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Master thesis

Immigration : un défi et un projet européen

Immigration: a challenge and a European project

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1 Introduction

In this resume, I will briefly summarise the content of my master thesis. In the first part, I will speak about the present migration wave and how the European Union is managing the situation. Firstly, I will explain different arguments pro- and contra migration and detail the European Agenda on Migration. Then, I will concentrate on the issue of EU-Turkey Statement from 2016.

The aim of the thesis is to show the topic of management of the “migration crisis” that we are now experiencing and help the reader to form his or her opinion on the subject. This goal will be achieved by analysis of online media.

My first hypothesis is that the Summit in Varna, being the latest development of EU-Turkey relations about migration issues, will be covered in the media.

By my second hypothesis, I want to show that different countries use different tones and ways to cover the subject of the “refugee crisis”, the EU-Turkey Statement and the summit. There will most probably be some differences on international level. Other ones should be also seen at national level because of the choice of politically opposed newspapers for the study.

Keywords: migration, Syrian refugee crisis, European Agenda on Migration, EU-Turkey Statement, EU Facility for Refugees in Turkey, analysis of online media

2 Literature review

Legal status in migration context

First of all, I needed to explain the different legislative status that a person that is migrating can assume in the host country. I took two separate classifications and criteria: reason of the migration and its legality. Voluntary migration is when the person migrating does so for economic, personal or familial reasons in order to stay in a host country for more than 3 months; this person is then called “migrant”. The reasons in involuntary migration are that the person is threatened by persecution in his or her home country; this type of migration gives birth to a status of “refugee” when such a status is awarded in accordance with the Geneva Convention from 1951. Refugee is essentially a very special sub-category of migrants. By the criteria of legality, we can distinguish legal and illegal migration.

Views on migration

In the later part, I presented different views on migration. From the point of view of some economists, the migration can help to equilibrate labour market and increase GDP in the host country while others are concerned about its impact on salaries and that the impact on GDP would be minimal because migrants often send money to their families in their home countries. In the eyes of sociology, there are issues to be discussed, mainly when speaking about integration of migrants in the host country and when migrants form their own communities or “ghettos”. Sometimes, feelings and ideologies – welcoming or refusing to welcome migrants – of citizens of the host country play a very important role in the process. Demography is also one of the disciplines that discusses migration: would aging of population be resolved by migration? Furthermore, politics are the most important part of the discussion mix, migrants bring with them different political constructions and different needs which may hinder the needs of local population. In this section we often hear the most powerful argument often presented in contra migration debates: pressure on the welfare system.

Moreover, I included a part about ethical questions in the discussions about migration. According to articles 13 and 14 of the Geneva Convention, every person has right to migrate of its own volition and seek refuge when threatened by persecution. Rights of refugees are described in detail in international law, however, no convention or law speaks about rights of economic migrants. Europe has to choose between solidarity

and change and protectionism and staying always the same. European Union is often criticised by international organisations for the directive 2001/51/CE about fines for transporters admitting illegal migrants; while there is an exception for transporting refugees, transporters do not want to take the risk that the person without legal documents they are transporting would not really be awarded refugee status once they touch European ground, so they do not transport any illegal migrants.

“Migration crisis” and crisis of the EU

Third point I included in the literature review are similarities and differences between any “normal” migration wave and the present “migration crisis”. I do not agree with the term “migration crisis” because I think that it is simply one of many migration waves Europe has known throughout its history. Migration is because of technical progress and globalisation omnipresent and the direction always was and is even now from poor countries towards rich ones, from dictatorship towards more lenient political regime. Though, I do not deny that there are some specificities of this particular migration wave: this migration wave is bigger in number of migrants that are from another culture and includes more refugees than ever.

It also marks a crisis of the EU. EU is criticised for its lateness in decision making that was painfully visible during decisions about how to manage migration and how to stand so many illegal arrivals by Mediterranean. Some authors even go so far as to proclaim that “without Schengen, the crisis would never have become the issue of the whole EU”. Moreover, there is a mix of economic and political migrants and it is very difficult to decide whose asylum demand would be accepted and whose rejected. Some migrants want to choose the country who would evaluate their demand depending on the generosity of welfare system in the potential host country.

