

# **Difference in media representation of immigrants and immigration in France and Russia**

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## **Abstract**

This thesis studies the differences in media coverage of immigrants in Russia and France. Its objective is to determine whether the media in different countries portray immigrants differently and to provide insights about the underlying reasons. I accomplish the analysis by a means of content analysis of a range of articles published in representative French and Russian periodic press between April 2014 and April 2015. In total, the newspapers chosen for the analysis provided more than 950 references about the immigrants over the indicated period. The main result is that French media representation of immigrants is more homogenous and more positive than Russian. The more homogenous representation is rather surprising conclusion taking into account a more diversified media ownership and less censorship in France. A partial explanation of this phenomenon longer history of the public discussion on the immigration-related problems, which leads to the formation of the prevailing point of view in a society. The more positive representation of immigrants in France may be due to subtle press dependency on the government reinforced by the recent violent clashes and terrorist attacks involving immigrants. As a result, the French government, in pursue of promoting a more tolerant attitude in the society toward immigrants, can skew the representation of immigrants to a more positive side through indirect influence on the media.

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## Introduction

According to Laura Thompson, International Organization for Migration Deputy Director General, “Migration is one of the greatest social issues of the 21st century, affecting more than 230 million people worldwide.”<sup>1</sup> Dramatic events in Southeast Asia, which followed the tragedy in the Mediterranean Sea, prove the fact that the problem of immigration gains global scale.<sup>2</sup> However, the problem of immigration is not necessarily connected with war-torn regions. For example, Russia experiences substantial problems with immigrants from Central Asian and Caucasian countries. The same applies to France, which encountered immigration-related problems much earlier than Russia.<sup>3</sup> Vast problems exist in both Russia and France concerning immigrants, such as hostility towards migrants, criminality, and illegal labor force, low level of education and in some cases even illiteracy, which often leads to ethnic tension and clashes. There is a number of different views toward immigration, ranging from ultra-liberal claims for free worldwide migrant flows to nationalistic urges for tight immigration control for every nation. Both Russia and France receive immigrants from former dependent territories, both receive immigrants from economically less developed regions, both countries receive immigrants mostly proficient in the official language of the receiving country, a large fraction of immigrants belong to different from local population cultural and ethnic groups. However, despite all the listed similarities, there are some significant differences between the countries on that matter, ranging from different ethnic groups that come to these two countries

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<sup>1</sup> Dyer Zach, “Migration Is One of the Most Challenging Issues of the 21st Century, Says UN Official,” *The Tico Times News*, <http://www.ticotimes.net/2014/09/19/migration-is-one-of-the-most-challenging-issues-of-the-21st-century-says-un-official>.

<sup>2</sup> STEVE SCHERER and GAVIN JONES, “400 Migrants Die in Shipwreck off Libya, Survivors Say,” *Reuters*, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/04/14/us-italy-migrant-shipwreck-idUSKBN0N51Y120150414>.

<sup>3</sup> “Muslim Migration to Europe,” *CLA: Global REM*, n.d., <http://blog.lib.umn.edu/globerem/main/2010/10/muslim-migration-to-europe.html>.

to social, political and economic situation and how these immigrants are perceived in receiving society. The perception of immigration and immigrants by local citizens is largely stipulated by the policies implemented in certain country and depends on how these policies and measures are represented in media. A great deal of work has been done in the field of immigration in France, since, as mentioned above, the country has been receiving immigrants (thus facing immigration related problems) for more than 60 years. A lot of research and analytical reports are dedicated to the representation of immigrants in French media, a lot of public opinion polls are conducted on regular basis on immigration related topics in both Russia and France. Some research has been conducted on immigration to Russia, although after the fall of the Soviet Union academic research hasn't been a top priority in Russia, which is why this research is rather scarce. The language barrier and the fact that there are very few Russian academics that are published abroad makes it difficult for foreign academics to contribute to this topic. Within last two years, a number of researches was conducted on the topic of Russian media, its openness and objectivity, which is stipulated by recent Russian regulations and restrictions on media, such as censorship and websites blocking.<sup>4</sup> My research contributes to the body of the existing research through the comparison of media representation of immigration and immigrants in Russia and France, since this issue hasn't been raised by any existing research, to the best of my knowledge. This gap is a strong limitation prohibiting *inter alia* an efficient design of the government policies on sensitive issues. Probably, the most important reason for the existence of this major gap in the information basis of contemporary debates about mass media is the difficulty of generating cross-nationally comparable indicators of relevant concepts, such as information quality. While a substantial amount of more or less comparable information is available about media law, regulations, relevant organizations, media finances

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<sup>4</sup> GIL-ROBLES ALVARO, "REPORT BY MR ALVARO GIL-ROBLES, COMMISSIONER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, ON HIS VISITS TO THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION," *Council of Europe. Commissioner for Human Rights*, <https://wcd.coe.int/ViewDoc.jsp?id=846655>.

and audience characteristics in some advanced democracies, relatively little is known about how content characteristics of political and public affairs coverage compare across nations, especially if we move beyond the largest and most visible national media markets in Europe and North America.<sup>5</sup>

The structure of this paper is as follows. Chapter 1 traces the development of the French and Russian immigration policies from the times of the first immigrants reaching the soil of these countries. While French history features a period of colonialism, the Russian history lacks this period. Both countries faced major shocks in the course of the XX century, which boosted up the immigration flows into the countries. All these events have left a heavy footprint on the modern-day state of the immigration policies and public opinion on the issue.

Chapter 2 sheds light on the current statistics on the immigration in France and in Russia. It covers the quantity of immigrants in every country, their ethnic breakdown, etc. and provides insights on how this statistics may influence the future path of the countries' immigration policies. Chapter 3 illustrates the changes in the media representation of the immigrants over time in both countries. Chapter 4 describes the chosen methodology of the content analysis. Chapter 5 provides the empirical analysis and discusses its results and their meaning.

As mentioned above, numerous pieces of research were conducted on immigration and media representation of different phenomenon in both Russia and France, but still some questions remain unanswered. Further, I will present research questions, for which this thesis attempts to provide an answer.

#### **Research questions:**

- 1) Does French media provide a broader spectrum of opinions toward immigrants and immigration than in Russia? Why?

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<sup>5</sup> *European Media Systems Survey*, <http://www.mediasystemsineurope.org/>.

2) In which ways is Russian public opinion on immigration and immigrants different from French?

Despite the fact that Russia and France have a lot of similarities, the key difference between Russian and French media is their ownership structure. While in Russia the most national media are under direct or indirect government control, in France government and private media coexist. This leads us to the hypothesis that in France media would represent a larger number of different views toward immigration.<sup>6</sup>

### **Hypotheses**

*Hypothesis 1.* In France, media provides a broader spectrum of opinions toward immigrants and immigration than in Russia. If French media indeed provides a more pluralistic representation of immigration, it may lead to a more heterogeneous public attitude towards this issue among the audience. For the sake of this research, “pluralistic representation” means provision of a wider spectrum of different epithets when referring to immigrants by the media.

*Hypothesis 2.* French media would be more moderate in descriptions of immigrants they provide in their publications, than Russian media. This hypothesis is based on assumption that the country that is experienced in having major ethnic clashes (starting from the most shocking one in 1961),<sup>7</sup> would educate press to represent immigrants in a more tolerant way. For the sake of this research, “tolerance” means provision of a relatively larger fraction of positively perceived epithets when referring to immigrants by the media.

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<sup>6</sup> Robert McKenzie, “Comparing Media Regulation Between France, the USA, Mexico and Ghana,” *Biblioteka Juridica Virtual*, <http://www.juridicas.unam.mx/publica/rev/comlawj/cont/6/arc/arc5.htm>.

<sup>7</sup> Jean-Luc Einaudi, “La Bataille de Paris: 17 Octobre 1961,” 1991.

## Literature review

This research links to two related but different streams of literature: the literature on Russian and post-Soviet immigration topics and the literature on French and post-colonial immigration topics.

### *Literature on Russian immigration*

Rough treatment that many immigrants receive by Russians has already received certain coverage in academic literature. Indeed, some recent research shows that the majority of immigrants from Central Asia face difficulties in Russia, including unsafe working conditions at the construction sites, living in non-sanitary housing, and being constantly under pressure of potential deportation.<sup>8</sup> Even worse, the research shows that immigrants suffer from physical violence. There exist reported cases of immigrants been arrested and fined by the police without sufficient evidence for any breach of the law by them.<sup>9</sup> This violence and intolerance from the official side makes regular citizens more accepting of this humiliating attitude towards immigrants, making it the default way of treating them. As a result, less people consider this problem as sensitive and as deserving primary attention. Furthermore, such police behavior reinforces the public opinion that immigrants are mostly criminals who endanger prosperity and development of the local community.

Another problem is that immigrant from the Central Asian and Caucasus regions suffer from discrimination based on their appearance.<sup>10</sup> In this sense, the aggression or at least distrust is directed mostly towards immigrants whose appearance is different from local population.

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<sup>8</sup> Eliza Isabaeva, "Leaving to Enable Others to Remain: Remittances and New Moral Economies of Migration in Southern Kyrgyzstan," *Central Asia Survey* Vol. 30 (2011).

<sup>9</sup> Meredith Roman, "Making Caucasians Black: Moscow Since the Fall of Communism and the Racialization of Non-Russians," *The Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics* 18 (n.d.).

<sup>10</sup> Larisa Kosygina, "Constructions of the 'Other' - Racialisation of Migrants in Moscow and Novosibirsk," in *Cultural Diversity in Russian Cities: The Urban Landscapes in the Post-Soviet Era*, ed. C Gdanieck (New-York: Oxford: Berghahn Books, n.d.).



