

Abstract

This thesis addresses the question of how migrant legality and illegality are constructed and differentiated in mainstream French newspaper discourse. The distinction between legal and illegal migration is a particularly overt feature of the public debate on migration in France. The thesis argues that legality and illegality are not natural givens, but social constructs that are based on moral-political judgments of what constitutes legitimate grounds for moving. By investigating how migration is given meaning, the thesis offers a critical examination of a widely spoken about but often taken-for-granted concept. This is done by analyzing three aspects of the social construction of migrant legality and illegality. First, the thesis investigates spatial representations of migrant legality and illegality. Second, it discusses how migrant legality and illegality are defined. Third, the thesis examines the discursive strategies that are used in French newspaper discourse in order to represent migrant legality and illegality in particular ways.

In order to explore these questions the thesis is based on a discourse analysis of a corpus of newspaper articles taken from the 2007 and 2008 editions of two of the major national newspapers in France: *Le Monde* and *Le Figaro*. The value of a discourse analytical approach lies in its ability to analyze how we categorize and create boundaries through language and to deconstruct the often binary categorizations this engenders. The thesis project also reflects the central role of the media in shaping public action through its mediation and discussion of social phenomena.

The main finding of this thesis is the identification of two distinct sets of discursive strategies of which one set is used to represent migrant legality and the other is used in representations of migrant illegality. Understanding how migrant legality and illegality are constructed and differentiated is crucial in two regards. First, discourses on migrant legality and illegality inform judgments about mobile people and their practices. Second, these discourses are used to legitimize and enable particular policy responses.

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Marielle Stigum

“In this world [on the move] it is important to understand that mobility is more than about just getting from A to B. It is about the contested world of meaning and power. It is about a new hierarchy based on the ways we move and the meanings these movements have been given” (Cresswell, 2006: 264).

| 1 | Introduction

This thesis analyzes how migrant legality and illegality are constructed in French mainstream newspaper discourse on migration¹. Predominantly a continent of emigration a century ago, Europe has become a space of immigration, resulting in an increasing array of discourses and social practices to respond to this perceived new reality. A particularly overt feature of French, as well as European Union (EU), imaginations of international mobility is the discursive distinction between legal and illegal migration. In this regard the thesis relies on two premises. Firstly, migrant (il)legality² is seen not as a natural given, but as a social construction. This implies that marking a migrant as legal versus illegal is not an objective and innocent exercise but rather an act that constructs the social world and our conceptualizations of it in particular ways. Secondly, the thesis argues that the differentiation between migrant legality and illegality is not unmotivated but serves to legitimize the presence of some migrants who are constructed as legal while simultaneously illegalizing others. Investigating how migration is given meaning is important as these discursive constructions feed into an array of policies targeted at regulating and (il)legalizing mobilities within and across national borders. By investigating the “ideas that animate these practices” (Geddes, 2003: 5) this thesis seeks to bring a critical stance to the buzz surrounding the claim that we now live in the “age of migration” (Castles & Miller, 2003) and expose how mobility is *politicized* through attempts to control shared meanings and through the conflictual politics of naming, categorizing and ascribing meaning to various forms of migration.

¹ For the sake of simplicity I use the words legal/legality and illegal/illegality without quotation marks, despite their controversial nature.

² From now on I will use the combinations ‘(il)legal’ and ‘(il)legality’ to refer to ‘legal and illegal’ and ‘legality and illegality’ respectively.

2 Introduction

The centrality of (il)legality to contemporary public debates on immigration can be understood with reference to what Hollifield (in Varsanyi, 2007) calls the liberal paradox of economic openness and political closure. In a world marked by economic liberalism there is increasing pressure on states to liberalize markets and open up cross-border movement. At the same time, states operate within a logic of what Sparke (2006) refers to as securitized nationalism, where the nation-state is imagined in exclusionary terms and state practices emphasize the surveillance and policing of state borders. In this neoliberal nexus where geoeconomic scripts meet geopolitical imaginations a question arises as to how states manage the tensions between the seemingly contradictory demands of simultaneously opening up and closing national borders. This thesis proposes that an answer to this question can be found by looking at the discursive construction of migrant (il)legality. According to Tesfahuney (1998: 507, original emphasis):

selective closure and entry is the compromise reached to satisfy the demands for the ‘free’ movement of labor contra the powers and sovereignty of nation-states in determining *the types and levels of international migration*.