EU and its management of the present migration wave

For reasons explained in previous parts, EU had to step up and try to manage the migration on many different battlefronts: EU level, member states, home countries of migrants and public opinion. In 2015, EU presented a document called European Agenda on Migration. This strategy included solutions to the crisis to be implemented in short, medium and long horizons. Short term strategies included stopping illegal migration and disbanding smugglers cartels and helping potential migrants to decide not to migrate by improving the situation in their home countries. Medium term strate-

gies were re-structuralisation of EU decision making system, Common European asylum system and international relations. The long term strategies are in fact medium term ones implemented.

The most important one for my thesis is the strategy of international relations, in particular the relations between EU and Turkey.

EU-Turkey Statement

In 2014, after turbulent news of migrants dying while crossing the sea to come to EU, it has become obvious that EU has to deal with migration in one way or another. Relations between EU and Turkey were never completely harmonious, but in the recent years, mainly because of the migration management, the two countries became closer and started new negotiations. After many summits with Turkish leader, on 18th March 2016, a document named EU-Turkey Statement saw the light of the day. EU wanted to “save lives at sea” and preferably stop the immigration altogether. Turkey had supposedly more humanitarian reasons, but in reality I suspect they just wanted to join EU and get financing for migrants on their territory.

Turkey, being the biggest and the most advanced country of passage of migrants from Syria and Africa, has promised to fight smugglers networks and so to stop illegal migration to Europe. Europe has in counterparty promised financing for refugees in Turkey, to accelerate Turkey’s accession process and visa liberation for Turkish citizens. The funds received are distributed via EU Facility for Refugees in Turkey.

This statement is often criticised for being inhuman and against international law about receiving and protecting refugees, EU arguments that refugees can be send back to a “safe third country” and that Turkey is indeed one.

Because of this statement working already for 2 years, the illegal migration through Turkey to EU has been managed and even nearly stopped. However, after the pouch in Turkey, the relations with EU has become more and more tense. On 26th-28th March 2018, a new summit took place in Bulgarian Varna and Turkey was accorded the second 3 billion euros promised in the Statement.

3 Methods

Criteria

In the second part of my thesis, I decided to carry out a comparative qualitative and quantitative analysis of online media. In the beginning, I have set criteria for the research and the analysis:

- I would choose the most read online newspapers from 3 countries and search in them for international or EU sections if available, if not I would use key words “migration” and “refugee”, I will search for any mentions of the Statement or the Varna summit;
- The research period will be from 1st March 2018 to 23rd April, 2 months around the date of the Varna summit;
- The analysis will be carried out depending on: date of publication, nature of the source, number of words in the article, subject(s) of the article, positioning of the article and key message about migration.

Sources

As sources, I chose to take Czech, French and Turkish newspapers. For Czech Republic and France, I chose every time 2 “serious” newspapers, one more to the right and one more to the left, and one tabloid to see the whole picture. For Turkey, as I do not speak Turkish, I had to choose international newspapers, one in the centre (because there is political censure in Turkey and in the end be it right or left newspaper, they all write what the president tells them to) written in English and one monthly written in French.

For the Czech Republic I chose *Lidové Noviny* (right), *Hospodářské noviny* (left) and *Blesk* (tabloid). These newspapers are in general owned by politics or commercial magnates so their objectivity and choice of topics could be questioned. France was represented by *Le Figaro* (right), *Le Monde* (left) and *Paris Match* (tabloid). French newspapers are more objective, but also bigger so the search had to have additional criteria to limit the results – for example I chose to only consider to look at articles in *Le Monde International*, *Le Monde Europe* and *Le Monde Middle East*. For Turkey I chose *Daily Sabah* as the most read international newspaper and *Aujourd'hui la Turquie* as a representative of a tabloid, although it is a monthly newspaper of Francophonie in Turkey.