The latter often perceive them as aliens or outsiders, in contrast to immigrants looking similar to them. The Russians usually do not distinguish immigrants according to their exact ethnical origins but rather use general insulting terms, such as blacks, narrow-eyed, or non-Russians (the latter has a negative meaning too). The immigrants, who are looking non-Russian, are often treated with suspicion as a threat to the Russian society. The social research on this topic also confirms a high level of distrust towards immigrants with non-Russian appearance.<sup>11</sup> For example, in 2003 more than half of Tajik immigrants preferred to reduce to minimum the time they spent outdoors and often chose to stay at their workplace to avoid the feeling of fear and insecurity they feel in public places due to attitude of the locals.<sup>12</sup> Some researchers go even further and argue that racism has become an inherent part of life of the Asian immigrants in Russia. Despite the fact that the number of homicides due to racial hate decreased, the opinion polls repeatedly show that the majority of the Russian population exhibit a negative attitude towards foreigners.<sup>13</sup>

A possible explanation of the ethnic problems in Russia could be in its Soviet past. Lately, several researches emerged on the legacy of the Soviet Commonwealth of Nations and its influence on the inter-ethnic relationship between different ex-Soviet nations.<sup>14</sup> Although there was no explicit racism in the Soviet Union, one can find the grains of indirect discrimination of some nations. The Soviet leaders consistently emphasized the hierarchy of nations in the Soviet Union by using such expressions as The Eldest Brother of All Nations or The First Among Equals, when referring to the Russian nation. Consequently, all other nations automatically became the younger brothers, who were supposed to express their gratitude to

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<sup>11</sup> *Obshchestvennoe Mnenie – 2012 ((Public Opinion – 2012)* (Moscow: Levada opinion polls center, n.d.), <http://www.levada.ru/books/obshchestvennoe-mnenie-2012>.

<sup>12</sup> S Zaurbekov, "Nekotorje Osobennosti Tadjikskoi Trudovoi Migratsii v Rossiiu," *Fergana Information Agency*, <http://www.ferghana.ru/article.php?id=4928>.

<sup>13</sup> *Obshchestvennoe Mnenie – 2012 ((Public Opinion – 2012)*.

<sup>14</sup> James Sahadeo, "Central Asians in Russia: Navigating Multi-Ethnicity in Soviet and Post-Soviet Urban Worlds," *Central Eurasian Studies Review* 4 (2005).

the Soviet regime for the benefits they enjoyed.<sup>15</sup> The fall of communism substantially affected the lives of non-Slavic nations in Russia by turning them into enemies, humiliating them in the mass media, and forming the overall negative public image.<sup>16</sup> This way the feeling of superiority of the Russian nation was cultivated, which strengthened significantly in the years of the Afghan and Chechen wars.

There existed a popular opinion that lack of the Soviet support for the ex-Soviet republics would certainly lead to degradation of these republics down to an uncivilized level, which should not be tolerated in Russia.<sup>17</sup> Nevertheless, an extraordinarily high level of tolerance characterized the Soviet time. The idea of tolerance received vast support from the Soviet government, which the modern Russia lacks.

#### *Literature on French immigration*

In France, the first research on post-war immigration and its consequences dates back to 1980s and is mostly accomplished by Bruno Étienne,<sup>18</sup> Gilles Kepel,<sup>19</sup> and Francis Lamand,<sup>20</sup> who attracted attention to and tried to explain the place of Muslims among French. As time passed, the relevance and importance of the problem persisted. Nowadays, France and few other European countries are solving the problem that appeared after attracting low-qualified workforce from mostly Muslim countries in the post-war decades. Nowadays Muslim immigrants, being equal citizens with other French and being entitled with civil rights, they starting defending their right to have their special lifestyle in officially secular state, which often leads to misunderstanding and even to cultural clashes, as mentioned above.

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<sup>15</sup> Jeffrey Brooks, *Thank You, Comrade Stalin!: Soviet Public Culture from Revolution to Cold War* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press., n.d.).

<sup>16</sup> Roman, "Making Caucasians Black: Moscow Since the Fall of Communism and the Racialization of Non-Russians."

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Bruno Etienne, *La France et L'islam* (Paris: Hachette, 1989).

<sup>19</sup> Gilles Kepel, *Les Musulmans Dans La Societé Francaise* (Paris: Sodis, 1988).

<sup>20</sup> Francis Lamand, *L'islam En France. Les Musulmans Dans La Communaute Nationale* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1986).

There is a lot of literature on xenophobia in other countries which might be useful to look at before starting research in chosen countries.<sup>21</sup> Danso and McDonald in their paper on South African xenophobia discusses the phenomenon of xenophobia in the country after apartheid and its negative representation in the printed media, they also discuss how these two factors are interconnected. Regina Branton and Johanna Dunaway in their research of English and Spanish language printed media analyze how these media cover the immigration topic. They apply economic theories in their research to study the difference between English and Spanish language printed media in terms of immigration coverage and find out that Spanish language media cover the topic in more positive manner.<sup>22</sup>

Erik Bleich in his research provides a comparative retrospective analysis of the colonization period and the subsequent immigration wave. He compares the immigration policies of France and the United Kingdom and analyzes how the societies of the two countries assimilate arriving immigrants.<sup>23</sup>

Rodney Benson<sup>24</sup> in his research of French journalism model studies how the media portrait of immigrants has changed since 1970s. He finds out that overall the French journalism evolved into less opinionated and moved toward the American model of presenting the facts rather than analysis, and that media representation of immigration became more negative during 1990s, comparing to the more neutral and even positive coverage in 1970s.

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<sup>21</sup> Ransford Danso and David A. McDonald, "Writing Xenophobia: Immigration and the Print Media in Post-Apartheid South Africa," *Africa Today* 48 (2011).

<sup>22</sup> Regina Branton and Johanna Dunaway, "English- and Spanish-Language Media Coverage of Immigration," *Social Science Quarterly* (n.d.).

<sup>23</sup> Erik Bleich, "The Legacies of History? Colonization and Immigrant Integration in Britain and France," *Theory and Society* 34 (2005).

<sup>24</sup> Rodney Benson, "The Political/literary Model of French Journalism: Change and Continuity in Immigration News Coverage, 1973-1991," *Journal of European Area Studies* (2002).

The report, prepared by the University of Oxford on Migrants' depiction in British media in 2010-2012,<sup>25</sup> found out that asylum seekers are portrayed in a different way than normal immigrants, and while the words that were the most commonly used describing immigrants were "criminal" and "illegal", for asylum seekers the most common was the word "refugee". Another relevant research was also conducted by the University of Oxford on the depiction of Romanians and Bulgarians in British Media.<sup>26</sup> The results are similar to the results of the previous report. For example, the words that were the most commonly used when referring to Bulgarian or Romanian immigrants were "gang", "criminal", "beggar", "thief", and "squatter".

Roberto Suro in his research discusses media coverage of immigration in US media. In his work he claims that the way media covers the immigration topic helps to frame the debate on this topic and makes audience better understand the problem.<sup>27</sup>

Susan Bibler Coutina & Phyllis Pease Chock in their paper discuss how media representation of immigrant has changed since 1986, when the United States reformed its immigration policy and some of the illegal immigrants became eligible for amnesty.<sup>28</sup>

J. David Cisneros<sup>29</sup> in his paper focuses precisely on a negative portrayal of immigrants and elaborates on "Immigrant as Pollutant" metaphor. He discusses what impact on society such a negative representation of immigrants may have.

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<sup>25</sup> *Migration in the News: Portrayals of Immigrants, Migrants, Asylum Seekers and Refugees in National British Newspapers, 2010-2012* (University of Oxford, 2013).

<sup>26</sup> *Bulgarians & Romanians in the British National Press: 1 December 2012 - 1 December 2013* (The Migration Observatory at the University of Oxford, 2014).

<sup>27</sup> Roberto Suro, "Promoting Misconceptions News Media Coverage of Immigration," *Center for the Study of Immigrant Integration* (2009).

<sup>28</sup> Susan Bibler Coutina and Phyllis Pease Chock, "Your Friend, the Illegal:" Definition and Paradox in Newspaper Accounts of U.S. Immigration Reform," *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power* 2 (1996).

<sup>29</sup> J. David Cisneros, "Contaminated Communities: The Metaphor of 'Immigrant as Pollutant' in Media Representations of Immigration," *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 11 (2008).

Amir Saeed's<sup>30</sup> findings are closely connected to findings of Russian researchers of immigration (Roman, etc.), because he discusses how Muslim immigrants are portrayed as "aliens", "others". He discusses how this negative representation affected the perception of immigrants by British people and he analyzes how people in their behavior follow the same "pattern" that was prepared for them by media.

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<sup>30</sup> Amir Saeed, "Media, Racism and Islamophobia: The Representation of Islam and Muslims in the Media," *Sociology Compass* 1 (2007).

## Chapter 1. History of immigration in Russia and France

For better understanding and more comprehensive analysis of the current situation with media and immigration in both Russia and France, it is crucial to study historical background. This chapter elaborates on this issue.

### ***1.1 History of immigration, main waves. France***

France became a colonial empire in the second part of the XIX century, when it conquered significant territories with Muslim population. In 1830-1847 France invaded Algeria and turned it to colony. In 1883 it established protectorate in Tunisia, in 1912 — in Morocco, this way finalized the colonization of North Africa.

The end of the XIX century was marked with colonial activity of France to the South from the Sahara desert in the Senegal River basin. In 1895-1905 vast territories, populated with Islamic peoples, became a part of French Western Africa. Immigration of African population to the metropolitan country had started in the beginning of the XX century, but it became a mass phenomenon only after the First World War. In 1914-1918 African immigrants were replenishing the workforce in the agriculture sector and at military plants in France, as well as compensating the losses that French army bore at the battlefield. By 1924, there were about 120 000 immigrants from Africa residing in France, and 100 000 of them were Algerians.

During the second half of the XX century, France received several new waves of immigration, African this time, which appeared as a result of the post-colonial development of countries of this region. It also served as a trigger for establishment of Muslims on the originally non-Muslim territory and acquisition of citizenship. As a result, immigration processes that started in 1960s pre-determined the following situation regarding the phenomenon of Muslim presence in France. Despite the fact that African countries gained independence, social-economic and political situation was getting worse: life standard remained low, political contradictions were getting deeper. Having lost official connection with former metropolitan

county, the population of newly independent African countries realized that they had lost a number of benefits, work places, western civilization achievements, which successfully proved its economic success starting from 1960s. It became evident that it is easier to earn money in Europe and to spend it in their home country. This conclusion defined labor migration of Muslim population to France, which was, by virtue of colonial heritage, more accessible. Particularly, the linguistic factor was of a big importance: the population of former colonies spoke French language as a rule.