In other words, by discursively differentiating various forms of migration and labeling some migrants as legal and others as illegal the state is able to negotiate the liberal paradox. The Schengen Agreement within the EU is an example of such a policy of “selective closure and entry”. Signed in 1985, the agreement seeks to enhance mobility across the European space by abolishing internal borders between the participating countries³. However, while free movement “is acknowledged as a fundamental right for EU citizens” (European Commission, 2009) the mobility of third country nationals⁴ is still subject to political and legal restrictions. As I will expand on in the next chapter such a differentiation of mobilities has become an important area of focus after the so-called mobility turn within the social sciences. Following this turn, critical investigations of the politics of mobility take as their starting point that “human movement is made meaningful in social and cultural context” (Cresswell, 2001: 13). (Il)legality is a central aspect of that meaning and the focus of this thesis.

³ As of March 3, 2009 these countries include 22 EU Member States (Austria, Belgium, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, the Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain and Sweden) – plus Iceland, Norway and Switzerland.

⁴ Citizens of non-EU countries

1.1 Research Questions

This thesis seeks to answer the following research question:

How are migrant legality and illegality constructed and differentiated?

In order to analyze the construction of migrant (il)legality I have found it useful to separate the overall research question into three sub-questions. While these three questions are intrinsically linked in discursive practice, they have been separated for analytical purposes.

1. *How are migrant legality and illegality spatially constructed?*
2. *How are migrant legality and illegality defined?*
3. *What discursive strategies are used in order to represent migrant legality and illegality in particular ways?*

In this thesis emphasis will be put on the discursive strategies of two of the largest French national newspapers, *Le Monde* and *Le Figaro*, which I see as protagonists of French mainstream newspaper discourse on migration. The aim is not to determine or discuss to any large degree whether the media act as creator of discourse in setting the political agenda or if the media simply reflect dominant discourses and translates them from the governmental level to people ‘on the ground’. Rather focus is on the newspaper articles themselves and not on the social practices involved in the production of these texts. This focus contributes to increased understanding of how conceptions of social phenomena are constructed. This is important because these conceptions constitute discursive resources that are exploited in social processes such as governance and law making and.

The thesis investigates how migrant (il)legality is represented and given meaning in a French context. In addition to having a large immigrant population, France has recently passed three immigration laws, making migration a recurrent topic both on the political agenda and in the public debate. Moreover, the French president Nicolas Sarkozy has taken a lead in advocating a common EU migration policy. Among others a European Pact on Immigration and Asylum was adopted in October 2008 under the French EU presidency (European Pact, 2008a). While the French context bears similarities with

other Western European countries, there is an explicit focus on both (il)legal entry and (il)legal stay in the French public debate. This double focus is pertinent for this thesis, because by migrant (il)legality I refer not only to the perceived (il)legality of migration flows across borders, but also to the status assigned to migrants residing (il)legally within the national territory.

