<sup>79</sup>

Consequently, in the presented work, the notion of racism signifies the meaning of the term 'new racism' which is directly connected to research question about racist representation of people of extra-European origin: they are mostly represented stereotypically.

### ***Minorities: to Be or not to Be***

The basis for the pattern of such social division as **minority** may be '*religion, language, race or any other factor that is socially perceivable, though in fact the division of a people into 'majority' and 'minority' often becomes prominent as a result of nationalistic sentiment*'.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>77</sup> T. A. Van Dijk. New(s) Racism: A Discourse Analytical Approach. *Ethnic Minorities and the Media: Changing Cultural Boundaries*. Philadelphia: Open University Press, 2000, p. 33.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid, p. 48.

<sup>79</sup> Ter Wal, J. Racism and Cultural Diversity in European Media: A Review of Research. In: European Research Centre on Migration and Ethnic Relations, Faculty of Social Sciences, Utrecht University, the Netherlands, Representation in Bern University, 21 March 2003, p. 2.

<sup>80</sup> Roger Scruton, *The Palgrave Macmillan Dictionary of Political Thought*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2007, p. 441-442.

According to the Petit Robert French dictionary, ‘the word **minority** is above all a quantitative term in opposition to **majority**, signifying a grouping of persons inferior in number in relationship to a majority, for example during voting’.<sup>81</sup>

There is no any generally accepted term of ‘minority’, but when used in political discussion, it usually means ‘a group which is smaller in number than the rest of the population of a State, whose members, who are nationals of that State, have ethnical, religious or linguistic features different from those of the rest of the population, and are guided by the will to safeguard their culture, traditions, religion or language’.<sup>82</sup>

France is famous for its founding role in the promotion of human rights, ‘stretching back to the revolution of 1789, and commonly assert that its ‘republican’ model of integration’.<sup>83</sup>

*Liberty, Equality, Fraternity* is exactly the basic values of democratic ideal, rooting in the idea of the Nation where all citizens living in France, ‘including those of foreign origin, are full citizens’.<sup>84</sup> Idea of the **nation** - ‘the Realm is one and indivisible’<sup>85</sup> - is inscribed in the Constitution of 1791 and later again is expressed in the 1958 Constitution of the Fifth Republic (which is valid nowadays), article 1: ‘France shall be an indivisible, secular, democratic and social Republic. It shall ensure the equality of all citizens before the law, without distinction of origin, race, or religion’.<sup>86</sup> It is so called French republican model where one of the basic features is the unity of the nation.

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<sup>81</sup> France: The Representation of Ethnic Minorities in the French Television and Codes of Practices for Minor in Television/ *Tuning into Diversity: Immigrants and Ethnic Minorities in Mass Media, Representation and Policies*, Rome, April 2002, p. 317.

<sup>82</sup> Proposal for a European Convention for the Protection of Minorities, Article 2; reproduced in ‘*The protection of minorities*’, Collection Science and Technique of Democracy, # 9, p. 10, 1994.

<sup>83</sup> Alec G. Hargreaves. *Racism and Cultural Diversity in the Mass Media: France*, An overview of research and examples of good practice in the EU Member States 1995-2000, ERCOMER, Vienna, 2002, p. 203.

<sup>84</sup> France: The Representation of Ethnic Minorities in the French Television and Codes of Practices for Minor in Television. *Tuning into Diversity: Immigrants and Ethnic Minorities in Mass Media. Representation and Policies*, Rome, April 2002, p. 319.

<sup>85</sup> French Constitution of 1791, <http://sourcebook.fsc.edu/history/constitutionof1791.html>.

<sup>86</sup> French Constitution of 4 October 1958, <http://www.assemblee-nationale.fr/english/8ab.asp>.

Thus, use of the term ‘minority’ is not exactly suitable in the case of France on account of its special feature which is rooted in the history of the French Republic and its ‘egalitarian and universalist design’.<sup>87</sup>

Minorities are not recognized in France and there are no special privileges or rights for them, but discrimination in relation to the French citizens of foreign origin exists. That is why conventional term ‘visible minorities’ here is involved in order to distinguish them from the majority, in particular, ‘*through an ensemble of hereditary physical characteristics (skin color, hair texture)*’.<sup>88</sup>

In order to clarify the statements about discrimination in respect of ‘visible minorities’ let’s introduce some examples. Firstly, people of extra-European origin are discriminated against in ordinary life: for instance, they are often barred from clubs, bars and discos under the pretence of ‘private party’. Some independent experts were informed about it and made some test. As a result, ‘in June 2007, five employees from four Paris discotheques were fined for discrimination after turning away those of African and Arab origin’.<sup>89</sup>

It was pointed out in the research that French of North African origin are much less invited for job interviews comparing to other French people, even though their professional experience and qualifications are very good.<sup>90</sup> ‘*Newcomers who are visibly foreign tend to be less welcomed than those whose appearance allows them to blend*’.<sup>91</sup>

The results of the test under the supervision of the International Labor Office showed that the choice of candidate to work for the benefit of the hexagonal origin was overbalanced in contrast to the candidate of Maghreb or Black African origin.<sup>92</sup> (See Table 4).

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<sup>87</sup> France: The Representation of Ethnic Minorities in the French Television and Codes of Practices for Minor in Television/ *Tuning into Diversity: Immigrants and Ethnic Minorities in Mass Media, Representation and Policies*, Rome, April 2002, p. 319.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid, p. 318.

<sup>89</sup> Promotion and Protection of all human rights, civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights, including the right to development. The UN Mission to France, 19-28 September 2007, p. 13.

<sup>90</sup> J.-F. Amadiou, Discrimination à l’embauche – De l’envoi du CV à l’entretien, Etude réalisée par Adia/ Paris I, *Observatoire des Discriminations*, April, 2005, <http://cergors.univ-paris1.fr/docsatelecharger/Discriminationsenvoientretien.pdf>

<sup>91</sup> Simon Field, Malgorzata Kuczera, Beatriz Pont. *No More Failures: ten steps to equity in education*. OECD Publishing, 2007, p. 142.

<sup>92</sup> Discriminations à l’embauche fondées sur l’origine à l’encontre de jeunes français (es) peu qualifié(e)s, Une enquête nationale par tests de discrimination ou testing, March 6, 2008,

Table 4

<b>Main results of the testing</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>Number of test</b>
<b>Choice for the benefit of candidate apparent hexagonal origin</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>770</b>
<b>Choice for the benefit of candidate apparent Maghreb or Black African origin</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>209</b>
<b>Identical treatment of two candidates throughout the recruitment</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>121</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>1100</b>
<b>Net cumulative discrimination</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>561</b>

*Source:*  
*investigated by testing*  
*discrimination, ISM-CORUM / BIT, 2006.*

Additionally, in 2006 HALDE received 4,058 claims where over 35 per cent were ‘on the grounds of discrimination on the basis of ‘origin’, indicating the victim as a person belonging to a visible minority. Nearly 43 per cent of all claims related to discrimination in employment’.<sup>93</sup>

Some studies indicate discrimination which is often displayed based on such features as physical appearance, consonance of the name or surname, dress, or other self-expression. Thus, people of French nationality of immigrant origin are vulnerable in the labor market (especially poor youth from the Maghreb).<sup>94</sup>

In connection with the fact of racism and discrimination on the basis of origin or religion, French politicians made steps to reconsider their policy for the purpose to struggle with racism and discrimination.

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<http://www.travail-solidarite.gouv.fr/IMG/pdf/2008.02-06.3.pdf>

<sup>93</sup> HALDE 2006 Annual Report, [http://www.halde.fr/IMG/pdf/HALDE\\_annual\\_report\\_2006.pdf](http://www.halde.fr/IMG/pdf/HALDE_annual_report_2006.pdf).

<sup>94</sup> Les discriminations fondées sur l’origine, Portail, centre de ressources et d’échanges pour la non-discrimination et l’égalité professionnelle, <http://www.equall.fr/fr/articles/discriminations-egalite/les-publics-discrimines-les-faits-les-chiffres/race-origine-ethnique/les-discriminations-fondees-sur-origine.html#nb2>.

After elections of 1997 there were some slight overpatchings in French policy. For instance, in 1997 in the joint manifesto of the *Rassemblement pour la République* (RPR) and *L'Union pour la démocratie française* (UDF) it was declared their 'attachment to the republican values of 'tolerance, brotherhood, responsibility and patriotism' but the only explicit reference made to immigration was in terms of combating illegal immigration and illegal work. Other measures that would facilitate the integration of the immigrant population were included in more general objectives of equal opportunities and social support for the disadvantaged'.<sup>95</sup>

During five years of Socialist government (1997-2002) minister of Labor and Solidarity Martine Aubry discussed a lot of issues in terms of discrimination: he 'commissioned a report on anti-discrimination and the High Council of Integration had opened debate over the creation of an authority that would monitor and punish incidents of racial discrimination. Aubry also discussed the introduction of 'welcome platforms' where newly arrived migrants could receive social support and professional training'.<sup>96</sup>

'In May 2002, newly appointed Prime Minister Jean-Pierre Raffarin appointed two cabinet members of North African origin: Tokia Saïfi, Deputy Minister for sustainable development – the first *Beur* (second-generation Arab migrant); and Hamlaoui Mékachera, the first deputy minister for veteran affairs of Algerian origin'.<sup>97</sup> These appointments were seen as steps towards better ethnic representation in politics.