There were legal means that supported migration: Évian Accords signed in 1962, guaranteed freedom of movement of citizens between France and Algeria. Labor migration to France was complemented by political and ideological migration in 1960s, it was stipulated by the war in Algeria (1954-1962). After France agreed to grant independence to this North African country, hundreds of thousands of local Muslims seized the opportunity to move to their former metropolitan country. After Algeria gained its independence, France accepted more than 42 000 of Algerians, who were cooperating with French forces and escaped from repressions from the government of independent Algeria.<sup>31</sup> First large group of immigrants arrived to France in spring-summer 1962, when Algeria experienced the wave of cruel repressions against “betrayers”, accompanied by their mass killings.

Those who managed to escape created relatively closed communities in France, happened to be “aliens” for both French and Algerian communities, living in France, who stayed in touch with their motherland. The representatives of intellectual elites were leaving Algeria due to ideological reasons. The number of Algerian immigrants was growing the fastest. In 1950 there were 200 000 Algerians in France, and during colonial war in Algeria (1954-1962) – based on different estimations, between 400 000 and 600 000. Significant group of

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<sup>31</sup> Alexey Kedriavchev, “Islamskaya strana...Francia: 1500 Mechetey I 5 Mln. Veryushih. Obretenie Novogo Statusa,” *CentrAzia*, last modified 2002, <http://www.centrasia.ru/newsA.php?st=1032405420>.

Muslim immigrants were descendants of Western and Tropical Africa peoples. Their flow to France started to grow significantly starting from 1960. In 1962 there were 10 000 of African workers in France.<sup>32</sup> Being concerned about emergence of ethnical clashes, French government signed the agreement with former colonies about limitation of entry to France. However, it didn't bring significant results: in 1963 there were about 33 000 migrants from Western and Tropical Africa, and within next years this number didn't stop rising. Consequently, the number of French Muslim increased, mainly descendants from Senegal.

Economic crisis, that stroke France in 1973 lead to steep decline in industrial output. That forced the French government to make a decision to temporary stop the labor immigration in 1974. It was designed, mainly, to stop immigration from African countries that were the main source of foreign labor force at the time. This decision led to the significant number of consequences, the main of those was that many African migrants that had already been on the territory of France by the time decided not to leave the country because of the anticipation of loosing the possibility to ever come back to France and to work there. This decision consequently created the problem of reunification of families. French government's intention to stop the immigration flow led to the opposite result: the number of African migrants in France had doubled two times.

Concluding, immigration from the African countries to France led to the formation of a diverse predominantly Muslim community with members originating from different countries and belonging to different ethnic groups and tribes. However, the community as a whole became fully legitimate and can exercise its constitutional rights for religious and ethnic differences. The African immigrants significantly influenced the country demographics by ensuring the rise of the total population but largely avoiding the French integration policies. Officially, French government provides all the necessary conditions for the immigrants'

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid.



integration. However, these conditions often remain valid only on the paper, while in practice the integration of the African immigrants and their descendants faces serious problems. Despite the official policy, many Muslim immigrants are marginalized and remain at the bottom of the society. The territorial segregation makes this point even more vivid. It promotes the isolation from the rest of the population and encourages the rise of ethnic solidarity, which is not always constructive. Therefore, the main problems requiring a weighted and well thought-out solution are the limitations on the Muslim employment to low-paid unqualified jobs, territorial segregation, traditional religious solidarity and isolation of the Muslim community, as well as the negative image of Islam in France and other developed countries.

### ***1.2 History of immigration, main waves. Russia***

In contrast to the most of the western European countries, Russia has a relatively long exposure to the Muslim immigration. The Duchy of Moscow raised as a regional power approximately 700 years ago at the time of the Tartar Yoke, when the Golden Horde controlled the Russian southern territories, as well as parts of the Caucasus and Central Asia. Eventually, these Horde's territories passed to Russia. Furthermore, Moscow also invaded lands once conquered by Arabs, Persians, and Turks. Hence, the Muslim nobility became a part of the Russian elite, and the Muslims could freely pursue their religion in high society.

In the Soviet era, the economics and agriculture of Central Asia were russified. Due to this russification, the Central Asia became one of the major sources of the Soviet development. For example, in 1980 the Soviet army largely relied on the peoples of Central Asia as birth rates among ethnic Russians dropped significantly. The Soviet regime tried to gain popularity from the residents of Central Asia. It allocated large funds for construction of schools and universities across Central Asia.

Main sending countries of immigrants to Russia are traditionally Central Asia and Caucasus, together with Belarus, Ukraine and other former Soviet republics, now called CIS-

countries.<sup>33</sup> During the Soviet era Russian Soviet Republic experienced internal migration from other soviet republics like Uzbekistan and Kirgizstan, but after the fall of the Soviet Union Russia became one of the main migration destinations in the world, second after the United States of America. Most of them are driven by low standards of living in their home countries, low wages and unemployment.<sup>34</sup> The migrant's flow to Russia has growth tremendously during 2000s, which might be explained by the rapid economic growth in Russia, fueled by high oil and gas prices and low foreign debt.

The stream of immigrants from the post-Soviet countries has its unique features. One has to consider its specifics to evaluate the influence of immigration on national and professional structure of the Russian population, on the social, moral and psychological state of the Russian society, on its level of internal proneness to conflict, as well as on the overall stability of the Russian state and its development potential, which depends *inter alia* on the integration provisions offered to the immigrants by the Russian society and government, and ultimately on the ability of the Russian society for self-reproduction.

As for ethnic composition, in the first years the number of Russians and Russian-speaking people from the neighboring countries was increasing tremendously. According to expert analysis, the potential of Russian-speaking migration by the end of December 1991 could have been around 25 million of ethnic Russians and 4 million people of other native peoples of the Russian Federation.<sup>35</sup> And the significant part of this "potential" started to move: according to data gathered by international organizations, in 1991-2001 Russia accepted around 11 million of immigrants.<sup>36</sup> According to the calculations of the Russian Academy of Science,

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<sup>33</sup> "Spisok Stran Vhodiashih v SNG," *Goroda v Stranah SNG*, <http://citys.su/ru/>.

<sup>34</sup> *Are You Happy to Cheat Us? Migration to Russia* (Human Rights Watch, 2009), <http://www.hrw.org/node/80466/section/25>.

<sup>35</sup> MPC Team and on the basis of CARIM East database and publications, *MPC Migration Profile: RUSSIA* (MIGRATION POLICY CENTRE, 2013).

<sup>36</sup> Tatiana Yudina, *Migration, Slovar' Osnovnih Terminov* (Moscow, 2007).

75% of the stream of displaced persons and refugees in 1989-1995 were ethnic Russians. After the pike of 1994 (1 million 191 000 people according to the official data) the number of immigrants started to decrease and the main reason for it is a drastic reduction of ethnic Russian immigration. After 1994, Russians and Russian-speaking people have been replaced with peoples from the South Caucasus, and then from the Central Asia. The share of Russians in the whole immigration structure started to decrease comparing to the main ethnic group from a certain republic.<sup>37</sup>

The residents of the Transcaucasia had initially dominated among the representatives of the southern immigration belt, but from the second half of the first decade of the XXI century immigrants from the Central Asia took the lead. In 2008, Uzbeks (17.5%) and Tajiks (14.6%) have already represented the relative majority in the immigration stream. Meanwhile, another densely populated region can potentially become a major source of immigration to Russia. This region consists of China and the South-East Asia. Back in 2008, the share of Chinese immigrants reached 15.5%.

Consequently, immigrants from Central Asia become the main source of immigration to Russia by the middle of the first decade of XXI century. Consequently, in 2002 only 1 300 000- 1 600 000 immigrants managed to get the official status of displaced person or a refugee, promised tiny benefits and only 500 000 of them actually got those benefits.

Among descendants of the countries of the Southern belt initially the representatives of South Caucasus had dominated, but from the second part of first decade of XXI migrants from Central Asia century starting to overtake this leading position. In 2008 the largest part of immigration stream are Uzbeks (17,5%) and Tajiks (14,6%). Meanwhile, in the Russian Far East there is another region that is about to become the main source of immigration to Russia.

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<sup>37</sup> Evgeny Sokolov, "Chuzhie Migrant Ili Svoi Mladentsi," *Moskovsky Komsomolets* (Moscow, 2008), 190 edition.

It is China and other East Asian and South-East Asian countries. In 2008, the share of Chinese immigrants (among all the immigrants to Russia) accounted for as much as 15.5%.

According to the Russian Migration Service, as of November 2014, on the territory of the Russian Federation there were 11 521 097 citizens of foreign countries. Composition in percentage is as follows: Ukraine (23%), Uzbekistan (20%), Tadzhikistan (10%), Azerbaijan and Moldova, Kazakhstan, Kirgizstan (5% each), Armenia and Belarus (4% each), China and Germany (2% each), the United States of America (1%).

Immigrants' share in population structure is within 2-3% of the entire population, moreover, this number includes people of former Soviet republics origin, according to the UN criteria.<sup>38</sup> Population decline especially among working-age population (according to statistics, male life expectancy is only 60 in Russia) became one of the reasons of increased immigration flow to Russia for people from other countries.<sup>39</sup> There were a lot of available jobs that immigrant were able to take. In 2015, as of May, there is a significant decline, about 70%, in the number of entries and departures of foreign citizens, comparing to the same period of the previous year. The Federal Migration Service representatives believe that the reason is that immigrants are facing difficulties finding a job, but diasporas' representatives see completely different reasons, among which the main reason is low ruble exchange rate. Moreover, many of immigrants leave because of immigration regulations that are becoming stricter and stricter.

<sup>40</sup> After January 1, 2015, the new federal law on migration came into effect — all immigrants, wishing to receive residence permit or/and work permit are obliged to pass a Russian language and Russian history test, as well as a test fundamental principles of Russian legislation.

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<sup>38</sup> *Are You Happy to Cheat Us? Migration to Russia.*

<sup>39</sup> "Ozhidaemaya Prodolzhitel'nost' Zhizni," *GosComStat RF*, [http://www.gks.ru/free\\_doc/2008/demo/osn/05-08.htm](http://www.gks.ru/free_doc/2008/demo/osn/05-08.htm).

<sup>40</sup> "FMS Rossii Soobshila O Rezkom Snizhenii Potoka Migrantov," *Russkaya Sluzhba BBC*, last modified 2015, [http://www.bbc.co.uk/russian/russia/2015/01/150107\\_russia\\_migrants\\_decline](http://www.bbc.co.uk/russian/russia/2015/01/150107_russia_migrants_decline).