4 Results

After researching the articles, sometimes in sections and sometimes by key words as every particular source allowed me to, I had listed all the found articles I found in a table which can be consulted in additional appendix to this thesis. Then, I have decided to use more types of analysis to see the bigger picture of how the topic of migration, the Statement and the Varna Summit is viewed in every newspaper one by one, in the country and when comparing the views and tones at international level. I hoped to also discover some difference in tones and attitudes between newspapers from the right and from the left.

Sources one by one

The results may have been compromised by the difference between search methods – by sections and by key word – but I could not avoid this because the online search in particular newspapers allowed in general only one of those methods. However, I still think this did not compromise the qualitative study of discovering the tone and positioning of the article and which topics are the most common during the studied period.

In the newspaper Lidové Noviny I found 74 articles about migration with 17,4 % of the text really speaking of migration or the Statement or the Summit. The most common topics were chemical attack and retaliatory attack in Syria and elections throughout Europe and their consequences. One third of the articles was written in descriptive tone, one third in humanitarian tone. I found one article about the Statement and the Summit.

In the daily Hospodářské noviny I found 30 articles having migration as the topic, the percentage of text about the theme was 20,6 %. The biggest number of articles was about elections and their consequences, the second largest topic was critique of functioning of the EU and how much less will Czech Republic get on subventions, mainly for agriculture (which is not surprising because the newspaper is owned by Czech biggest agroindustry magnate). Marginally, attack in Syria and Czech point of view on it was presented. Tone is mostly descriptive, critic when it comes to quotations. One article was dedicated to the Summit and one other briefly mentioned it.

Blesk, Czech most read tabloid, had to offer 12 articles about migration, high percentage of 76,9 % was about migration, although with only 4,8 % of the text was really on the topic of the Statement or the Summit. Blesk is mostly explaining that Czech Republic refuses to oblige to the migration quotas set by EU and possibility of Czexit. When I

was reading the articles, I thought that they just present the reader with an all set opinion, no place for personal reflection about the subject.

French daily Le Figaro was the hardest to search in, half of all articles is visible only for subscribers so I could not include them in my table as I could only see the title and half a paragraph. However, many articles on the topic of the Statement and the Summit were available for subscribers. I also chose to not count articles about African migrants in Africa, they were too numerous and I thought that there was not a big chance to find articles about the researched topic of the Statement. After limiting the search, I found 53 articles with a high percentage of 70,6 % of the total text on the subject. They mostly talked in critic or humanitarian tone about elections, new French asylum law and war in Syria. Le Figaro did not forget to mention climatic migration and horrible living conditions in refugee and migrant camps in France. Two articles were about the Summit, none mentioned the Statement.

In Le Monde, as described above, I decided to concentrate on only a few sections; because of this, the articles about the war in Syria and the chemical and retaliatory attacks can be found in my list only few in number as the topic was described profoundly in the edition about Syria and Africa. Still, I included 82 articles about migration in my list, 31,1 % of the text was on the topic. Most common topics were elections and their consequences – rise of extremist political regimes –, chemical and retaliatory attacks in Syria and new asylum law. Marginally, discussions about climatic migration and aging of population were included. The tone was mostly descriptive, humanitarian tone was less common. Critical tone was used only in articles criticising Turkish actions in the Syrian war and incapability of the EU and France to assure “human” conditions in camps. Two articles were about the Summit.

French tabloid Paris Match published 50 articles with 23,7 % text about migration. Topics of war in Syria, elections and horrible conditions of lives of migrants – mostly life of African migrants in camps but also attacks on migrants. This tabloid tries to stay objective, but reader can often feel humanitarian or critical tone underneath. I found no mention whatsoever about the Statement or the Summit.