Immigration law is a recurrent topic within media discourse on migration. A majority of the examined newspaper articles deal with immigration law either explicitly, by reporting on immigration legislation, or implicitly, by narrating how migrants' lives are affected by such laws. Immigration laws play a decisive role in assigning legal and illegal status to different groups of migrants. While undeniably a powerful force in shaping migrants' destinies, immigration laws should not be treated as acontextual or pre-political. Rather, in contrast to such a legal closure that "regard[s] law as exclusively a 'sovereign' force – acting externally 'upon' subjects", Blomley (1994: 24) contends that we need to open up law to critical inquiry and resituate law within social and political life. Blomley's (1994: 24) conceptualization of law as a "normalizing' set of power relations" enables us to understand how law might *appear* apolitical and sovereign while this approach at the same time emphasizes the deeply politicized character of law. Grounding law in social and political relations of power thus makes it possible to shed light on the mutual relations between law and society, instead of confining them to separate realms of inquiry. While immigration laws are not the explicit focus of this thesis the representations of migrant (il)legality that I analyze enable specific social practices, of which immigration law is one pertinent example. Indeed, the 'models' we make of society through socio-spatial discourses shape society and thus how we seek to regulate it, for instance by means of passing immigration laws. Samers (2003: 576) refers to this as virtualism and claims that "circulating discourses can be argued to mould immigration policy, rather than the other way around". Put simply, because we have an idea that there exist illegal migrants, migrant illegality is produced and accepted as an ontological reality. This in turn requires laws to be passed in order to fight illegal migration. Hence, law is not the source, but the product of a society's cultural regulations and the discourses about migrant (il)legality that feed into these regulations. I thus concur with Tesfahuney (1998: 499) that "[s]elective representations of migration inform and

legitimate the various national and supranational legislations and regulations that have been enacted to regulate mobility”. While Tesfahuney (1998) fails to show in more detail what these selective representations consist of this is precisely the aim of this thesis.

1.2 Discourse Analysis and Migration Studies

The value of a discourse analytical approach to studying migration lies in its ability to give insight into social processes operating at a more unconscious level and denaturalize these processes by uncovering the politicized character of how meaning is constituted and communicated. Through language we categorize and create boundaries and the task of discourse analysis is to analyze this process of boundary-making and deconstruct the often binary categorizations it engenders. A discourse analytical approach thus offers a different perspective on migration than more traditional analyses. Moreover, by investigating the sometimes hidden frames of understanding that form the basis for political decisions and political rhetoric, discourse analysis makes explicit these commonly taken-for-granted premises in order to expose the “regime of knowledge” (Foucault, 1977) currently operating within representations of migration.

While a growing body of academic work employs discourse analytical perspectives to analyze representations of illegality, few contributions investigate these representations within a European context and even fewer take the construction of migrant (il)legality as their explicit research focus. The majority of the contributions I have identified are more focused on investigating how a specific group of migrants are represented, in particular asylum seekers (see for instance Bakke, 2005; Every & Augoustinos, 2007; 2008; Horsti, 2002; Kaye, 1998; Nickels, 2007; Thomson, 2003; Young, 1997). While these studies raise interesting points, their scope is limited to the figure of the asylum seeker and they do not offer a more thorough analysis of how (il)legality is constructed. Given the failure to see migrant legality and illegality in connection in much of the literature on representations of migration, this thesis is interested in examining how the boundary between the two is drawn up. Indeed, “contrary to the popular dichotomized image of ‘legal’ and ‘illegal’ migrants (...) the boundary between the two is not as clear-cut as it may appear to be” (Yamamoto, 2007: 95). By critically analyzing the spatial representations, definitions and discursive strategies involved in constructing and

differentiating migrant legality and illegality, this thesis seeks to offer a deeper understanding of a facet of contemporary migration policies that is often taken for granted. Such an understanding of how migrant (il)legality is constructed is crucial as different discourses open up for different policy responses.

1.3 Thesis Outline

Chapter two outlines the theoretical framework which brings together three bodies of social theory. The chapter starts by demonstrating how mobility has been conceptualized in social thought and situates the analysis of this thesis within the politics of mobility. I then move on to outlining a theory of meaning that builds on the constructivist approach to representation and three perspectives on discourse analysis. In this section I also discuss the power of the media to represent reality in specific ways and the power of such media representations to shape our way of seeing the world. In the third and last section I explain how the media shape public action and I propose it is crucial to analyze the ethics and politics of mediation in order to understand how migrant (il)legality is constructed.

The subsequent chapter presents the analytical approach of the thesis. After outlining the research design I account for how the data were collected and the steps I followed in coding and interpreting the data material. I then discuss my own positionality and the politics of translation involved in presenting in English an analysis of French newspaper articles, before I evaluate the research undertaken.