As of 2008, the people discontent mainly focused on culture and behavior of the immigrants. However, further it has shifted to the economic concerns. Every third Russian citizen said that the immigrants took their jobs, occupied markets and retailing. The peak of such type of complaints was in 2009-2011, the crisis time. Nowadays, the major concern of the local population is that immigrants are not eager to learn and speak Russian, bring endemic diseases, and lead to average wage reduction. Furthermore, the most popular concern is simply that “there are too many of them”. Curiously, several years ago people were willing to discuss the immigrant problems. Now this issue seems to be suppressed. After starting the conversation, many people stop and say that they do not want to talk about *them*, as *they* irritate them. It means the population at large is tired of analyzing this problem. Some experts believe that this negative trend is about to change, as in 2015 a new legislation has passed. It obliges all the immigrants to pass the tests on three subjects: Russian language, Russian law, and Russian history. After successfully passing the tests, they receive a certificate confirming their right to work. According to the law, no employer can legally hire an immigrant without such a certificate.

The purpose of this legislation was to facilitate the immigrants’ integration in the society, and its proponents were sure that its implementation had to improve the public image of immigrants and smoothen the social tension. Indeed, there is evidence that the immigrants study the test topics and even begin their preparation before entering Russia. However, the major result is a significant outflow of immigrants from Russia in the beginning of 2015. The Federal Migration Service reports a reduction of number of immigrants by as much as 70%. <sup>41</sup>It could be a combined effect of the new legislation, as well as other factors such as collapse of Russian currency at that time. Anyway, while previously the local population condemned a huge inflow of immigrants, now they start to complain about lack of street cleaning, as locals

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<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

are not willing to take low-paid jobs. Moreover, the number of immigrants involved in petty trade reduced significantly, which can lead to further decline in the quality of life for local population.

## Chapter 2. Current immigration policy in Russia and France

More than 50 years ago, after the Universal Declaration of Human Rights <sup>42</sup> was signed, the right for freedom of movement received its international recognition. The Article 13 of this declaration read as follows: “Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state” and “Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country”. Starting from 1990s governments of many countries started to acknowledge the mismatch of the tendency of constantly growing immigration flow and immigration legal framework. This acknowledgement leads to reassessment of international instruments in the immigration area. Some governments perceive the current practices of accepting refugees defined by the Convention and Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees of 1951 <sup>43</sup> as inappropriate to modern realities. The efforts of International Labor Organization to achieve ratification of the International Convention on Labor Migrants faced a serious opposition from a significant number of countries, while such phenomenon as racism, xenophobia, nationalism, neo-fascism, anti-Semitism and other forms of discrimination and humiliation of immigrants are on the rise.<sup>44</sup>

Both Russia and France receive immigrants who have different religious and cultural background. According to the survey, published by “Le Monde de Religion”, a religious organization, in 2007, about 7% of French people participated in the survey consider themselves Muslim, while Catholics remain the largest religious group in France — 51%. <sup>45</sup>As for religious distribution among all immigrants, coming to France — 46% of them are Muslim. Similar

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<sup>42</sup> “Universal Declaration of Human Rights” (United Nations, n.d.), <http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/>.

<sup>43</sup> “Voters across Europe Back EU Migrant Curbs,” *You Gov UK*, last modified 2015, <https://yougov.co.uk/news/2014/11/28/voters-across-europe-back-eu-migrant-curbs/>.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> “France Is No Longer Catholic, Survey Shows,” *Catholic Culture*, last modified 2007, <http://www.catholicculture.org/news/features/index.cfm?recnum=48547>.

situation can be observed in Russia, as 33% of immigrants are Muslim as of 2012,<sup>46</sup> while the majority of Russians consider themselves Orthodox Christian, according to the survey conducted the same year.<sup>47</sup> Both Russia and France receive their migrants from less developed countries, according to HDI<sup>48</sup> as of 2014.<sup>49</sup> This situation leads to creation of inequality in society, which results in criminal instability and even violent clashes. There were numerous large clashes between Muslim-immigrants and police in France during 2000s, most of them happened as a result of recent tough regulations on immigration, complimented by the fact that police operations gained larger scale and resulted in unintentional or intentional deaths of teenager-immigrants.<sup>50</sup> It was similar to the recent events of 2014 and 2015 in Ferguson and Baltimore, when police killed two Afro-Americans.<sup>51</sup> The brightest example of such a clash are events of 2007, when as a result of Nikolas Sarkozy's populist statements about "cleaning the suburbs with a hose",<sup>52</sup> more than 60 cars were set on fire a few nights later, and more than 60 police officers were seriously injured during clashes.

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<sup>46</sup> "Table: Estimated Percentage of Immigrants by Religious Affiliation," *PewResearchCenter*, last modified 2012, <http://www.pewforum.org/2012/03/08/table-estimated-percentage-of-immigrants-by-religious-affiliation/>.

<sup>47</sup> "Geografiya. Vibor Duha," *Kommersant*, last modified 2012, <http://c2.kommersant.ru/ISSUES.PHOTO/OGONIOK/2012/034/ogcyhjk2.jpg>.

<sup>48</sup> HDI – is a composite indicator consisting of life expectancy, quality of education and per capita income.

<sup>49</sup> "Human Development Report 2014," *UNITED NATIONS DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME*, <http://hdr.undp.org/en/content/human-development-report-2014>.

<sup>50</sup> "France: Riots Break out in Paris Suburbs after Police Crash Kills Youth," *World Socialist Web Site*, last modified 2007, <https://www.wsws.org/en/articles/2007/11/fran-n27.html>.

<sup>51</sup> Valerie Strauss, "From Ferguson to Baltimore: The Consequences of Government-Sponsored Segregation," *The Washington Post*, last modified 2015, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/answer-sheet/wp/2015/05/03/from-ferguson-to-baltimore-the-consequences-of-government-sponsored-segregation/>.

<sup>52</sup> "Sarkozy No Favorite in Paris Suburbs," *The Washington Post*, last modified 2007, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2007/05/03/AR2007050302255.html>.



The major ethnic clash in Russian modern history was the incident happened in the underdeveloped outskirts of Moscow, Birulevo.<sup>53</sup> In October 2013, after a short fight an ethnic Azerbaijani killed an ethnic Russian. As a result of this murder, there were a series of ethnic clashes in Birulevo, during the main one there were 1000 of Russian participants, who attacked vegetable warehouse, where the alleged killer worked. During this clash 400 people were arrested. After the checking conducted by the Russian Immigration Service, they found out that 200 out of 1200 workers of the vegetable warehouse were illegal immigrants. The murderer was convicted for 17 years in prison, but the ethnic tension is still in place.<sup>54</sup> Another significant clash happened in the center of Saint Petersburg; it was a shooting in the nightclub. In this clash a group of young people from Caucasus in September of the same year started a fight with security because they didn't pass face-control in the club, and shortly after, they deployed guns and screaming "Allah Akbar!" started to shoot at club visitors and people passing by in the street. As a result, a few people got hurt. The next day evening there was a people's gathering organized by some volunteer nationalists in the center of St. Petersburg. They wanted to protest against "weak politicians" who permit immigration to Russia and demanded the governor of St. Petersburg to resign. There were 200 hundred people who gathered on this meeting, and 60 of them were arrested.<sup>55</sup>

Both Russia and France receive immigrants from either so-called "former dependent territories", such as CIS for Russia or former colonies for France, what makes the immigration stream more or less homogeneous. The positive side of this homogeneity is the fact that

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<sup>53</sup> "Birulevo," *Istoričeskie Dostoprimečatelnosti Rissii*, last modified 2009, <http://www.hist-sights.ru/node/343/>.

<sup>54</sup> "Besporiadki v Birulevo," *Ria Novosti*, last modified 2013, <http://ria.ru/incidents/20131013/969693444.html>.

<sup>55</sup> "Kavkazchi S Krikami Allah Akbar Rasstrelili Ludey v Centre Peterburga," *Moskovsky Komsomolets*, last modified 2013, <http://www.mk.ru/incident/article/2013/09/22/919064-kavkaztsyi-s-krikami-allah-akbar-rasstrelyali-lyudey-i-avtomobili-v-tsentre-sanktpeterburga.html>.

immigration and social policies might be standardized to a certain extent, what makes them more efficient. On the other hand, there is always a risk of ghetto formation, which is widely spread in France<sup>56</sup> and starting to emerge in Russia, in particular, in big cities such as Moscow and Saint Petersburg.<sup>57</sup>

The main reasons why immigrants choose to move to these countries (Russia and France) are:

— Language fluency. In most of the countries that are the source of immigrants to Russia, Russian is the second official language or at least the second most spread language. The same situation we can observe in the French ex-colonies — French is either the main language of communication, or one the most used languages.<sup>58</sup>

— Immigration policy. It is only starting from 2015 that CIS immigrants should have international passport in order to enter Russia — before there was no such a requirement, and citizens of Tajikistan and Uzbekistan, for example, were able to stay in Russia with no visa for 90 day within the period of 180 day (rules, similar to Schengen ones).<sup>59</sup> <sup>60</sup> French citizenship policy had cross-generation effect, because in 1960s, even after Algeria's independence, all Algerian citizens were granted French citizenship upon request. Even children born from parents who wished to keep Algerian citizenship only, were entitled the right to obtain French citizenship, which resulted hundreds of thousands of immigrants to France just in few years. <sup>61</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> <http://news.sky.com/story/1420147/france-targets-ghettos-in-anti-terror-fight>

<sup>57</sup> [http://ruskline.ru/opp/2013/5/24/nachavshiesya\\_v\\_evrope\\_stolknoveniya\\_s\\_migranta\\_mi\\_eto\\_ochen\\_nadolgo/](http://ruskline.ru/opp/2013/5/24/nachavshiesya_v_evrope_stolknoveniya_s_migranta_mi_eto_ochen_nadolgo/)

<sup>58</sup> <http://www.infoplease.com/ipa/A0855611.html>

<sup>59</sup> <http://tajmigration.ru/novovvedeniya-v-migracionnom-zakonodatelstve-rossii.html>

<sup>60</sup> <http://www.schengenvisainfo.com/>

<sup>61</sup> [https://www.middlebury.edu/media/view/255004/original/The\\_Legacies\\_of\\_History.\\_Colonization\\_and\\_Immigrant\\_Integration\\_in\\_Britain\\_and\\_France.pdf](https://www.middlebury.edu/media/view/255004/original/The_Legacies_of_History._Colonization_and_Immigrant_Integration_in_Britain_and_France.pdf)

— Established community. Both Russia and France has well-established diaspora of all main immigrant-sending countries, what makes it is easier for newcomers to settle in the place.