With regard regulation of immigration, Nicolas Sarkozy has been particularly active in policy initiatives intended for better integration of migrants and minorities.<sup>98</sup> 'The first of Sarkozy's laws (Law 2003-1119 of 26 November 2003 on immigration control, the residence of aliens in France and nationality) adopted a two-pronged approach, offsetting more restrictive measures on immigration control with provisions to

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<sup>95</sup> Marthaler, Sally. Nicolas Sarkozy and the Politics of French Immigration Policy, *Journal of European Public Policy*, Volume 15, Issue 3, April 2008, p. 386.

<sup>96</sup> Jonathan Laurence, *The New French Minority Politics*, Center on the United States and France, Harvard University, March 2003, p. 3.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4-5.

<sup>98</sup> Jonathan Laurence. *The New French Minority Politics*. Center on the United States and France. Harvard University, March 2003, p. 5.

*improve integration*'.<sup>99</sup> This law pursued two aims, videlicet, to restrict illegal immigration and to decrease the number of asylum-seekers.<sup>100</sup>

The second *Loi Sarkozy* (Law 2006-911 of 24 July 2006 on immigration and integration) was enacted as a result of riot in 2005 riots. Explaining the necessity of new legislation, Sarkozy made a remark about negative connotation of immigration issue explaining the reason lies in an inadequate regulation and in an absence of 'ambitious integration policy'.<sup>101</sup> Sarkozy emphasized differences between '*imposed*' immigration (immigration choisie) including family reunification and asylum-seekers and '*selective*' immigration (immigration subie) corresponding to France's economic requirements which introduces '*a renewable three-year residence permit called a 'skills and talents' permit (carte de compe'tences et talents) for highly qualified non-EU workers*'.<sup>102</sup> While 'imposed immigration' makes up *the vast majority of immigration into France*, another countries practicing 'selective immigration' are more successful because '*xenophobia and the far-right are weaker there than in France*',<sup>103</sup> as Sarkozy noted. Thus, 'selective immigration can be a defense against racism'<sup>104</sup> and would also reduce the incidence of 'squats, ghettos and rioting'.<sup>105</sup> None the less, there were provisions regulating the flow immigrants and presence of foreigners in France. According to the second *Loi Sarkozy*, *foreigners would only be allowed into the country if they could prove that they had sufficient financial means to support family members and their eligibility for welfare benefits would be greatly reduced. Besides, new workers would have to sign a 'Reception and Integration Contract' (Contrat d'accueil et d'integration) in which they make a liability to learn French and to respect French values*'.<sup>106</sup>

To sum up, one of the main accents of the European policy towards protection of minorities is respect for all nationalities and ethnic origins and implementation of anti-discrimination policy. And being one of the leading countries in the European Union

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<sup>99</sup> Marthaler, Sally, Nicolas Sarkozy and the Politics of French Immigration Policy, *Journal of European Public Policy*, Volume 15, Issue 3, April 2008, p. 387.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid.

<sup>101</sup> Sarkozy's New Year wishes to the press, 12 January 2006.

<sup>102</sup> Marthaler, Sally, Nicolas Sarkozy and the Politics of French Immigration Policy, *Journal of European Public Policy*, Volume 15, Issue 3, April 2008, p. 390.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid.

<sup>104</sup> *Le Monde*, 28 April 2006.

<sup>105</sup> Marthaler, Sally, Nicolas Sarkozy and the Politics of French Immigration Policy, *Journal of European Public Policy*, Volume 15, Issue 3, April 2008, p. 390-391.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid.

France has to follow these principles as well principle of multiculturalism. In this case French multiculturalism is based on the model of assimilationism.

However, important legally binding documents concerning national minorities protection were not ratified by France (on account of contradiction of French constitution) while signed charters and declaration have no legislative power as binding and penalizing. After all, there are documents on the domestic level which are capable of regulation minority rights protection in the case of their discrimination. As for implementation of immigration policy, its idea of difference dominated from the very beginning, making ‘*chasm between immigrant and French culture*’.<sup>107</sup>

### 3. Journalism as a Powerful Instrument of Regulation of Public Opinion

The given chapter is devoted to the textual analysis of French press articles of its ‘ethnic’ and ‘racial’ content which is related to description of ‘visible minorities’. The latter’s portrayal effect on the construction of the image of North Africans will be described in the given part of the work. As regards the political aspect, it will be slightly considered: notably, the activity of non-governmental organizations in terms of minorities’ rights will be indentified. According to various classifications of multiculturalism, the degree to which France succeeded in the implementation of this policy will be inspected in the chapter by the way on example of mass media.

In the era of mass communication importance of media is emphasized by the fact its ‘discourse is the main source of people’s knowledge, attitudes and ideologies both of other elites and of ordinary citizens’.<sup>108</sup> Thereby, mass media has significant influence on public opinion. At this extend it is very important because media can also contribute to the raise of tolerant attitude among citizens. So, let’s say, media have not only informative but also enlightenment mission.

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<sup>107</sup> Martin A. Schain, Politics, Immigration and Multiculturalism in France and the United States, In Transatlantic Tensions, From Conflicts of Interests to Conflict of Values? Colloquium, CERI/GMF, April 2004, p. 7, <http://www.ceri-sciences-po.org>.

<sup>108</sup> Teun A. van Dijk, “New(s) Racism: A Discourse Analytical Approach”// *Ethnic Minorities and the Media: Changing Cultural Boundaries*. Philadelphia: Open University Press, 2000, p. 36.

*'Mass media can be considered as an institution of socialization in its own right'*.<sup>109</sup> Most of social scientists discuss the concept of media **non-transparency**, according to which *'the media are neither windows on the world nor mirrors of society, but symbolic constructions and representations of certain aspects of reality'*.<sup>110</sup>

Importance of mass media described by Charles Husband is also essential. The public sphere is seen as a space between Government and society in which *'private individuals exercise formal and informal control over the state: formal control through the election of governments and informal control through the pressure of public opinion. The media are central to this process. They distribute the information necessary for citizens to make an informed choice at election time; they facilitate the formation of public opinion by providing an independent forum of debate; and they enable the people to shape the conduct of government by articulating their views. The media are thus the principal institutions of the public sphere or, in the rhetoric of 19<sup>th</sup> century liberalism, 'the fourth estate of the realm'*.<sup>111</sup>

Information, education and upbringing are one of the basic functions of journalists. In this certain case importance of contemporary media consists in the fact they also form stereotypes of the radical difference of cultures. Position of mass media can be seen as a crucial from the point view of construction 'a sense of who 'we' are in relation to who 'we' are not, whether as 'us' and 'them', 'insider' and 'outsider', 'colonizer' and 'colonized', 'citizen' and 'foreigner', 'normal' and 'deviant', 'friend' and 'foe', 'the west' and 'the rest'.<sup>112</sup>

It is quite often one can meet following division: 'our' nation and 'their' families, 'our' religion and 'their' superstition and beliefs, 'our' culture and 'their' folklore, 'our' defense and 'their' terrorism.<sup>113</sup>

Amongst wide spread stereotypes of 'visible minorities' in media there is strong emphasise on 'cultural difference or backwardness (e.g. illiteracy) or the exotic character

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<sup>109</sup> France: The Representation of Ethnic Minorities in the French Television and Codes of Practices for Minor in Television/ *Tuning into Diversity: Immigrants and Ethnic Minorities in Mass Media. Representation and Policies*, Rome, April 2002, p. 320.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid.

<sup>111</sup> Charles Husband. Media and public sphere in Multi-ethnic Societies// *Ethnic Minorities and the Media: Changing Cultural Boundaries*. Philadelphia: Open University Press, 2000, p. 201.

<sup>112</sup> Simon Cottle. Introduction// *Ethnic Minorities and the Media: Changing Cultural Boundaries*. Philadelphia: Open University Press, 2000, p. 2.

<sup>113</sup> R. Stam, E. Shohat, *Contested Histories: Eurocentrism, Multiculturalism, and the Media*. Multiculturalism: A Critical Reader. Ed. By D.T. Goldberg, Oxford & Cambridge, Blackwell, 1995, p. 297.

of indigenous populations'.<sup>114</sup> 'In coverage about migrants and ethnic relations, themes related to emergency situations, conflicts, crises, problems etc. have higher news value'.<sup>115</sup> Examples illustrating this situation will be considered in the following chapter.