Turkish daily Sabah proposed to its readers 36 articles about refugees and situation in Syria, with 65,6 % about migration and record 25,8 % and the Summit and the Statement. Themes are Turkish humanitarian aid, how Turkey had been successful in stop-

ping illegal migration to EU and consequences of the summit in Varna. I am persuaded that even in this small number of articles for international readers, the censure is clearly visible: some articles – mostly about how many illegal immigrants on their way to Europe Turkey had discovered – had exactly the same phrases, also Turkey was shown as the saviour of Syrian refugees when EU and the whole world do not want to help them. It seems to me as a positive propaganda of Turkey in the world. Tone of the articles is humanitarian and moving when talking about humanitarian aid, more descriptive when speaking about the Summit and its consequences (there is also a hidden critique of the EU that does not want to fulfil the engagements of the Statement).

Turkish monthly newspaper of Francophonie had 2 articles to offer, which makes one article in every edition. However only 4,7 % of the text really treated the topic of migration. As it is normal in French press, articles were quite long and analysing. No articles were about the Summit, although one article spoke about relations between Greece and Turkey which may be considered an indirect mention of the Statement.

Comparing the sources

For this section, I have prepared two tables explaining the results. One table comparing the number of articles in every source and the mean number of words and percentages of the text separately about migration and about the Statement and/or the Summit:

Table 1: Comparison of sources by number of articles, mean number of words per article and percentage of text on migration and the Statement

| Source | N° of articles | N° of words per article | Percentage of text about migration | Percentage of text about the Statement and the Summit |
|------------------------|----------------|-------------------------|------------------------------------|---|
| Lidové Noviny | 74 | 458 | 17,4 | 0,3 |
| Hospodářské noviny | 30 | 821 | 20,6 | 3,8 |
| Blesk | 12 | 465 | 76,9 | 4,8 |
| Le Figaro | 53 | 512 | 70,6 | 3,9 |
| Le Monde | 82 | 692 | 31,1 | 4,4 |
| Paris Match | 50 | 637 | 23,7 | 0 |
| Daily Sabah | 36 | 399 | 65,6 | 25,8 |
| Aujourd'hui la Turquie | 2 | 795 | 4,7 | 0 |

The second table shows which source proposes which topics, the studied period is presented by weeks to see how the topics are or are not in accordance with actual events in the world. The graph that follows the second table shows the same thing only not separated for every newspaper.

I have also thought of an international comparison, with criteria of nationality and political affiliation. With the nationality criteria, I discovered that Czech newspapers present the readers the most often with fully developed opinions on the subject and really want to influence them. They also concentrate on the national scene, sometimes mentioning international events and then speculating about their outcome for the Czech Republic, often criticising EU and proposing Czexit. French sources are more objective and they propose analysis based on sound arguments, when speculating the speculations are still based on real-life examples. Newspapers are concentrating more on international events and are presenting them in context, giving readers space to make their own opinion. Turkish media can hardly be compared in the context of my study, as I chose international ones. Second reason is the censure that is in place and the articles are full of propaganda showing Turkey in the brightest light as it comes to save EU all while criticising Europeans ways but still wanting to access and help even more.

Comparison with political affiliation in mind could be found not very representative in my study, I only compare two sources each time, however I still think that it is interesting to do so; a future study may confirm or reject my results. Moreover, right and left have different programmes and I am only concentrating on migration, results may change when taking into scope another subject. Articles from newspapers that are more to the left are in general longer and more analytic, they have more sections each one of them treating different aspect of the issue; this is less common in newspapers more to the right. Readers can see all aspects and form their own opinion based on sound arguments and examples. On the other hand, newspapers more to the right publish a higher number of shorter articles. I think they try to influence the reader; repetition is the mother of learning. The tabloids are in general publishing articles that readers want to read to get the biggest profit. My opinion is that they are influenced by political affiliating indirectly: for example, population reads more often newspapers more to the right, they start to pick up ideology of the right and as consequence, tabloids start to publish more to the right themselves because the readers require it.