Both countries have tendency to toughen the immigration rules. In Russia, starting from 2015, labor immigrants are obliged to pass the Russian language test and the Russian Constitutions basics test.<sup>62</sup> In November 2006, France signed new immigration law in order to control immigration flows better. According to this law, authorities limited access to residence and citizenship (cancelling the rule when one could apply for citizenship after 10 years of residency) and tightened the rules on family reunification.<sup>63</sup>

According to National Institute of Demographic Studies (INED), in 2011 there were 5 493 452 immigrants in France between age 18 and 50, and 3 773 509 of these inhabitants were foreigners.<sup>64</sup> It is important to note that in France terms immigrant and foreigner have different meaning. According to the definition adopted by the High Council for Integration, an “immigrant” is a foreign person born abroad and living in France. People born French abroad and living in France are therefore not counted. Conversely, some immigrants may have become French, while the other remaining foreigners. The foreign and immigrant populations do not merge completely: an immigrant is not necessarily foreign and conversely, some foreigners were born in France (mainly minors). The quality of an immigrant is permanent: an individual continues to belong to the population of immigrants even if he becomes French through naturalization. It is the country of birth, not nationality at birth, which defines the geographical origin of an immigrant.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> <http://migrant.lameroid.ru/2014/11/laws-for-migrants-2015.html>

<sup>63</sup> <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/frances-new-law-control-immigration-flows-court-highly-skilled>

<sup>64</sup> <https://www.ined.fr/en/everything-about-population/data/france/immigrants-foreigners/immigrants-foreigners/>

<sup>65</sup> “Immigre - Definition,” *INSEE*, <http://www.insee.fr/fr/methodes/default.asp?page=definitions/immigre.htm>.

“Foreigner” is a person who resides in France and does not have French nationality, whether she or he has another nationality (exclusively) or has none (in the case of stateless persons). The French nationals having another nationality (or more) are considered in France as French. A foreigner is not necessarily immigrant; she or he might be born in France (including minors). <sup>66</sup>While in legal discourse it is important to distinguish “immigrants” from “foreigners”, in a popular discourse of French media those terms has merged in one — “migrants”.

France, because of its colonial heritage, receiving migrants from mainly Maghreb countries, but there are also significant migration from few EU member-states, such as Italy and the United Kingdom.<sup>67</sup> Composition in percentage is as follows: Algeria (13%), Morocco (12%), Portugal (11%), Italy (5%), Turkey, Tunisia and Spain (4% each), Great Britain, Germany and Belgium (2% each), others (less than 1%). Notably, one of the main so-called “immigrant-sending countries” to France is Portugal, which is a EU-member state, while in the popular discourse African countries are often considered as a main source of immigration to France and Europe overall.<sup>68</sup>

Despite the fact that interaction of Western (Christian) and Islamic civilization started back in VIII-IX centuries, the presence of Muslim population in France became a mass phenomenon only during the post-war immigration from African countries — former French colonies. Immigration processes played a major role in emergence of social and demographical problems in modern France, where the largest Muslim diaspora in Europe resides permanently — about 5 million people.

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<sup>66</sup> “Entranger - Definition,” *INSEE*,  
<http://www.insee.fr/fr/methodes/default.asp?page=definitions/etranger.htm>.

<sup>67</sup> <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTPROSPECTS/Resources/334934-1199807908806/France.pdf>

<sup>68</sup> <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/5164514.stm>

## Chapter 3. Media portrait of immigrants

For better understanding and analysis of the current media representation of immigrants and immigration it is important to study how the public image of immigrants evolved over time in Russia and France. This chapter elaborates on this topic.

### ***3.1 Media portrait of immigrants in Russia***

The Russian society is increasingly concerned with ethnic and religious xenophobia, boost in nationalism, increase in number of hate crimes, and a more general group of problems related to ethnicity. The vocabulary of hostility is expanding in volume and gradually turning into a regular social rhetoric. Publications as well as TV broadcasts are getting harsher. The indirect and in some cases direct calls for discrimination or restitution do not cause a public outrage anymore. The challenge to develop a mechanism to quantify public hate speech intensity has only recently appeared on the agenda of the Russian research community. The underlying reason for that is the changing government attitude toward freedom of speech. As in the totalitarian state the freedom of speech virtually did not exist, the problem of public hate speeches was not as acute as it is now. Only after the first uncensored publications arose, it became clear that many of them would exploit the freedom of speech to promote the ideas of racial, ethnic or religious hate.

First we must speak about labor black market, as only 8% of labor migrants are registered and employed officially (according to the State Federal Migration Service statistics). The regulations on naturalization are very complex and often contradictory, such that most migrants cannot comply with them. The reality is that all those who are not included in the 8% of registered immigrants have to find illegal means of living and working in the state. This situation is widely used by unabiding employers. Without providing their illegal employees with a minimum guarantees (like contract and work insurance), they benefit from them by

paying wages below minimum and not providing safety at their work place (construction, maintenance work, etc.). This leads to the situation when immigrants are practically forced to live illegally in unbearable conditions, up to 15 people in one room or in the places not suitable for living (such as basements or abandoned buildings) and often in unhygienic conditions. Hence, labor migration in Russia, instead of being an important factor of economic growth, has become a factor of increasing crime.

Russian society, including both ordinary citizens and government officials, is not ready to perceive immigrants as equal citizens, and this perception is only getting worse as time passes. It is worth saying that some steps have been made in this field. In the city of St. Petersburg, the Town Hall established the Tolerance project (<http://spbtolerance.ru/>). The aim of the project was to unite the citizens of St. Petersburg, regardless of the nationality or confession to which they belong. However, if we analyze the program in detail — it seems that it has only made the situation worse. One of example is of the Memorandum of Labor Migrant, which was created on behalf of this project. In this brochure, the immigrants were portrayed as a paint roller, broom, palette-knife and paint-brush, representing them as lower class members of society.<sup>69</sup> This brochure was heavily criticized shortly after it was released, and the Town Hall started to deny their involvement.

Nowadays there is a growing debate about the role of mass media in shaping negative attitude toward migrants. There is a growing debate at the moment that Russian anti-migrant attitude is largely stipulated by the media, by the way media depicts migrants. Some researches claim that negative attitude of Russians toward immigrants it is largely media's fault that, because it reflects and reproduces the negative image of aggressive and not intelligent immigrant.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> [http://www.dp.ru/a/2012/10/26/Skandalnij\\_Spravochnik\\_t/](http://www.dp.ru/a/2012/10/26/Skandalnij_Spravochnik_t/)

<sup>70</sup> Kosygina, "Constructions of the 'Other' - Racialisation of Migrants in Moscow and Novosibirsk."

One of the brightest examples of immigrants' depiction in media is comedy TV shows. The most popular project of the recent years dedicated to immigration topic is called «Наша Раша» (“Nasha Russia”), which means “Our Russia”.<sup>71</sup> It is comedy sketch show, with two main characters Ravshan and Jumshud, who are immigrant workers from Central Asia. The show became so popular that Ravshan and Jumshud not only became a symbols of immigrant workers, the very names “Ravshan and Jumshud” became set expression to describe immigrant workers, together with so popular in Russia “gastarbeiter”. According to the plot, “Ravshan and Jumshud” renovate apartments in Russia and work at the Sochi Olympic construction. Their supervisor is ethnic Russian, Leonid, who is often demonstrating disrespect and annoyance toward his foreign employees.

The immigrants virtually speak no Russian (Ravshan speaks a little, while Jumshud does not speak at all) and have very vague idea about their duties. The latter is mostly related to insufficient knowledge of Russian and hence misunderstanding of their supervisor's orders. Meanwhile, in their language they discuss lofty topics such as arts, literature, cinema, telecommunication and IT, which creates additional comic effect. In season 4, they go even further and mangle the names of different sports in a vulgar manner. Moreover, when their “superviza” asks a question to Ravshan, the latter repeats it once or twice before giving an answer. According to one of the producers, Ravshan and Jumshud do not belong to any particular nation, but they arrived from the Central Asia.

Since the sitcom often refers to the Tajik language and culture (albeit sometimes Armenian as well), the critics blamed it on numerous occasions for advocating racism and insulting Tajiks. In particular, the NGO Tajik Labor Migrants claimed that the show performed “a moral genocide of the Tajik people”. Shortly after its release in Tajikistan, the

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<sup>71</sup> <http://www.kp.ru/daily/24151.5/367793/>

show was banned from screening.<sup>72</sup>The producers are under continuous critique of inspiring racial hate.

In 2007, a Tajik journalist issued an article “Is Nasha Russia against us?” where he underlined that the show entirely focuses on insult and abasement of Tajik migrants. The first part of the sitcom is dedicated to humiliation and mockery of life of the Tajik labor migrants as they are repeatedly referred to as black dummies, dunces, and other insulting expressions. As the Russian saying goes, in every joke there is a grain of truth, which led the journalist to the conclusion that the show producers did not pursue the goal to improve migrants’ life but rather tried to promote xenophobia against Tajiks.<sup>73</sup>

However, the show “Nasha Russia” was of a great success, which is why it was culminated into feature-length film “Nasha Russia: Yaytsa sudby” (“Nasha Russia”: The Eggs of Faith”). The film’s plot is based on the plot of the original show, and Ravshan and Jumshud are the main characters again. Their supervisor got a contract for renovation of a luxury apartment in Moscow. The apartment belongs to a Russian oligarch, and Ramshan and Jumshud, instead of renovating, are crushing everything around them. “The Eggs of Faith” is overloaded with racist and nationalistic jokes and non-politically correct statements. The film was financially successful reaching \$22 000 000 of box office with \$2 000 000 budget.<sup>74</sup> The film, the same as the sketch show, was largely criticized, especially by Tajik Labor Migrants, for incitement of ethnic hatred and was banned from public release in Tajikistan. However, the producers insist that the characters of the migrants are totally fictitious and generalized rather than representing residents of a particular country or region.