### ***French Journalism: Image of 'Other' in National Press***

*Strangers are also my friends I am simply acquainted with them*  
*Motto of socio-psychological training*

In general French mass media is independent but some parts of them are owned by different groups which sometimes pursue own interests.<sup>116</sup> Groups of businesses such as 'arms manufacturing, aerospace, luxury goods, construction'<sup>117</sup> have also access to influence media in particular.

'The executive branch is able to influence the media by such means as direct and indirect subsidies, allocation of the advertising budgets of state-owned companies, and cronyism in the banking sector or in the conglomerates which have invested in the press'.<sup>118</sup>

Among the leading high-quality daily newspapers there are ***Le Monde***, ***Le Figaro***, and ***Liberation***. Editorials and reports of these newspapers 'can have global impact. They have an important influence not only on public opinion but also on the other media'.<sup>119</sup> ***L'Express***, ***Le Nouvel Observateur*** and ***Le Point*** are qualitative news magazines in France.

Let's examine conditions of the image representation of 'visible minorities' in the French mass media.

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<sup>114</sup> Jessika ter Wal. Racism and Cultural Diversity in European Media: A Review of Research. European Research Centre on Migration and Ethnic Relations. Faculty of Social Sciences, Utrecht University, the Netherlands. Representation in Bern University, 21 March 2003, p. 5.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid.

<sup>116</sup> France: Media Guide. Open Source Center: Media Aid, July 16, 2008, p. 1.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid, p. 5.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid, p. 17.

Since 1970s in the French press there were numerous articles which attempted to portray Islam as a danger to the French society. Negative attitude in relation to Muslims has become an integral part of ‘ideology’ and the policy of far right nationalist movements in France. Religion, being the feature of ‘otherness’, was portrayed in negative light. In early 1980s, after Islamic Revolution in Iran, media have started to speak about ‘Islamic threat’: *‘Islamic’ States, as they claim, in general are hostile to the revolutionary Islam. ‘The traditions in Muslim history - fair and pure Islam’ - and the movements associated with the popular image of missionaries are extremely different things. But we are not saying the same when we are considering Iran and Khomeini. This needs to be treated differently and more attentive*.<sup>120</sup>

It was the time when the economic and social situation in France deteriorated; young North Africans became the scapegoats of society’s frustrations and fears, and of xenophobic attitudes in France. The ‘anti-immigrant atmosphere’ was reinforced by the electoral successes of the *National Front* in the local elections of March 1983. Tensions between young people and the police forces increased during the summer of 1983, and about twenty young people were injured or killed by the police.<sup>121</sup>

The Socialist Prime Minister Laurent Fabius expressed his opinion in a television interview about the emergence of the National Front; later this interview was cited by different newspapers including *Le Monde*: *‘The Le Pen phenomenon comes from real questions, to which the extreme-Right brings the wrong answers’*.<sup>122</sup> ‘Other politicians and the media have echoed this sentiment that the Front National is asking the right questions (even if they may provide the wrong answers) and that immigration is one of the major problems facing contemporary French society’.<sup>123</sup>

‘Le Pen and the Front National have had a field day with inflating and inflaming people’s fears in France concerning immigrants of colour and White people’s street

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<sup>120</sup> *Le Monde*, June 12-13, 1983.

<sup>121</sup> Sonia Tebbakh, *Muslims in EU: Cities Report*. Grenoble, 2007, p. 72.

<sup>122</sup> *Le Monde*, October 29, 1985.

<sup>123</sup> Jane Freedman, *Immigration and Insecurity in France*, Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2004, p. 7-8.

safety, and this kind of political message from the mainstream Right and ultra-Rights about criminality and skin-colour is very common across Europe and beyond'.<sup>124</sup>

'Some detailed studies of the language used in Front National documents and in speeches by its leader',<sup>125</sup> Jean-Marie Le Pen determined his use of simplified single-issue as 'photopopulism'. Such terms as 'planetary immigration invasion' were blunt and brutal but they were straight and easy understood by people.<sup>126</sup>

Notwithstanding Le Pen's popularity in the media, polls showed that he was wrong and a lot of respondents saw in National Front threat to democracy etc. In 1988 66 per cent of respondents perceived him dangerous, 25 per cent inversely. Later on, in 1999 the result of polls shower 73 per cent perceived Le Pen as a threat. When respondents were asked why they perceived him dangerous, 19 per cent of respondents couldn't answer to this question in 1983, however in 1988 this percentage fallen to 8 per cent and by 1999 it stood at 3 per cent.<sup>127</sup>

It would be difficult to determine the position of European journalists and editors as a whole with respect to occurring events, particularly in the news reports. However, the presence of ethnonyms (which are expressive part of vocabulary) in articles and sometimes particular genre features of articles can determine the position of publication with regard to the immigration policy. It is confirmed by large number of articles in support of a positive image of North Africans that started to form later. For instance, *Le Monde* has described the sufferings of North Africans ending by death, in which there was a proportion of French guilt. It is about a North African young man who was thrown into prison where he has committed suicide, leaving a note: '*I die every day. I experience sheer torture and suffering. The strengths leave me like I'm in cancerous disease. I leave you full of hate and love, love, of which I was deprived, and which I wanted to give to you*'.<sup>128</sup>

<sup>124</sup> John Downing, Charles Husband. *Representing 'Race': Racism, Ethnicities and Media*. Sage Publications, 2006, p. 81.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid, p. 76-77.

<sup>126</sup> Mots/ Les langages du politique, *Words. Political Languages*, <http://mots.revues.org/sommairepersee173548.html>.

<sup>127</sup> Alec G. Hargreaves, Media Effects and Ethnic Relations in Britain and France, In.: R. King and N. Wood (Eds.), *Media and Migration*. London/New York, Routledge, 2001, p. 31.

<sup>128</sup> Ben Jelloun, Les jeunes et la mère amnésique, *Le monde*, July 25, 1980.

*Le Monde* has written about other casualties: 'Alone in the city, located in the center of France, without work, without homes, away from the mother sky, far from their native lands (two Vietnamese) haven't found the courage to live in ourselves. This is a double death. We, the French, are required to show hospitality and we could not allow letting that happen'.<sup>129</sup>

So, during that time there were attempts to promote sympathy for foreigners in the articles. The newspaper tried to highlight the problem, focusing on the fact that young people can not leave France because it is their home now, and nobody expects them in Africa, where the impatient French turn out North Africans. The youth feels at home neither in Africa nor in France.

Journalists' appeals to the audience, to the public opinion can not be specific because of the diversity of the social structure and conflicting interests, so they are limited to posing questions, and not to respond to them, and often the focus is the description of the situation or a problem. Today's representation of the minority or marginalized groups can be seen as a test for European democracy.<sup>130</sup>

Taking into account news, news magazines, shows, films and commercials, people of extra-European origin are not often portrayed on French television.<sup>131</sup> There is mostly a reflection of 'white' France on television, with overwhelming 'white' population. Black, Arabs, Africans have little space on TV that can signify some kind of their exclusion of the majority population.<sup>132</sup>

Moreover, there are a lot of stereotypes and simplistic images in advertising or other television genres like sports program (there can be delinquents, hoodlums, or the unemployed).<sup>133</sup> As to news programs, they are surely central in representing 'visible minorities'. As it is pointed in a research about immigrants and ethnic minorities in media, *'the themes, often recurring, to which those images are linked, are*

<sup>129</sup> G. Leclers-Coutel, Ne pas mourir deux fois, *Le monde*, July 25, 1980.

<sup>130</sup> Isabelle Rigoni, Access to Media for European Muslims// *European Islam: Challenges for Society and Public Policy*. CEPS, 2007.

<sup>131</sup> Marie-France Malonga, Ethnic Minorities: Which Place and Which Image on French Television. *Televisional representation of people of extra European origin*, p. 2. 2000.

[www.lse.ac.uk/collections/EMTEL/Minorities/papers/franceminorepres.doc](http://www.lse.ac.uk/collections/EMTEL/Minorities/papers/franceminorepres.doc)

<sup>132</sup> Ibid.

<sup>133</sup> France: The Representation of Ethnic Minorities in the French Television and Codes of Practices for Minor in Television/ *In Tuning into Diversity: Immigrants and Ethnic Minorities in Mass Media. Representation and Policies*, Rome, April 2002, p. 325.