5 Discussion

First, I need to admit that my first hypothesis was not right. I was hoping I would find that the EU-Turkey Statement and the summit in Varna would be a hot topic in online media. However, as it was proven during the analysis, articles about these topics are few in between. In the light of this discovery, I have shifted a little the scope of the study: I started to search for every mention of migration or situation in Syria. I did not discover why the initially chosen topic was so neglected in the newspapers. I can think of many reasons, the choice of newspapers for the study may have been wrong; or EU is not really proud of the Statement, perhaps because it is often criticised on international level; or the rising extremist governments simply do not want readers to find out that the “migration crisis” is already over and want them to still nurture their contra migratory feelings. The Turkish case is nearly the opposite: they show that the Statement was and still is very important.

Then, after explaining the differences between sources from different countries, I can also note that there are some similarities between them, mainly in the topics that are covered. All the newspapers are covering the same topics, although the quantity and frequency of publication vary:

- Situation in Syria that worsens by the day with special attention on humanitarian aid, military interventions and coalitions between EU, Turkey, Russia, USA and Syrian and Kurdish governments – the only common point of these changing coalitions and ideologies is fighting terrorist organisation of Islamic state;
- Living conditions of migrants: potential migrants in their home countries, migrating population during their journey for Europe, migrants in transition countries and migrants in host countries, member states of the EU – these living conditions are described as horrible and camps are particularly criticised (with exception of Turkish press which praises Turkish camps)
- Elections in Italy, Germany and Hungary and their consequences: rise in power of extremist parties with contra migration election campaigns – this development is due to the arrival of more and more migrants to these countries;
- Articles that I summarised as talking about the Statement are more often talking only about the Varna summit and process and conditions of accession of Turkey to the EU, they also mention more financing for Turkey under the Statement and

that Turkey tries to oblige to its engagements of stopping illegal migration and accept returned illegal migrants.

I think that it is sad that such a contemporary and controversial topic as migration, when presented in media, is often on the side lines and no articles explain clearly and objectively its causes and consequences. Media talk a lot about the conflict in the Middle East but they do not link the situation clearly to the migration exodus we can observe. They also do not show the necessity and humanitarian obligation of welcoming refugees as it is shown for example by some non-governmental organisations. Articles often show only negative sides of migration, such as security risks, problems linked to adaptation and integration of migrants (some even go so far as to proclaim that such a process is impossible) and that Europe is threatened by Islamic culture and religion. This thread to the EU is supposedly all due to migration, however I think that problems in the decision making system were there for as long as EU exists and were only brought to light in the critics of management, or maybe non-management, of the “migration crisis”.

Moreover, at least during the period I studied, the topic of migration and it is even truer for the EU-Turkey Statement and the Summit in Varna, was hidden and invisible behind other news and more or less, at least for a European reader, marginal topics including not only (topics are presented in the order I have estimated to be from most frequent ones to less frequent ones):

- Chemical attack in Syria and retaliation attack by allied forces of France, USA and United Kingdom (although I have actually included this topic in my study);
- Love scandals evolving around American president;
- Preparations for summit between North and South Korea;
- Assassination of a Russian ex-spy and its diplomatic consequences on international scene;
- Brexit;
- Scandal evolving around “fake news”
- New policy of security of personal information;
- Shooting in American high schools and demonstrations against weapons.

I am asking myself, and readers of this thesis probably too, if the topic of migration is so not important that it can be nearly not covered by daily newspapers. Or if it is simply considered politically unwelcome or taboo in certain societies and cultures. I am con-

vinced that the coverage and its objectivity are insufficient for a reader to be able to make his or her own opinion about migration and migrants; when he or she cannot do so, they become more and more xenophobic and critic against migration because we fear what we do not know well.

6 Recommendations

In the first part of this section, I am very critic against media because of their suggestive influence on readers. If it is not true, how could it be that a normal Czech reader who never personally saw a refugee could say that welcoming refugees and migrants is plague for Europe and will cause demise of the EU? It is concerning that media have the power to choose what they want to show the reader and what they want to hide. For a reader, in order to be the influenced the least possible, I would recommend to read newspapers from different sources: preferably from more countries (those who are mostly pro migration and those who are against), more political affiliations and newspapers for local and international readers and releases by humanitarian and other non-profit non-governmental organisations. The reader can only then form its own opinion about migration.