Nevertheless, there is a shift in positive direction. Recently a video-clip dedicated to xenophobia and racism topic appeared in the Russian segment of Internet. In this video a man

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<sup>72</sup> <http://today.kz/news/509/>

<sup>73</sup> <http://www.regnum.ru/news/847091.html>

<sup>74</sup> [http://nnm.me/blogs/OlDi/tadzhiki\\_vzyali\\_galustyana\\_za\\_yayca\\_sudby/page2/](http://nnm.me/blogs/OlDi/tadzhiki_vzyali_galustyana_za_yayca_sudby/page2/)



wearing a dark trench is whispering into the ears of an employer, of a landlord and of a passenger in the transport not to offer a job, not to rent a flat and to sit next to Asian looking immigrants. This is artistic maneuver the creators of this video use to demonstrate how unreasonable and unfair it is to judge people by their nationality and to rely on prejudices while making everyday decisions. The voiceover in the end of the video says: “by humiliating people of the other nationality we are loosing self-respect”. The video was produced and distributed on Internet by the NGO Country with no Xenophobia and Racism.<sup>75</sup> Notably, the video has already gained almost 1 000 000 views, which is a significant result for Russian Internet. Considering, that the number of Russian YouTube users is about 25 000 000 people, every 25<sup>th</sup> user watched this video, which is impressive result for a social campaign.<sup>76</sup>

Another improvement in immigration policy is the fact that from April 2015 five universities in Moscow started to offer free lessons of Russian language and history for immigrants in order to help them to assimilate in the society and to pass the immigration test successfully. This is just the beginning of the program, and there are plans to expand it to other regions of Russia.

However, tolerance should be taught to people from the early age. Starting from next September, pupils of 40 schools of Moscow will have 5 “lessons of tolerance”, incorporated in their usual social science course. It would be the first pilot project of this kind in Russia. The representatives of different confessions will hold these lessons in their sacred places: the Christians – in the Cathedral of Christ the Savior, the Muslims – in the Islamic Center, the Judaists – in the Tolerance Center of the Jewish Museum, and the Buddhists – in the Moscow Buddhist Cultural Center. Presumably, the “tolerance lesson” will include a 30-minutes

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<sup>75</sup> <http://www.stranabezrasizma.ru/>

<sup>76</sup> <http://research.cmsmagazine.ru/audience-research-russian-social-networks/>

excursion in each of the religious places with a detailed explanation about how this place is important to the history of Moscow and Russia as a whole.

### **3.2. Media portrait of immigrants in France**

In 2015, 69% of French population thought that there are too many immigrants in the country, while in 2009 this indicator was 20% less.<sup>77</sup> According to the official statistics, immigrants account for less than 10% of the French population; nevertheless, French citizens think there are “too many” of them. This might be explained by the increased role of the media in French society, which, according to the research, increased tremendously within 20 years (from 1970s to 1990s). In 1970s, during the first powerful wave of immigration, the popular discourse both in media and in the society was about “poor social conditions” of immigrants and a need to help them to improve their lives, while in 1990s they started to be considered as a threat (in particular, immigrants from North Africa)<sup>78</sup> Benson explains it partially by the fact that by the beginning of 1990s, it became obvious that the number of immigrants had reached such a level that they were able not only to become a significant part of the French society, but also to affect the French culture with their own. It also became evident by this time that there is a significant number of Muslim immigrants who, despite the fact they were granted citizenship and all corresponding civil rights, are not willing to integrate into French culture.

There emerged numerous movies, promoting tolerance, released with help of ministry of culture about immigrants treated as equal citizens (bright example – The Untouchables). However, there still exist outdated police TV shows, in which one often may see troubled teenagers, who, most of the time of Arabic or African origin.

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<sup>77</sup> [http://www.lepoint.fr/politique/69-des-francais-pensent-qu-il-y-a-trop-d-immigres-26-02-2015-1908159\\_20.php](http://www.lepoint.fr/politique/69-des-francais-pensent-qu-il-y-a-trop-d-immigres-26-02-2015-1908159_20.php)

<sup>78</sup> Benson, “The Political/literary Model of French Journalism: Change and Continuity in Immigration News Coverage, 1973-1991.”

In recent decades, the "immigration issue" becoming central to public life, did not fail to nourish the world of the French cinema. Witness the issues of his time, the cinema offers staging of cultural diversity that capture the pace of change of the status of immigrants in French society in the period from the 1970s to the present. Among a few movies featuring immigrants, we find only the furtive image of a rejected individual subjected to harsh realities between workplace and place of residence, frozen in stereotyped attitudes. After May 1968, several quite controversial films addressed the issue of immigration.<sup>79</sup> Two films by the Mauritanian director Med Hondo, *Soleil O* (Sun O) in 1970 and *Les 'bicots-Nègres' vos voisins* (The “wogs-blacks”, your neighbors) in 1973 denounced the neo-colonial domination of France over immigrant workers, especially in housing.

Yves Boisset directed the first movie that actually initiated the extensive questioning of racism, *Dupont Lajoie*, and more than one million tickets were sold in 1974. The scenario evolves around the everyday racism families from the middle class, which creates drama. Enmities, failure of the mix due to cultural conflicts, theft or murder: the negative images of immigrants based on entrenched stereotypes are many cinema. Some movies timidly approach the problem of mixed unions, like the famous adaptation of a novel *Elise, or Real Life*, by filmmaker Michel Drach in 1969. It tells the story of a young girl working on Parisian factory and falling in love with an Algerian worker who was arrested by police and disappeared without a trace. The scenario is based on the evolution of a mixed union that is not possible in a very specific historical and social context of the France of 1960s-70s. In the 1980s the figure of the immigrant becomes more positive. There we see scenes of friendship, appreciation of French values by the immigrants and solidarity values.

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<sup>79</sup> Michel Cadé, “L’Ecran Bleu, La Représentation Des Ouvriers Dans Le Cinéma Français, Presses Universitaires de Perpignan, Perpignan” (2004).

Sympathy for the Africans is even revealed on the occasion of the release of the Black Micmac. Directed by Thomas Gilou in 1986, the film was a huge commercial success with over 800 000 entries. A representative of the health protection agency (Jacques Villeret) started a rather awkward investigation in view of the destruction of a substandard home to Paris occupied by Africans. Most of the press is still trying to avoid unambiguous statements about this topic, except, of course, far right, who like to play on it.

## Chapter 4. Research methodology

When starting research of the media representation in any country, it is crucial to investigate the state and key characteristics of the current media landscape. Media landscape is a term describing operating media in a certain country, their types, the ownership structure, the characteristics of media consumption and the amount of time people dedicate to this consumption including audience's preferences.

There are three main types of media:

- online media,
- print media, and
- broadcast media.

In my research, I rely on printed media since it is still the most common source of information in both countries.<sup>80</sup> At the same time, we need to have access to all the publications that were released within a certain period of time, for which it is necessary to choose only those publicities that have online versions. It is also crucial to define what would be the way to choose media outlets for the research. The main idea is to use outlets of the same “type” in both countries, made for sort of “the same” audience and having similar content. For this research, I choose one tabloid and one outlet of the so-called “press of a high quality”<sup>81</sup>, i.e. newspaper for intellectuals with content on politics and analytical reports in both Russia and France. This choice is stipulated by the purposes of this research — to see all possible range of immigrants’ representation within given limitations (the word-count, time-frame).

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<sup>80</sup> <http://www.moluch.ru/archive/67/11260/>

<sup>81</sup> These newspapers target well-educated readers with above average income. This quality press is often labeled as the press of opinions for intellectual elite.. B. Lozovsky Zhurnalistsika: kratkiy slovar' — Ekaterinburg : Izdatelstvo Ural'skogo Universiteta, 2004.

As a research method I chose content analysis, since this method allows analyzing a significant number of text and finding out how media portrays immigrants. Moreover, this method allows researcher to make assumptions based on both quantitative and qualitative data, which allows to have a broader view on the problem and to evaluate it from different perspectives.

**Коммерсантъ (Kommersant)** — merchant, business man.

It is a Russian daily newspaper that covers social and political issues with the focus on business, which is published by the «Kommersant» publishing house, six times a week (from Monday to Saturday). The newspaper is published since 1990 and claims to be the successor of the newspaper with the same name that was published in Russia from 1909 till 1917 (which is why it has ancient Russian «Ъ» letter in the end). Declared circulation in 2014 was 125 000 copies. From 1999 until February 2006, the newspaper belonged to Boris Berezovsky,<sup>82</sup> who also owned few other publishing organizations. According to survey conducted in 2003, among 50 largest companies and business associations, the Kommesrant newspaper became one of the top newspapers in weighted and objective coverage of economic conflicts.<sup>83</sup> In May 2009, TNS Media Intelligence, the leading media monitoring company<sup>84</sup>, prepared a report on citations of the Russian press in the central TV and radio broadcasts. According to this research, the Kommersant, together with two other large newspapers, “is the key source of business and political news in Russian information space”.<sup>85</sup> Kommersant targets middle class audience of age 25-55, who are highly educated working professionals, and some of which occupy top positions.<sup>86</sup> This is one part of the audience that this study focuses on.

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<sup>82</sup> Russian oligarch, one of the most powerful and influential people in Russia at the time.

<sup>83</sup> <http://www.gipp.ru/print.php?id=747>

<sup>84</sup> <http://www.reuters.com/article/2009/09/16/idUS101887+16-Sep-2009+BW20090916>

<sup>85</sup> [http://www.uapp.org/pub\\_analitics/7518.html](http://www.uapp.org/pub_analitics/7518.html)

<sup>86</sup> <http://www.ra-granat.ru/reklama-v-presse1/natsionalnaia-pressa/reklama-v-gazete-kommersant>

**Московский комсомолец (Moskovsky Komsomolets)** — Moscow Komsomol<sup>87</sup> Member.

It is a Soviet and Russian newspaper that covers social and political issues and is distributed all over Russia, as well as in CIS and foreign countries.<sup>88</sup> In the end of 1970s and beginning of 1980s, Moskovsky Komsomolets published materials that were dedicated to semi-forbidden by the time topic (informal youth movements, rock-music, Western cinematography etc.).<sup>89</sup> Since 2009, the newspaper has been issuing a multipage supplement dedicated to donorship issue. There are also sections dedicated to education issues, section dedicated to current issues in social and political spheres in the newspaper. There are about 20 irregular sub-sections in “Moskovsky Komsomolets”, like “City”, “School”, “Alcohol”, “Neighbors” (news from CIS countries) and others. Scientific challenges, interviews with scientists, reports about recent academic discoveries also could be found. In 2001, the newspaper was exposed as a media outlet that is accepting money for publishing biased articles, so-called “plugola”.<sup>90 91</sup> In 2004, the publicity was exposed again: it was about a successful attempt of publication of several articles for monetary reward. As a result, this popular newspaper was black-listed as untrustworthy by a few professional associations.<sup>92</sup> Declared circulation in 2014 was 700 000 copies. The target audience of this newspaper are 35-65, with average and below average income; most of them have higher education and some job. This is the second, opposite part of the audience this research is focusing on.