*unemployment, security, delinquency, problems in major urban areas, violence — in general, and in schools in particular — drugs, etc*.<sup>134</sup>

In the entertaining part of television (musical programs or sport) there are mostly black people. So, 'French fictions principally give a 'white' representation of its society and the minorities usually have roles of extras or of delinquents'.<sup>135</sup>

Since discrimination on the basis of ethnicity and race exists not only in the casual life but also in newspapers, there is a discourse about race-thinking: events are colored to 'racial' and 'ethnic'. In connection with, there is can be also discrimination because of under-representation of 'visible minorities' in the case of neutral or good events and over-representation of 'visible minorities' in covering of negative news.

In connection with it became important how 'race' and minority are represented within contemporary media. On account of the reasons connected to xenophobic reporting and racist portrayal of minorities, in Europe emerged 'practice of inclusive multi-ethnic and multicultural society'<sup>136</sup> including France.

Let's explore some materials of printed media so as to see how much French media succeeded in representing multi-ethnic society.

Starting examine newspapers' articles, first, let's take one of the central in France – *Le Figaro*. This newspaper advocates to different views being versatile newspaper.

In autumn of 2005 two teenagers of the Arabian origin have died from being hit by the electrical current in a transformer box. Rumours spread with lightning speed in the suburb of Clichy-sous-Bois that the dead were at the transformer substation because they were fleeing from pursuing police. After that incident riots have started. Since October 2005 unrests were going to spread to neighboring suburbs.

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<sup>134</sup> France: The Representation of Ethnic Minorities in the French Television and Codes of Practices for Minor in Television/ *In Tuning into Diversity: Immigrants and Ethnic Minorities in Mass Media. Representation and Policies*, Rome, April 2002, p. 324.

<sup>135</sup> Marie-France Malonga. Ethnic Minorities: Which Place and Which Image on French Television. *Televsual representation of people of extra European origin*, 2000, p. 3.

<sup>136</sup> Simon Cottle, *Ethnic Minorities and the Media: Changing Cultural Boundaries*, Philadelphia: Open University Press, 2000, p. 10.

*Le Figaro* is a daily federal publication quite often appealing to the themes in some way related to the problems of intercultural interaction, both in France and in other states. During a period of unrest in France, *Le Figaro* took a neutral position, moreover, did not publish articles on direct social crisis in the country. This fact can be appreciated from the position it didn't contribute of conflict firing.

*Le Figaro* has published an article with a headline 'A Deep Rift between Blacks and Whites'.<sup>137</sup> Despite this title, which can be interpreted as underlining the race with a negative connotation, this note had neutral intonation.

*'Black communities felt that the victims were left to the mercy fate because of their race. According to the poll published by TV channel CNN, newspaper USA Today and Gallup service, six African-Americans out of ten believe that the federal government did not rush to help the population of the New Orleans because most of the inhabitants of the city were black. Among whites only one out of eight think so. The poll was conducted from 8 to 11 September. Among respondents there were 848 of white and 262 of black Americans. Accordingly, 72 per cent of blacks believe that President Bush does not care about the fate of blacks, while only 26 per cent of white people think the same. As a response to this issue, President Bush on Monday visited New Orleans, however, stressing that the assistance was provided regardless the race of residents. 'Storm as well as lifesavers does not know what the discrimination is' – declared president as a response to critics arguing that blacks were exposed in the days of the tragedy'.<sup>138</sup>*

Although the topic of this article is not directly related to the subject of current research, it is necessary to point out that this article reflects position of the newspaper about the inter-ethnic and cross-cultural interaction in general. It is obvious the newspaper supports minorities in the fight for their rights, reproaches for the actions of the authorities (particularly, the administration of U.S. President).

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<sup>137</sup> A Deep Rift between Blacks and Whites, *Le Figaro*, September 14, 2005.

<sup>138</sup> Ibid.

American policy in relation to the multi-ethnic population, in general, can be seen among the interests of newspaper. It deals with this issue not once, but quite often dedicating big materials to this topic.

In early November of 2005, while France was experiencing a social crisis with massive actions, pogroms, which were passed over by *Le Figaro*, it published an article titled 'The USA: Capitalist Carrot and Police Stick'. Interestingly, despite the fact that the article is devoted to the U.S., in the first paragraph there is a parallel with France touching the problems of unemployment. It gives grounds to assert that the article was written in order to compare the situation of unemployed people in France and the United States. Thus, the author talks about the problems of social and economic sense in France not openly but indirectly.

Speaking about the economic and social problems in France against the background of the U.S., the author automatically transfers the negative attitude to France, thus exacerbating the existing problems here. In other words, he said: 'In America everything is bad, but in France is worse'.

*'America has not immune from crises, such as the one France is experiencing. The American model is not egalitarian, but it remains the integrating. The USA did not solve the problems of gangs, and 'ghetto'. But it has reduced the unemployment rate among minority groups to a level much lower than that typical for France. The capitalist system also encourages minorities to get involved in economic life, to become independent of government subsidies. Finally, the U.S. federal structure is more conducive to resolving volatile situations'.*<sup>139</sup>

During unrests in suburbs the Minister of Interior Nicolas Sarkozy (at present president of France) made a dramatic statement, which triggered a storm of indignation in France. He promised to 'clean Clichy-sous-Bois', to rid outskirts of the capital from 'vandals' and other 'scum'. Press surely didn't fail to note this statement. A writer of political essays in *Libération* guessed that such comments could 'irritate certain social classes' and thus 'provoke unrest'. This newspaper reported about the riots in suburbs with follow headline: 'Sarkozy should apologize or resign'. *Libération* considered that

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<sup>139</sup> Pierre-Yves Duga, Aux États-Unis, la carotte capitaliste et le bâton sécuritaire, *Le Figaro*, November 8, 2005.

one of the causes of the crisis was ‘the lack of respect’ by the Minister of Interior for Immigrants, because Sarkozy called the rioters ‘the very dregs of the population’. The opposition parties, particularly the Communists and the ‘green’, demanded the resignation of the head of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.<sup>140</sup> Thus, *Libération* expressed its support for tolerant attitude.

In any event, ‘visible minorities’ are rarely shown as ordinary members of France. In the main, they are not portrayed in the general mass of French society, they are mostly portrayed with refer to their cultural difference.<sup>141</sup>

After riots of 2005, two directions of ‘visible minority’ representation emerged. First direction concerned portraying suburbs as highly masculinised space with women exclusion where problems always are connected to men.

In late November 2005 *Le Figaro* published a report about one burned Arab girl, living in France – ‘Burned Shahrazad by Rejected Bride’.<sup>142</sup> The author of the report expressed sympathy to the girl, who was the victim of discarded fiancé, and he neither criticized or used any irony, nor expressed negative attitudes towards the Arab culture, in particular, to the cruelty by any other means, but publications of such nature show nonstandard situation of Muslim part of France.

It should be noted that the main problem associated with immigrants in France has always been Islam. Society accepts the stereotype generalizing all Muslims as terrorists. Thousands of Muslims consider themselves as victims of this confusion (‘Islam’ = ‘terrorism’). In the Monitoring of Protection Minorities in the European Union it is pointed out that ‘Islam is frequently presented as a threat, a danger or a form of subversion. This tendency was particularly notable around the debate on the Islamic headscarf in French schools, at the time of urban violence in France in October-

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<sup>140</sup> *Libération*, Novembre 1, 2005.

<sup>141</sup> Marie-France Malonga, *Ethnic Minorities: Which Place and Which Image on French Television. Televisual representation of people of extra European origin*, 2000, p. 5.

<sup>142</sup> *Le Figaro*, November 28, 2005.

November 2005'.<sup>143</sup> Thus, second direction of suburbs representation is connected to Islam.

Since January of 2006, *Le Figaro* dramatically changed its attitude towards other cultures in France. For example, following article was published 'Rival in Hijab beat Barbie all to pieces'.<sup>144</sup> The article deals with a new doll Fulla, dressed as Arab girl which is very popular and now brings serious competition for Barbie doll. All the narration has a neutral tone, but the final paragraph is sharply negative standing out by its expressivity.

*'Should we assume Fulla as just a brilliant marketing course of Middle Eastern businessmen who have adopted and developed the American idea? Or this doll is 'Trojan horse' of religious extremists who want to teach girls how to wrap up from clew to earring? It is hard to say. Nobody knows the names of Fulla creators hidden behind the pyramid of companies based in Syria and Saudi Arabia. The U.S. Company **Mattel** asserts they do not know anything about it. Everything is so opaque nobody will confess. Finally editorial staff **Le Figaro** contacted Damascus office of Tarabishi Amir (who is one of the largest wholesalers of Fulla). He did not used to communicate with the Western press and he was laconic and only noticed in addition that he 'would like to export Fulla to France'. This is a surely brilliant idea: in the suburbs of Paris the first halal McDonald's is already opened!'*<sup>145</sup>

Later on, after Hamas swinging an election in Palestina, *Le Figaro* published an article titled 'Peace with the Islamists is Impossible'. This event urged to discuss the main differences between Christianity, as the traditional religion of Europe, and Islam. And the article says that peace between these two cultures is not possible, and Christian Europe is doomed to war with Arab countries. The article contains sharp expressions that suggest a hostile mood of the author towards people who practice Islam.<sup>146</sup>

*'Preserving patriarchy is at the heart of the Islam crisis, and Islamists use this crisis according to their advantage. Antinomy still exists between patriarchy and contemporary state. Patriarchy combines natural order (family) with political order*

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<sup>143</sup>Isabelle Rigoni, Access to Media for European Muslims// *European Islam: Challenges for Society and Public Policy*, CEPS, 2007, p. 108.