In the second part, I would like to suggest more possible studies that would complement my own and confirm or reject some of the points and assumptions that could be considered controversial. I would suggest to carry out a similar analysis in more than only 3 countries in order to collect more accurate data; possibly by including articles from some non-governmental organisations. Other possibility could be to compare the coverage during the studied period I chose and the period when the Statement was signed. Yet another possibility could be to compare not only European countries and Turkey as I did, but to include all parties involved in Syrian war: Middle Eastern countries, USA and Russia.

7 Conclusions

In conclusion, I think that EU and its member states have dealt with the “migration crisis” as best as they could at the most critical moment and they managed to implement those strategies quickly and without bigger problems. However, I do not agree with how and what they did. I am the most critic against the directive 2001/51/CE. I do not pretend that welcoming and accommodating migrants is an easy decision to make, but managed migration is the principal policy of the EU.

After a long reflexion, I concluded that migration, be it because of climatic change or conflicts, is essentially caused by developed countries who do not respect nor the environment – natural, cultural or politic – nor others. We have to rebuild what we have destroyed. Humanitarian aid is a good thing, but to impose European values and democracy to the whole world is not a solution either.

European Union could have predicted the situation and even outpace it. I am in for some of the critiques of the EU, mainly those that says that EU is always waiting for the situation to become dire and then slow to act when need arises. This would not be a bad thing when speaking about individuals, but when deciding in a bigger number, more time is needed for the decision – and EU is unable to predict more time. Decision making system has to change, and fast.

I wrote a lot about non-objectivity of media. EU, in the same way as national media, tries to hide some information or at least to make them less visible for public. While writing my thesis, I often visited web pages of EU; information there are not very detailed and only show EU as the best, they completely avoid to mention any “bad sides” – even when EU has committed ethical errors or has nearly violated international law on protection of refugees.

Nowadays, EU is celebrating the success of the Statement and the end of the “migration crisis”. EU wants to use EU-Turkey Statement as an example for negotiating a similar pact with Libya, to stop migration from Africa. The pretended reasons are the same, to save lives, but I think EU just wants to avoid migration altogether. There is a huge paradox: the “crisis” would be over for Europe, but it does not mean the migration would stop; and Libya is not considered a save third country for returning refugees. However, what is not now can be in the future, just one word in a new pact and it may come true, no matter that refugees are treated like slaves there.

8 Summary

The theme of migration is a hot topic nowadays; we are now living “the refugee crisis”. There is a whole polemical discussion around this subject that varies depending on country, sector, economy or political ideology of the states’ leaders. People are asked to have their own opinion but they are drowned by different arguments and insufficient knowledge of the issue.

In this study, firstly, I briefly explained the pro- and contra migration arguments from the point of view of different disciplines to show that migration is not only black or white, it has all shades of grey in between and there are a lot of ethical questions to consider too. I also mentioned the crisis of the European Union as critiqued by some of the Eurosceptics. Then I explained the European Agenda on Migration programme and the EU-Turkey Statement, its function and engagements of both sides derived from it.

In the empirical part of this study, I carried out an analysis of online media. I chose online newspapers from the Czech Republic, France and Turkey, one newspaper was more to the right, one more to the left and one tabloid. I was searching for articles about migration, refugees, the Statement and the Varna summit in the period of approximately 2 months around the date of the summit, that is from 1st March to 23rd April.

I first took one newspaper after another and described how many articles were found in the studied period, how much space was conserved for the studied subject and which exact themes were the most common. In the analysis I discovered that there are some differences between newspapers of the right and those of the left, even though representability of such a statement can be doubted because of too few sources analysed. I was surprised that articles on the subject of the Statement and the Varna summit were mostly inexistent, I found only 2-3 articles per source (with exception of Turkish newspapers).

In the end I advised how readers can find accurate information on the subject without feeling pressured by ideologies or propaganda. I also suggested more future studies like the one I did and similar ones.