### **Le Monde**

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<sup>87</sup> Komsomol — youth division of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) and a political party of the Soviet Union.

<sup>88</sup> <http://svr.su/content/item/55/>

<sup>89</sup> <http://svpressa.ru/blogs/article/70206/>

<sup>90</sup> Hidden advertising, which aims only at a product promotion, is often disguised as the author’s opinion.

<sup>91</sup> <http://www.vedomosti.ru/newspaper/articles/2001/02/26/donkihoty-ot-pr>

<sup>92</sup> <http://izvestia.ru/news/291241>

It is a French daily newspaper of left-liberal orientation with a circulation of 364 240 copies daily (in 2014), was established in Paris in 1944. Le Monde is available on Internet with its own domain name (lemonde.fr) since December 1995.<sup>93</sup> Before 2010, the main stakeholder was its journalistic stuff — 53 % belonged to the employees, the rest 47 % were shared between Danone, BNP Paribas and French entrepreneur François Pinault. In 2010, the newspaper was purchased by the group of French entrepreneurs, as the newspaper was on the verge of bankruptcy at the time. New owners restructured the company, what allowed them to make Le Monde profitable, for the first time in the last 10 years. The newspaper is the junction of several major ideas, but primarily related to the ideas of social democracy and Christian morality. Under the V Republic, the newspaper supported foreign policy of General de Gaulle, while criticizing his domestic policy.<sup>94</sup> In the 1970s it was openly supporting the Union of the Left<sup>95</sup> and denounced the financial scandals erupted by Giscard d'Estaing. It supported the candidacy of François Mitterrand in the 1981 presidential election.<sup>96</sup> During the 1995 presidential election, the newspaper takes the side of Édouard Balladur against Jacques Chirac.<sup>97</sup> During the election of 2002, some journalists argue that the newspaper has actively campaigned for Lionel Jospin.<sup>98</sup> In 2007, the chief-editor of Le Monde, Jean-Marie Colombani, invites to vote for Ségolène Royal in one of the columns of the newspaper.<sup>99</sup> The newspaper claims they target highly educated audience.

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<sup>93</sup> <http://www.inaglobal.fr/presse/article/quand-la-presse-francaise-semparait-du-web#intertitre-3>

<sup>94</sup> <http://www.charles-de-gaulle.org/pages/l-homme/dossiers-thematiques/1958-1970-la-ve-republique/de-gaulle-et-les-medias/analyses/le-general-de-gaulle-et-les-medias-sous-la-ive-republique.php>

<sup>95</sup> Patrick Eveno, *Le Journal « Le Monde » : Une Histoire D'indépendance* (Paris: Éditions Odile Jacob, 2001).

<sup>96</sup> [http://www.lemonde.fr/actualite-medias/article/2012/08/23/et-mitterrand-suspendit-son-abonnement\\_1749077\\_3236.html](http://www.lemonde.fr/actualite-medias/article/2012/08/23/et-mitterrand-suspendit-son-abonnement_1749077_3236.html)

<sup>97</sup> <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2003/feb/26/pressandpublishing.france>

<sup>98</sup> <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/2800343.stm>

<sup>99</sup> <http://tempsreel.nouvelobs.com/politique/elections-2007/20070503.OBS5461/le-monde-appelle-a-voter-pour-segolene-royal.html>



## Paris Match

Paris Match is a French weekly magazine of news and photo reportages that was established in 1949 and is famous for its motto: "The weight of words, the shock of photos", but in 2008 the weekly adopts a new motto, "Life is a true story". The main topics covered by the magazine are main domestic and international political, cultural and social events, along with celebrity lifestyle pictures. Declared circulation in 2014 was 578 282 copies. Since June 2009, the weekly magazine is also available digitally. In "Hergé's Tintin adventure"<sup>100</sup>, the Castafiore Emerald released in 1963, reporters from the fictitious "Paris-Flash" magazine (a clear spoof on Paris Match, with a similar logo) play the main role in the development of the plot. The fictitious weekly magazine is pictured in satirical manner as inaccurate publishing with questionable reputation, what can be perceived as a reflection of French audience's attitude toward this media outlet. Despite the fact that this media covers a lot of important social and political events, it has typical tabloid cover and design; the lives of celebrities and pictures made by paparazzi form a major part of the content.

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<sup>100</sup> "Hergé's Tintin adventure" — Belgium comic book very popular in France.

## Chapter 5. Empirical analysis and discussion

### 5.1 Content analysis

For choosing the words the key consideration is cross-national comparability. The words for content analysis should have exactly the same meaning in both languages or be as close as possible semantically. The words were chosen by a means of online survey with open question: “What are the words that are used to refer to immigrants?” Based on this survey, conducted among both Russian and French newspaper readers online, the most common words in both languages were chosen. In Russian the words are:

- «гастарбайтер» (rus. “gastarbaiter”), noun, from German «gastarbeiter», meaning “guest worker”, having the same meaning in Russian. According to Vocabulary of Economic Terms, means “foreign worker, coming from a less developed country to a more developed one”. <sup>101</sup>

- «приезжий» (rus. “priezhij”), adj., meaning someone who came from outer place, someone not local. <sup>102</sup>

- «нелегал» (rus. “nelegal”), noun, meaning. In the XX century, before revolutions in Europe, and also under totalitarian regimes, the word had a very political meaning: «нелегал» was the word for a revolutionary, terrorist, or dissident. In modern history one of the definitions of illegal migrant with no papers. <sup>103</sup>

- «гость» (rus. “gost”), noun, meaning “guest”, often used as euphemism for foreign workers.

In French the words are:

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<sup>101</sup> Raizberg, Lazovsky. *Sovremenny slovar ekonomiki*, M., Infra, 2007

<sup>102</sup> Definition dictionary by Efremova

<http://efremova.info/word/priezzhij.html#.VWjk3GSqqko>

<sup>103</sup> *Alternativnaya nauka. Enciklopidia.*- 2005

- sans-papier, set expression, meaning literally “with no papers”, semantically means a “person who do not have documents that allow him to prove his identity, or, in case of foreign citizen, do not have the documents confirming his right to stay on the country's territory”.<sup>104</sup>

- Illégal, adj., meaning literally “illegal”. Meaning the person who is against the law.<sup>105</sup>

- Immigré, adj., literally means “the one who immigrated”. According to dictionary: “Who left his country to settle in another country”.<sup>106</sup>

- Clandestin, adj., literally means “undergrounder”. According to dictionary: “Which is done in secret, hiding it. Which is in contravention of the existing laws and regulations; which eludes the supervision or control of the authority.”<sup>107</sup>

Within those two groups consisting of four words, there is a pair of words that have exactly the same semantic meaning in both languages: Russian “нелегал” (someone “illegal”) and French “illégal”. With this pair, one can assume that the situation of usage of one word in one country would be equivalent to the situation of usage in another country. Since other words do not make equivalent pairs (no other words with exactly the same semantic meaning), there is a need to rank all the words according to their meaning. To do so, I conducted qualitative research by using online survey instruments. Respondents were asked to rank the words from the most positive (1) to the most negative (4). According to this survey, Russian respondents ranked “гость” (‘guest’) as the most positive (1), «приезжий» (“someone not local”) less

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<sup>104</sup> <http://www.larousse.fr/dictionnaires/francais/sans-papiers/70894>

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<http://www.larousse.fr/dictionnaires/francais/ill%C3%A9gal/41537?q=ill%C3%A9gal#41439>

<sup>106</sup>

<http://www.larousse.fr/dictionnaires/francais/immigr%C3%A9/41705?q=Immigr%C3%A9s#41610>

<sup>107</sup>

<http://www.larousse.fr/dictionnaires/francais/clandestin/16343?q=clandestin#16212>

positive (2), “гастарбайтер” (“guest worker”) was ranked between negative and positive (3), and «нелегал» (“illegal”) was ranked as the most negative (4). As for the French respondents, the ranking was as follows: “sans-papiers” (“with no papers”) was ranked as the most positive (1), “immigré” (“the one who immigrated”) was ranked as less positive (2), “clandestine” (“underground”) was ranked between negative and positive (3), and “illegal” was marked as the most negative (4). The conclusion that can be derived from this survey is that words that have the same semantic meaning in both Russian language and French language have the same affective meaning in both languages, since the word “illegal” was ranked equally in Russia and France as “the most negative”.

The content analysis was conducted in two French newspapers and two Russian ones.

## **5.2 Results**

### **Russian results:**

Among all the publications in “Moskovsky Komsomolets” and “Kommersant”, the word “гастарбайтер” (“guest worker”) was the most commonly used within the last year (from April 2014 till April 2015), in 42% and 41% of publications in each newspaper, respectively. The second most used word in Russian publications was «нелегал» (“illegal”), it is used in 18% and 25% of publications of “МК” (Moskovsky Komsomolets”) and “Kommersant” respectively. The next most used word in Russian publications was «гость» (“guest”), 23% and 16% in “Moskovsky Komsomolets” and “Kommersant” respectively. And the least common word that was used to refer to immigrant was «приезжий» (“someone not local”), it was found in 17% and 18% of publications of “МК” and “Kommersant” respectively.

Analyzing word count distribution among Russian language publications in “Kommersant” and “Moskovsky Komsomolets”, I conclude that the words were distributed

relatively equally in both media outlets. This could be confirmed by the Herfindahl index<sup>108</sup> that can show whether words were distributed equally or not. Herfindahl index is a sum of squares of all shares, the lower it is, the more equally distributed the shares are. For the case of 4 different words, its minimum possible value is 0.25, meaning that all the words are used with equal frequency, and the maximum – 1, meaning that one word is used 100% of the times and the other three words are not used at all. For both “Moskovsky Komsomolets” and “Kommersant”, the Herfindahl index within chosen period was almost the same, 0.29 and 0.289, respectively. The conclusion that might be derived based on this index is that both media outlets use all four words in publications about immigrants with relatively equal frequency.