<sup>144</sup> Lena Luteau, Barbie mise au tapis par sa rivale voile, *Le Figaro*, January 16, 2006.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid.

<sup>146</sup> Thierry Volton, L'impossible paix avec les islamistes, *Le Figaro*, January 31, 2006.

(tribe), in both cases perpetuating the priority of male authority. Integrity of the Muslim world consists of public, private and family sphere depending on the law of God. Therefore, the Islamists persistently try to restore both family and social order in the relations between men and women. The battle for wearing hijab by immigrants is the brightest evidence of it. Otherwise the balance between sexes will be destroyed: woman will get different role while man's power will be under attack. For Islam men, their status and authority are central questions. In this light, it is easy to explain their use of terrorist methods: Islamists martyrdom elevates men in the eyes of 'their' women (mothers, sisters, and wives) forever. Their sacrifice strengthen the power of men (even though posthumously). Their rage is proportional to their fear that they experience, even when they realize that they will sacrifice everything for the peace. This despair leads to the nihilistic Islamist terrorist attacks, the only meaning of which is to express their hatred towards present life. This is a struggle to the death, where peace is not possible'.<sup>147</sup>

Thus, one can see that the author gives a clearly negative assessment of the Islamic culture, trying to prove the existence of an eternal threat to Europe (and in particular to the French society). Promotion of this kind of views does not contribute to the formation of tolerance in the urban community, but instead, stir up inter-ethnic and intercultural conflict.

To sum up, *Le Figaro* policy was ambivalent, and it followed to various lines of behavior at different points in time. During the social crisis in France, the newspaper followed the neutral position, moreover, published materials of various genres in which the author was on the side of national minorities, both of France and other countries. But as soon as crisis has passed, after a few months, this newspaper began to express extreme right-wing views.

Simon Cottle thinks over media contribution to the 'shifting political-cultural climate of 'race' representations'.<sup>148</sup> He says: '*ethnic minorities can be portrayed in*

<sup>147</sup> Thierry Volton, L'impossible paix avec les islamistes, *Le Figaro*, January 31, 2006.

<sup>148</sup> Simon Cottle. *Ethnic Minorities and the Media: Changing Cultural Boundaries*. Philadelphia: Open University Press, 2000, p. 12.

*deliberate 'multiculturalist' ways through a focus on cultural festivals, individual success stories and the cultural exotica of ethnic minority cultures*'.<sup>149</sup>

So, this tendency of 'visible minorities' representation in media exists: it is constructed on the 'image of successful integrated person' (who became 'variety performer', 'comic actor', 'star' or 'athlete'). According to Mathieu Rigouste – teacher of Maghreb European Institute, University of Paris VIII – this image has spread around since 1995.<sup>150</sup> One can see a tendency of improving the image of North Africans to the positive direction by method of contrast: on the one hand, there is immigrant who achieved a success – Aïssa Dermouche (ex-prefect of French district Jura who was presented by media as *'the first prefect from the immigration of the Fifth Republic'*<sup>151</sup>), football player Zinédine Zidane, pop star Khaled, the delegate minister for equal opportunities Azouz Begag or actor Djamel Debbouze – and, on the other hand, there is an 'immigrant-enemy'.

Aïssa Dermouche stood out in the news as a 'Muslim' prefect, 'prefect, who ethnically is not French' or even as a 'sample' of integration. There is a systematic contraposition of the 'good immigrant' to 'those Muslims who oppose the law'. The biography of Zinédine Zidane is described in a similar way, 'the star of world football', feeding up the myth of today's France that the immigrant likely can succeed 'if he/ she does want'.<sup>152</sup> So, the description of integrated immigrants is closely linked with the story of their achievements.

However, in the context of articles supporting success of 'visible minorities' in the most cases journalists were skipping such issues as 'immigration' and the 'banlieues' which implicitly refer to the negative constructions of post-colonial minorities.<sup>153</sup>

Highlighting aspects of the lives of ordinary citizens, the following series of photographs was printed at the end of January 2004 in magazine *Le Parisien*, under the general heading 'The Muslims, whose integration was successful' which can serve as an

<sup>149</sup>Simon Cottle, *Ethnic Minorities and the Media: Changing Cultural Boundaries*, Philadelphia: Open University Press, 2000, p. 12.

<sup>150</sup> Mathieu Rigouste, L'immigré, mais qui a réussi, *Le Monde Diplomatique*, July, 2005.

<sup>151</sup> Aïssa Dermouche, une ascension au mérite de l'Algérie à l'ESC Nantes, *Le Monde*, January 11, 2004.

<sup>152</sup> Mathieu Rigouste, L'immigré, mais qui a réussi, *Le Monde Diplomatique*, July, 2005.

<sup>153</sup> Alec G. Hargreaves, Racism and Cultural Diversity in the Mass Media: France. *An overview of research and examples of good practice in the EU Member States 1995-2000*, ERCOMER, Vienna, 2002, p. 206.

example of immigrants integrated into the French society. As it was mentioned before, ‘visible minorities’ are not portrayed ordinary way; their peculiarity and exotism are emphasized in every possible way: *‘Housewife Nazhiya el-Muna Sifi, 46 years old, seems to be live advertising of the product ‘Afflelou’. A short haircut, in a black rectangular glasses frames, a dark sweater and perfect makeup. She is a social worker; older people are in need of her assistance. Her habit is clearly omitted from the environment that rather reminds decoration to the stories ‘The Arabian Nights’.*<sup>154</sup> And this image, complete with glossy advertising posters of ‘Afflelou’ glasses and ‘decorations’ of Thousand ‘The Arabian Nights’, create the type of European woman of the eastern origin.

*‘In anthracite-colored suit, the jacket in a blue stripes, with a yellow necktie and up-do hair 24-year-old Karim, born Mante-la-Jolie, left a well-paying post store job and started his own business’.*<sup>155</sup> Mante-la-Jolie is a suburb of Paris. This person has chosen the path of becoming ‘indigenous’ and the Frenchman; and now he is a well known and respected wealthy man.

*‘Well-groomed beard, insightful almond-shaped eyes, lean silhouette and stately step... Even in jeans and a simple sweater All Faruru looks like Berber prince. In his career appearance is also important. This Frenchman of Algerian origin teaches electronics in the college named after Marseille Kashen in Sent-Uane’.*<sup>156</sup>

The technique of representation of the images is based on a building of contrast with those people who didn’t successfully ‘integrate’. Those who haven’t been able to get rid of their cultural, religious and ethnic stereotypes counter to ‘French identity’, staying in a way ‘immigrant’. And when journalists write in the press about diaspora representatives of the Arab Maghreb Union (AMU), the text gains a tinge of ‘immigrant, but successful’.<sup>157</sup>

Above all, in such articles there is a usage of the notions ‘Islam’, ‘Maghreb’ and ‘immigration’ that generates in a reader ambiguity about the ‘integration’ of immigrants of the second and the third generation. Namely: anyone who just does want successfully

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<sup>154</sup> *Le Parisien*, 30 Janvier 2004.

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>157</sup> Mathieu Rigouste, L’immigré, mais qui a réussi, *Le Monde Diplomatique*, July, 2005.

be integrated, he/ she eventually will do it; consequently, all the rest are condemn to failure.

Constant rotation of positive and negative images of immigrants has given rise to the formula: ‘As a rule, immigrant carries a risk, but in extreme cases he/she can be integrated’. As a result, there is a practice of positive coverage of the ‘integration’ process against the background of the pejorative attitudes towards immigrants in whole.<sup>158</sup>

Meanwhile, contradictory images of immigrants also appear in the printed media on the basis of the contraposition: such as Khaled Kelkal (the alleged perpetrator attacks in 1995, shot down by police in Paris), or Zacarias Moussaoui (accused of organizing the attacks on September 11, 2001 and sentenced to death by the Court of the USA). Exactly these images help to shape public opinion about the economic, social, political, religious and cultural threat of the entire mass of *immigrants*. These people have embodied threats of ‘hostile take-over by immigrants’, rioting immigrants, the conversion of Muslims to fundamentalism, the youth rebellion of the poor, etc. The name of Kelkal appeared in articles where immigrants were not so much losers as a source of potential danger.

After the attacks of September 11 in the USA, the image of Islam in French society didn’t improve. In September 2001, the IFOP polling institute published the results of a survey about Islam in France and the reactions to the terrorist attacks.<sup>159</sup>

In any event, the image of Muslims and Islam in the French mass media very often varies according to the international context. But since 2001 their image through the French media had greatly worsened.

Table 3

**Public perceptions of Islam (1994 and 2001)**

<b>Respondents were asked if they associated the below-mentioned values with Islam:</b>	<b>Share of poll respondents (%)</b>	
	In 1994	In 2001
Justice	2	6

<sup>158</sup> Mathieu Rigouste, L’immigré, mais qui a réussi, *Le Monde Diplomatique*, July, 2005.

<sup>159</sup> Sonia Tebbakh, *Muslims in EU: Cities Report*, Grenoble, 2007, p. 73.

Freedom	6	8
Democracy	3	5
Protection of women	5	6
Submission	<b>24</b>	<b>18</b>
Fanaticism	<b>37</b>	<b>22</b>
Rejection of Western values	<b>12</b>	<b>17</b>
Violence	5	8
No answer	6	10
Total	100	100

*Source: Sondage IFOP.*<sup>160</sup>

As it is shown in Table 3, in 2001 the French population still linked Islam with negative images. Twenty two per cent of those surveyed still considered Islam to be equated with fanaticism, for 18 per cent Islam meant submission, and 17 per cent found that this religion rejected Western values. In comparison with figures recorded in 1994 for the previous survey, the figures of 2001 mark an improvement of Islam's image in France, since in 1994, French people were more likely, statistically speaking, to associate Islam with fanaticism (37 per cent) and with submission (24 per cent).<sup>161</sup>

Why doesn't the French society want to accept/recognize the North Africans, who are already citizens of France? One can answer: because there are essential differences between the indigenous French and the French of Maghreb origin: morale principles, different way of life, differences in religion and even in the traditional dress. The French are irritated by the fact that Arabs (Beurs) don't respect the customs and habits of Europeans. Though *'looking closely at the crowd in the Paris subway or on the streets of such cities as Lyon, Lille, Marseille, Grenoble, the diversity of individuals and human types reveals heterogeneity of the population and at the same time shows the ridiculous claims of those who called 'to drive foreigners out'*.<sup>162</sup>

Since prehistoric times, a lot of immigrants were involved in forming of the French nation. So, the purity of the nationality can be challenged by the question whether the French themselves are not the descendants of immigrants.

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<sup>160</sup> *L'islam en France et les réactions aux attentats du 11 septembre*, 28 septembre 2001// Henri Tincq, La France et l'islam: une religion mal aimée, des fidèles mieux intégrés.

<sup>161</sup> Sonia Tebbakh, *Muslims in EU: Cities Report*, Grenoble, 2007, p. 74.

<sup>162</sup> *Le Monde*, June 12-13, 1983.

In mass media the ‘us-them’ reasoning is widespread.<sup>163</sup> Since over the years negative aspects (for example, crime) started to be ethnicised/ racialised systematically, thus creating ethnic hierarchies and generalising the ‘essentialisation of differences’,<sup>164</sup> ‘migrants tend to be overrepresented negatively in news genres such as crime news.’<sup>165</sup> As to general news genres, immigrants are remaining to be under-represented. Thus, ‘France’s ethnic diversity is not well reflected in the media published or broadcast in the country’.<sup>166</sup>

Today French media have assimilative policy of multiculturalism, which is characterized as cultural pluralism and desire to blur the distinction. However, as it was noticed, sometimes ‘visible minorities’ are not equally and fairly represented in the media. There can be biased opinions based on stereotypes caused by lack of full and reliable information whereupon perceptions of the ‘others’ is distorted.<sup>167</sup>

In this connection there was a need to influence mass media from the side of different organizations working on minorities’ questions. Some actions were taken in favour of a better representation of ‘visible minorities’. The Council of Europe has organised three conferences on the theme of ‘Media and Migration’ (in 1983, 1986 and 1988). These meetings have stimulated reflexion at European level and led to several recommendations relating to migrants and the media being adopted by Parliament or the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe.<sup>168</sup>

In September 1999 there was organised a conference by the *Collectif Egalité* (founded by the female writer Calixthe Beyala) which brought together mainly artists

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<sup>163</sup> Jessika ter Wal. Racism and Cultural Diversity in European Media: A Review of Research/ *European Research Centre on Migration and Ethnic Relations*, Faculty of Social Sciences, Utrecht University, the Netherlands. Representation in Bern University, 21 March 2003, p. 8.

<sup>164</sup> Ibid, p. 7.

<sup>165</sup> Ibid, p. 6.

<sup>166</sup> France: Media Guide. By Open Source Center: Media Aid, July 16, 2008, p. 3.

<sup>167</sup> France: The Representation of Ethnic Minorities in the French Television and Codes of Practices for Minor in Television/ *Tuning into Diversity: Immigrants and Ethnic Minorities in Mass Media. Representation and Policies*, Rome, April 2002, p. 170-171.

<sup>168</sup> Isabelle Rigoni, Access to Media for European Muslims// *European Islam: Challenges for Society and Public Policy*, CEPS, 2007, p. 113.

and intellectuals of African and West-Indian origin. The message was to denounce the ‘underrepresentation’ of blacks on television and request the application of quotas.<sup>169</sup>

The *Collectif Egalité* published its demands against discrimination in *Le Figaro*: to introduce the quotas; to create weekly and monthly programs, during prime time, by and for minorities; to put an end to ‘degrading, hurtful, and humiliating’ stereotypes about minorities on public television channels.<sup>170</sup>

However Hervé Bourges (director of audiovisual alliance) declared that he opposes quotas, which are in opposition to ‘*the Republican principle of the equality of all citizens*’.<sup>171</sup> But he also announced that he was prepared to open a discussion about the representation of minorities on television and to find democratic solutions.<sup>172</sup>

Jérôme Clément, the former president of La 5ème and ARTE, shared the opinion about quotas, declaring that the ‘*imposition of quotas on television for presenters of colour would not be a real solution to a real social problem; it would in fact mask the question of the definition of minorities and their place in society*’.<sup>173</sup>

Although results of conferences are not always clear and transparent because results are not always found in the reports in the texts of the recommendations, however, as it was investigated, ‘many of the initiatives and policies concerning media and minorities’,<sup>174</sup> which are known today, had started during European conferences.

As for European network of journalists *OnLine/More Colour in the Media*, it has set up specialised training centres and various multicultural organisations in West European countries, with the aim of improving the representativeness of cultural minorities in media programmes.<sup>175</sup>

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<sup>169</sup> Isabelle Rigoni Access to Media for European Muslims// *European Islam: Challenges for Society and Public Policy*, CEPS, 2007, p. 114.

<sup>170</sup> France: The Representation of Ethnic Minorities in the French Television and Codes of Practices for Minor in Television/ *In Tuning into Diversity: Immigrants and Ethnic Minorities in Mass Media. Representation and Policies*, Rome, April 2002, p. 329-330.

<sup>171</sup> Ibid, p. 330.

<sup>172</sup> Ibid.

<sup>173</sup> Ibid, p. 334.

<sup>174</sup> Ibid, p. 219.

<sup>175</sup> Isabelle Rigoni Access to Media for European Muslims// *European Islam: Challenges for Society and Public Policy*, CEPS, 2007, p.117.

In France there are *Fonds d'Action Sociale* (FAS), the *Conseil Supérieur de l'Audiovisuel* (CSA) and the *Haut Conseil à l'Intégration* (HCI) that take initiatives in order to improve the situation with representation of 'visible minorities'. The FAS gave support to programmes known as special-interest (*Mosaic, Rencontres, Premier service*) targeting immigrants and their families, while also hoping to sensitise mainstream opinion.<sup>176</sup>

Hargreaves considers French public policy in relation to the media as '*far more preoccupied with protecting the national language from English-language imports (mainly of American origin) than with the needs of migrants and minorities. These priorities are evident in a recent report on the media prepared for France's official planning agency*'.<sup>177</sup> Thus, initiatives (for example, undertaken by CSA) promoting 'cultural diversity' in France are commonly understood, first of all, as protection of the French language in the face of the global domination of English while '*minority ethnic cultures enjoy less protection*'.<sup>178</sup> Hence, success of this activity can be less efficient.<sup>179</sup>

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<sup>176</sup> Isabelle Rigoni Access to Media for European Muslims// *European Islam: Challenges for Society and Public Policy*, CEPS, 2007, p. 113-14.

<sup>177</sup> Alec G. Hargreaves. *Racism and Cultural Diversity in the Mass Media: France. An overview of research and examples of good practice in the EU Member States 1995-2000*, ERCOMER, Vienna, 2002, p. 214-215.