### **French Results:**

Among all the publications in “Paris Match” and “Le Monde” the set expression “sans-papiers” (“with no papers”) was the most common during the last year; 78% and 51% percent of publications in “Paris Match” and “Le Monde” contained this word. The second most used word was “clandestin” (“undergrounder”), it was used in 15% of publications of “Paris Match” and 39% “Le Monde” publications. The word “clandestin” was used in 5% of “Paris Match” publications and 9% of “Le Monde” publications. The least used word in French printed media was “illegal” (“illegal”): 1% in each media outlet.

Analyzing word count distribution among French language publications in “Le Monde” and “Paris Match”, I conclude that the words were distributed relatively unequally in both media outlets. In the same way as I did with Russian language publications, the unequal distribution in French publications could be confirmed by the Herfindahl index. For Paris Match, the Herfindahl index is skewed toward 1; it is 0.64. This means that word frequency distribution is far from uniform and that “Paris Match” used some words more often than the others in their publications within certain period, which we also see from the detailed results

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<sup>108</sup> RHOADES, Stephen A., “Herfindahl-Hirschman Index” (The. Fed. Res. Bull., 1993).

—“sans-papiers” were used in 78% of “Paris Match’s” publications. For “Le Monde” the Herfindahl index is smaller; it is 0.41. This means that words distribution is not uniform, but it is more uniform as compared to the “Paris Match” results. However, in detailed results I found that there is a significant span in word’s distribution; they are ranging from 51% (for “sans-papiers”) till 1% (for “illegal”).

### **5.3 Interpretation of results**

The chosen Russian printed media is more homogenous in using words to describe immigrants, the relative difference in percentage was small. The chosen Russian printed media tend to use more negative words in their publications more often: the word “растарбайтер” (“guest worker”) that was most commonly used is marked as (3) — between negative and positive, closer to negative. On the other hand, the chosen French printed media used the set expression “sans-papier” the most, which was marked (1) — the most positive.

Based on the research results, I reject Hypothesis 1. It is evident that the observed French media outlets do not provide wide spectrum of different epithets describing immigrants, it can be confirmed by the fact that usage of the words is not uniform (some words are used more often than others). In case of observed French media outlets, the set expression “sans-papiers” is most commonly used, while some expressions are almost not used, like “illégal”. The rejection of Hypothesis 1 could be also confirmed by the Herfindahl index, the average for two French media outlets would be 0.53 in comparison to 0.29 for the Russian outlets, which means that it is skewed toward using particular words at the expense of others.

Based on the research results, I confirm Hypothesis 2. From the results, it follows that the observed Russian media outlets use less tolerant (less positive) words and expressions when referring to immigrants, comparing to the presented publications in French. In the observed French publications, the most commonly used expression is “sans-papiers”, which is ranked as

the most positive, while in Russian publications that were researched the most commonly used word is “illegal”, which was ranked as the most negative in both countries.

## Conclusions

Why are immigrants portrayed in such different ways in Russia and France?

It is important to recall that France has had a stable number of immigrants since 1950s, while Russia started to receive immigrants relatively recently, after the fall of the Soviet Union.

Another reason is the fact that France has history of numerous violent clashes with migrants and experienced the situations when any wrongly interpreted statement could serve as an excuse for a violence between different ethnic and religious group to start. Russia, unlike France, hasn't experienced such significant clashes yet, except for a couple of cases.

Another possible explanation for French media being more moderate about immigration related topics is the fact that French media is self-censored to a certain extent. Again, it might be stipulated by the fact that France has more experience in handling immigration issues, which is why the most journalists are trying to be very careful when touching upon such a sensitive topic in their publications. This was especially evident after the Charlie Hebdo attack, when most of the media covered this event in a very delicate manner. Most of the publications made a clear accent of distinctions between Muslims and Radical Islamists. After well-known Internet campaign in support and mourning of murdered illustrators of Charlie Hedbo “JeSuisCharlie”, another one had started, in support of the killed police officer Ahmed Marabet — “JeSuisAhmed”. There were also a lot of publications in media, emphasizing Marabet's religion — he was Muslim, died fighting with Radical Islamic terrorists.<sup>109</sup> “Le Monde”, one of the newspapers observed in this paper, published multiple materials, promoting tolerance and discouraging islamophobia.

There are some other facts proving that press censorship exists in France. For example, it is during Nikolas Sarkozy's presidency that the new media reform passed in 2009, according

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<sup>109</sup> <http://rilek1corner.com/2015/01/10/je-suis-ahmed-a-message-for-everyone/>



to which the government's control over "France Télévisions" company strengthened.<sup>110</sup> Later on, in 2012, the rules for Internet users were also restricted, and regular visits of websites dedicated to terrorism related topics started to be criminally punished.<sup>111</sup> Speaking of Sarkozy's presidency is that all the major media outlets' publications were concentrated around his political figure, since the members of his close circle own most of them. Speaking of the media outlets observed in this paper, "Paris Match" magazine belongs to Sarkozy's close friend Mr. Lagardère, "Le Monde" is owned by his close peer Mr. Bolloré.<sup>112</sup>

Analyzing current situation in the country and the current president's policies with regards of media, there are signs of censorship as well. One example is l'Agence France Presse's publication with unflattering picture of Francois Hollande, that was hastily removed from the website. The publicity explained the situation by the "editorial decision". In fact, the decision might be explained by the fact that even though there is no censorship officially in the country, staying in business largely depends on president's good graces.<sup>113</sup> Moreover, he might exploit his administrative power in order to demonstrate the official position of French government on certain issue. After attack on Charlie Hebdo, "Le Monde" published an article about the event that took place event in the "Institue du Monde Arabe" ("Institute of Arabic World"), dedicated to demonstration of solidarity with French society and condemnation of Radical Islam. The publication contains photo of Mr. Hollande standing with representatives of the "Institute of Arab World", the sign written on the institute's wall could be seen on the background of the photo: "Nous sommes tous Charlie" ("We are all Charlie"). In this manner, president

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<sup>110</sup> <https://www.wsws.org/en/articles/2009/01/frtv-j07.html>

<sup>111</sup> <http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/03/22/us-france-shooting-sarkozy-idUSBRE82L0MH20120322>

<sup>112</sup> <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/05/12/world/europe/12iht-afp.4.12817824.html>

<sup>113</sup> [http://www.huffingtonpost.com/rachel-ryan/french-censorship-and-charlie-hebdo\\_b\\_6438450.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/rachel-ryan/french-censorship-and-charlie-hebdo_b_6438450.html)

demonstrates his solidarity with French citizens of Arab origin and that there is no place for islamophobia in France.<sup>114</sup>

Notably, among the two researched countries, it is France that has a stricter immigration policy. As for Russia, the citizens of the CIS (Commonwealth of Independent States) countries could until recently enter Russia holding only their national ID, and even the passport was not required.

Further negative coverage of the immigrants may lead to even greater tension in the society that it is now. To certain extent, one can argue that the journalists, who publish articles depicting immigrants in humiliating and disdainful manner, are largely responsible for the ethnic clashes and the fact that the Russian society has not become more tolerant yet.

Some features of human psychology, a phenomenon well known for researchers, can be a responsible for emergence of subconscious intentions for exaggeration of the allegedly antisocial character of the people from ethnic or racial minorities. This effect was discovered 30 years ago under the name of illusionary correlation. The researchers showed that people tend to overvalue the importance and probability of rare events. Furthermore, they demonstrated that population of a distinctive social group is likely to self-proclaim desirable moral values about itself which would positively compare it to the others. Finally, as a result of these two effects, social groups sometimes exaggerate the negative features of the alien group by generalizing the negative qualities of a particular representative of that group (observed in a potentially rare situation) and allocating them to the entire group.

As mentioned in the beginning of the paper, some researches (Roman, 2006) have already found out that police's impunity in their action towards defendless immigrants leads to desensitizing of Russian society. The state ideology of recent years, promoted by the

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<sup>114</sup> [http://www.lemonde.fr/arts/article/2015/01/16/a-l-ima-repondre-a-la-terreur-par-la-culture\\_4557648\\_1655012.html](http://www.lemonde.fr/arts/article/2015/01/16/a-l-ima-repondre-a-la-terreur-par-la-culture_4557648_1655012.html)

government and federal media, built upon idea of external enemies, which surrounded Russia and even managed to get inside (for example, recent “Russian NGO Law”, the so-called “Law on Foreign Agents”, which obliged, for instance, different charity foundations to be marked as “foreign agents”).

Overall, the place of ethnic Russians in the Russian Federation is not a brand-new problem. It has been long time since the emergence of a troubling dichotomy of the term Russian: (1) a Russian in the sense of an ethnic Russian and (2) a Russian in the sense of a citizen of the Russian Federation albeit of any nationality (Chechen, Tatar, etc.). The idea of Russia for Russians (in the first sense) has been enjoying some popular support for long time. Taking into account that Russians (in the second sense) did not receive any alternative to the destroyed Soviet identity, the simplest way out for the Russians proved to be to oppose themselves to everyone else. In particular, it was easy to do with those who look differently, who have different cultural norms, and who is on the alien soil, i.e., in a more vulnerable position.

On top of that, if one applies the theory of social identity to the Russian case (McLeod 2008), one can conclude that the ethnic Russians try to build up their self-identity and assert themselves by humiliating immigrants and spreading unjustified stereotypes about them, in particular, promoting the image of an immigrant as a criminal.

Another important reason for stigmatization and justification of discrimination of immigrants in Russia relates to the fact that Russia has been puzzled with the questions of what Russia is, what it consists of, and what its borders are, since the collapse of the Soviet Union. The latest geopolitical events such as annexation of Crimean and clashes in the Northern Caucasus will further emphasize these issues and contradictions, as Russia comprises such republics as North Ossetia, Tatarstan, Bashkortostan and the Chechen republic. Their population is largely non-Slavic and follows Islam.

This study can be a prerequisite for a deeper research on the media representation of immigrants. This further research will take as inputs both public opinion and media representation of immigrants and rely on more longitudinal data, which will allow tracing the dynamics of change.

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