<sup>178</sup> Ibid.

<sup>179</sup> Ibid.

## Conclusion

*God gave Noah the rainbow sign,*

*No more water the fire next time*

*Lyrics of Spirituals*<sup>180</sup>

Explaining antagonisms of desire and unwillingness to assimilate from one part of the French society and to accept assimilating people from another side of society, first, one can endeavour to make it clear through the instrumentality of constructivist point of view. The contradiction can be elucidated by presence of such notions as ‘self’ and ‘other’/ ‘stranger’. With that, Erikson says that perception of “self” and ‘other’ becomes a mechanism for the formation of a complete image of their identification.<sup>181</sup> Thereby, it appears that the presence of ‘other’ in society is necessary for self-actualization.

In the process of identification, group of people can define the boundaries between ‘us’ and ‘them’. In the philosophy of Jean-Luc Nancy (called sometimes as a ‘philosophy of other’) there is a following motive: without ‘other’ (and even without an enemy) ‘self’ is defective. And his/her call ‘*Come!*’ towards foreigners means not so much ‘*be my friend*’ or ‘*be like me*’ (which the idea of assimilation includes), rather than different – ‘*give me the opportunity to change*’. In other words, ‘*give me the opportunity to enjoy life*’. Because, as explained Nancy, objective reality is always solely being-together and being-with-‘other’.<sup>182</sup>

To sum it up, in order to better understand the examined issue and meanwhile answer question raised above, it is also essential to understand the reasons of failure of assimilationism manifested, for example, in the strikes and rebellions of French citizens of Maghreb origin in French suburbs. Wallerstein believes riots in France are a typical phenomenon, and that they inevitably arise from a combination of racism and poverty in

<sup>180</sup> Negro Spirituals were created by enslaved African people in America.

<sup>181</sup> Erik Homburger Erikson, *Identity: youth and crisis*, W.W. Norton & Co., 1994.

<sup>182</sup> See Claire Denis, Vers Nancy, Film project *Ten Minutes Older - The Cello*, 2002.

world-economy ‘peripheries’ where modern politics of capitalism lead to increased social polarization.<sup>183</sup>

A journalist of the socialist newspaper *L’Humanité* Pierre Sapède also noticed: *‘Two nations!’ - Benjamin Disraeli exclaimed once, comparing poor and rich people. The principal novelty of modern time is, however, that the proletarians ethnically belong to different people indeed, rather than bourgeois. In turn, a liberal society can demonstratively shut their eyes to social conflict, alleging to such problems as ‘religious differences’, ‘the difficulty of migrants’ assimilation’, ‘cultural characteristics’ etc. Nobody wants to see that the immigrants has assimilated already, became an integral part of European society and they totally cut off from their cultural and religious backgrounds, but they did not obtain a real equality - and therefore there is rebellion!*<sup>184</sup> The journalist defines this problem as a problem of proletariat, which can’t be solved by ethnic or religious policy: neither rigid or racist nor liberal and politically correct one. As a solution, he proposes to change society, referring to the works of Karl Marx.

So, one can say that French riots were spontaneous class uprising. However, this kind of explanation can be also challenged. For instance, Rada Ivekovic believes that unrests of 2005 were above all a return of ‘colonial boomerang’. She expressed disappointment about the French universalism which is in reality, in her point of view, connected to ‘provincialism’, where nostalgia for imperial domination and illusions about the heritage of the Enlightenment exclude the possibility of self-criticism or prevents from proper assessment of social and cultural problematic that emerged after colonialism.<sup>185</sup>

Though, in the French case, post-colonialism can not serve as the only key explanation of the crisis; in this respect, previous accent on class and race is certainly essential together with differences in religion, traditions and way of life. Thus, it appears that there is a tangle of reasons.

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<sup>183</sup> Immanuel Wallerstein. The French Riots: Rebellion of the Underclass. *Commentary* No. 174, Dec. 1, 2005, <http://www.binghamton.edu/fbc/174en.htm>.

<sup>184</sup> Pierre Sapède, L’europogrome, *L’Humanité*, November 10, 2007.

<sup>185</sup> Rada Ivekovic, Le retour du politique oubliée par les banlieues, *Le soulèvement des banlieues*, François Athané, Lignes & manifestes, 2006.

French government conducts integrative policy with respect to immigrants. Alain Duhamel states in his article ‘Crisis of Integration ‘in French’: *‘The French Republic with its secularism, its schools, language, history and universal values wanted to show to the world its ability to turn any foreigner from any continent, notwithstanding skin color or religious beliefs, to moustached Gaul-patriot. This claim was a key moment of the famous French uniqueness’*.<sup>186</sup> But whatever policy the government may implement, results brought by it can not be determined in advance.

Theoretically, while discussing the pro et contra of assimilationism approach, one may suggest that it can not be so much successful because, first, the process of assimilation is a ‘two-way street’, not all cultural minorities are ready to be changed so far as it is demanded by social policy; second, in the society, where strong traditions of individual freedom exist, it is not easy to conduct assimilative policy, since it may require restrictions not only to the newcomers, but also to citizens who were born and grew up in this country.<sup>187</sup>

A state like France with ‘a strong civil conception of a politically equal population defined through *laïcité* acknowledging the claims of difference made by minority ethnic communities is perceived as a threat to the historical roots of a French political sentiment founded in the French Revolution’.<sup>188</sup> This obviously confirms that French assimilationism model of integration can hardly be successful.

In conclusion, according to the result of the content analysis of the French press, one may assume that the issue is quite ambiguous in its character. However, if to answer formulated questions rose in the beginning of the thesis, one can see a tendency of constantly changing image. The reason for that may be clarified by the following circumstances. Historically, immigrants had negative image as they were perceived as a danger to the French society. With politicization of this issue in the beginning of 1980s, their image started to be associated with insecurity, unemployment, ‘planetary immigration invasion’ gradually shifting to different spheres of French society.

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<sup>186</sup> A. Duhamel, La crise de l’intégration en français, *Libération*, November 9, 2005.

<sup>187</sup> Chandran Kukathas, *Theoretical Foundations of Multiculturalism*, p. 6, [http://www.gmu.edu/departments/economics/pboettke/workshop/fall04/theoretical\\_foundations.pdf](http://www.gmu.edu/departments/economics/pboettke/workshop/fall04/theoretical_foundations.pdf).

<sup>188</sup> France: The Representation of Ethnic Minorities in the French Television and Codes of Practices for Minor in Television, *Tuning into Diversity: Immigrants and Ethnic Minorities in Mass Media. Representation and Policies*, Rome, April 2002, p. 252-253.

In this respect, at that time, the printed media still tried to support foreigners, rebuking Frenchmen in callousness and calling them for compassion to immigrants, in such a way attempting to express its tolerance towards latter.

Then and now the principle of tolerance and political correctness lies in the core of the French media features. A conflict hardly ever could be named as a ‘conflict on religious or national grounds’. In this regard, raises the following question: what makes the French media so tolerant and politically correct in the context of overt Islamization of country? Since France is known to be proud of its ‘republican values’ (which include democratic and liberal foundations, respect for the rights and freedoms of every person), interpretation of conflicts as religious or national, indirectly puts the blame on ethnic minorities, which means discrimination and denial of civil rights.

Thus, whilst analyzing the French press, one may assume that it tries to observe both the interests of political correctness and interests of demographic realities. Such topical questions or concerns as ‘*what is going on in the suburbs, located in the heart of the French Republic where laws and the Constitution, however, may not have sufficient power?*’ are rarely discussed in media.

According to Ann Elizabeth Mute, political observer of *Le Monde*, ‘it is easy to understand why nobody wants to raise this issue. There is always a real risk of being accused of racism. If one dares to raise the issue, he/ she immediately can be condemned by other newspapers’.<sup>189</sup> Occasionally on the score of the tolerance of French media, one can face with the problem of inability to fully discuss the issues relating to national or religious problems. It can be concluded that sometimes tolerance in media has an effect, directly opposite of what was desired, resulting in some omission and misunderstanding.

In connection with under-representation of ‘visible minorities’, their stereotypes, simplistic images, gradually French media content started to be filled with positive examples. The construction of a positive image based on portrayal of successful and integrated people contrast with the existing negative images. Thus, with presence of these two opposite images, people of the same origin are still divided into successful and unsuccessful, rich and poor ones. Accordingly, one may assert that they are separated by

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<sup>189</sup> A. Mouté, La tolérance et l’islamisme, *Le monde*, September 16, 2005.

class distinctions. The same can be observed with the CRAN (Representative Council of Black Associations – *Conseil représentatif des associations noires*), movement where the leading figures are ‘conservatively-dressed, well-educated, upper-middle class professionals headed by the pharmacist president linked to the moderate centre-right party UDF’.<sup>190</sup> One may observe some kind of prejudicial attitude even among representative of minorities; for instance, it is hard to say that reciprocal relations between all representatives of minorities succeeded under the class distinctions. The number of minorities within a French society with whom the positive image of Maghrebians is actually associated/ linked is quite poor. Therefore, with the positive image which actually is embodied by only *units* of representatives of minorities within french society it is not likely possible to reflect real state of affairs.

On may argue that it is quite hard to realize the universalistic theory (based on tolerance and multiculturalism) in practice, taking into account the fact that sometimes positive images can be artificially constructed and thus not corresponding to reality, not reflecting natural course of things/ trend of events as such.

On top of everything, in the French press ‘visible minorities’ are still portrayed as ‘others’ being marked as ‘strangers’ as it was supposed in the hypothesis; the stress found in media content is made on religion and traditions – everything that the majority of the Frenchmen lack. Though, while describing of their ‘otherness’, journalists generally stay neutral in their estimation, without sharp expression of a negative or positive attitude. With that, cutting themselves off the problem without its deep examination (using as a cover the principle of *tolerance*) journalists only emphasize the differences between majority and minority, thus estranging them from each other. Thereby, there is building up maximum ethnic, cultural and class distance.

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<sup>190</sup> Éric Fassin, *The Black Minority in France – Visible and Invisible*, La Découverte, Paris, 2006, p. 7.

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## Abbreviations

AMU – Arab Maghreb Union

ARTE – Association Relative à la Télévision Européenne

CEP – Certificate of Primary Education

CEPS – Center for European Policy Studies

CORUM – Centre d’Observation et de Recherche sur l’Urban et ses Mutations

CRAN – Conseil représentatif des associations noires

CSA – Conseil Supérieur de l’Audiovisuel

ECHR – European Convention on Human Rights (Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms)

EU – European Union

FAS – Fonds d’Action Sociale

HALDE – High Authority for the Fight against Discrimination and for Equality

HCI – Haut Conseil à l’Intégration

IFOP – Institut Français d’Opinion Public

IGO – Intergovernmental organization

INED – Institut National d’Etudes Demographiques

INGO – International non-governmental organization

INSEE – Institut National de la Statistique et des Études Économiques

ISM – Inter Service Migrants

NGO – Non-governmental organization

RPR – Rassemblement pour la République

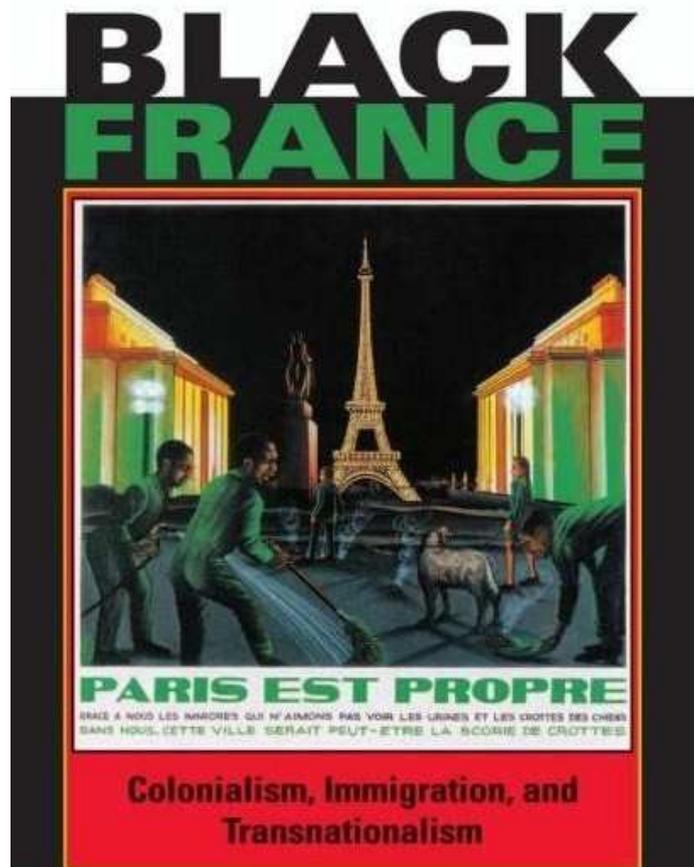
UDF – L’Union pour la démocratie française

UDF – Union pour la Démocratie Française

UDHR – Universal Declaration on Human Rights

USA – United States of America

## Appendix



French girl of Maghrebian origin

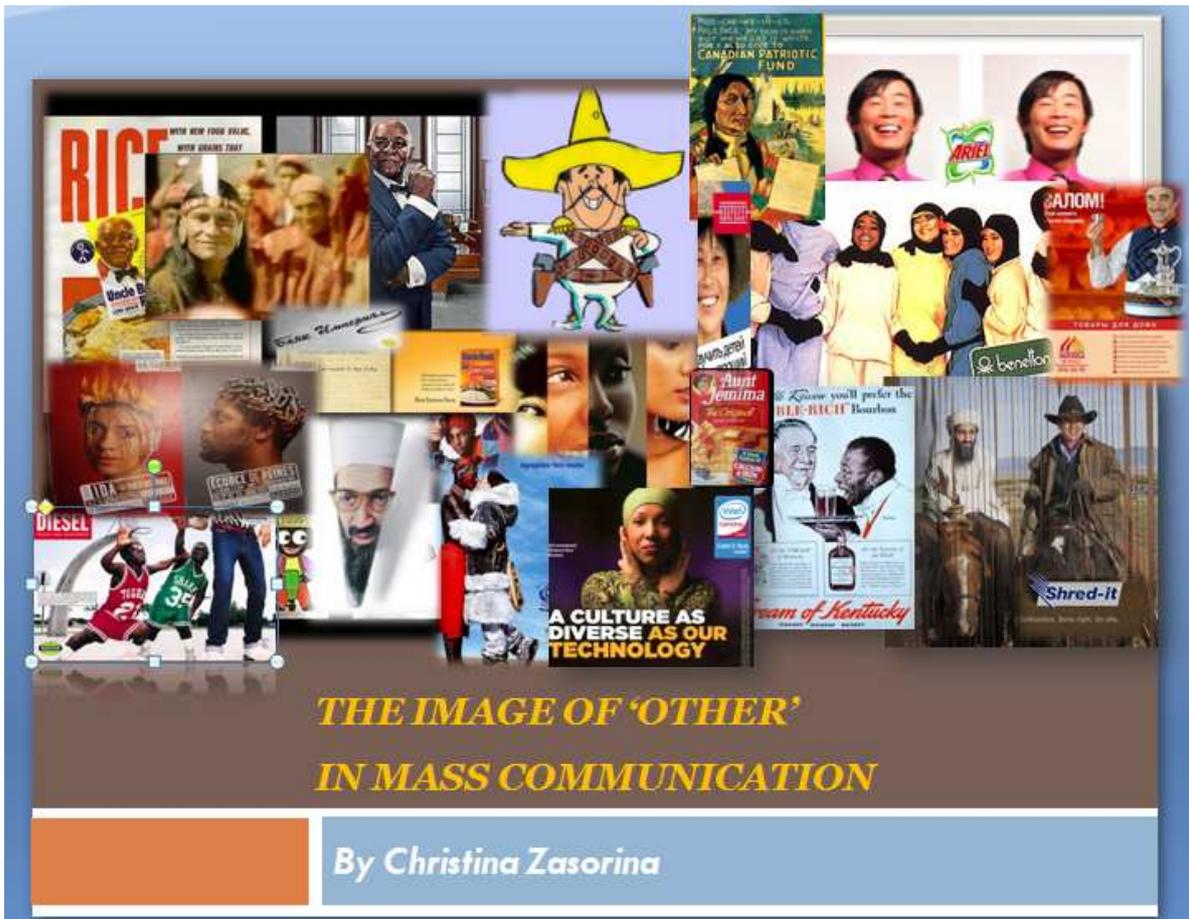


Cover of album of musical band Zebda with a typical French symbol (cockerel) composed in Arabic script reflects the melting pot of French and North African Influences in the band.

This cartoon is representative of how French journalists see the ideological and economic autonomy of their trade: ‘Super independent... I’m unemployed’



Newspapers' takeover: ‘The good news is that I’m not firing anybody... the bad is that you are becoming my mouthpieces’



**THE IMAGE OF 'OTHER'  
IN MASS COMMUNICATION**

By Christina Zazorina

Collage reflecting diversity in mass communication

## Typology of Image in Mass Communication Messages

- Positive
- Negative
  
- ❖ Non-recognition
- ❖ Ridicule, caricature
- ❖ Humiliation
- ❖ Respect, equality
- ❖ Difference, uniqueness