The subsequent three chapters constitute the core of the thesis and this is where I discuss the analytical findings. Chapter four, *Geographies of Migrant (Il)legality*, examines how migrant legality and illegality are spatially constructed. I analyze the spatial metaphors used in discourses on migration to Europe and the spatial relations construed between sending, transit and receiving countries. In particular, I look at how the spatial axis of distance and proximity is articulated through the construction of specific hierarchies of place and through attempts to root migrants in a home located away from Europe.

Chapter five, *Defining Migrant (Il)legality*, then looks at how migrant legality and illegality are defined in the examined newspaper articles. In this chapter I analyze the

vocabulary the articles use when reporting on migration issues and I argue that both legality and illegality are defined and given meaning by being linked to other concepts.

Chapter six, *Representing Migrant (Il)legality*, is the last analytical chapter. Here I examine how the discursive strategies of narrative mode, framing, humanization and dehumanization are used in order to represent migrant legality and illegality in particular ways. In particular I look at how the examined newspaper articles construct the relation between the reader of a newspaper article and the migrants appearing in the news and how this shapes the reader's ethical and political action towards the migrants.

The analytical chapters offer increased depth in the analysis and in chapter seven, *Conclusion*, I summarize the empirical findings, identify two sets of discursive strategies that are used to represent migrant legality and illegality respectively and discuss the analysis in relation to an underlying ambition of this research project to clarify the methodology of discourse analysis.

| 2 | **Theoretical Framework**

Migration research has traditionally conceived of migration in largely economic terms and its political geographies have been rather implicit, with focus being placed on the state in the form of government policy (Silvey et al, 2008). Critical political geography, on the other hand, sees power as dispersed and shifts focus from government to governmentality, or “the government of personal conduct and the government of soul and lives” (Ó Tuathail, 1996: 6). In contrast to classic political geography which sought to understand how various political processes are influenced by space and place, critical political geography takes an explicit interest in the politics of geography and how geographical phenomena are informed by politics operating at multiple scales (Agnew, 2002). This is where questions of representation, power and discourse are brought into political geography and this cultural turn within geography has also led to a textualization of the sub-field of political geography (Barnett, 1998).

This chapter lays out a framework that combines perspectives from mobility studies with the focus on representation, power and discourse within critical political geography. This is fruitful for migration research as such an “analytical shift encourages greater attention not only to discursive productions of migrants’ bodies, national borders, and citizen-subjects, but also to the everyday mediations of exclusion/inclusion” (Silvey et al, 2008: 485). To enable the analysis to attend to these discursive productions, the media serve as a productive interface between migration studies and critical political geography. Relevant contributions from these two bodies of work are integrated with perspectives on the ethics and politics of mediation to build a coherent theoretical framework.

2.1 Mobility in Social Thought

In order to understand how mobility is conceptualized in social thought it is useful to start by making an analytical distinction between movement and mobility. Movement is the act of displacement between two locations, often referred to as point A and B. Classic migration theory had an aim to create a general framework for explaining movement, such as in the push and pull model. However, these general models tend to ignore the

social aspects of movement and the factors that differentiate it. Movement is abstracted to the point of appearing “contentless, apparently natural, and devoid of meaning, history and ideology” (Cresswell, 2006: 3). Criticizing such views Cresswell (1999) advocates for shifting focus from movement to mobility, which he sees as socialized movement taking into account questions of power and meaning. In the same way as theorists such as Lefebvre (1991) have exposed how space is socially produced, Cresswell (1999, 2001; 2006) has engaged in demonstrating how mobility operates within fields of power and meaning. The result is the identification of two distinct strands of thought on mobility: sedentary metaphysics and nomadic metaphysics. The following sections will outline these two approaches and then contrast them with a perspective that highlights the politics of mobility.

The *sedentary metaphysics* sees mobility as a disorder and a threat to the normality of rootedness that prevails within “the national order of things” (Malkki, 1992). Central concepts within this strand of thought are place, spatial order, belonging, and roots. In human geography sedentary theoretizations of mobility are especially pronounced within humanistic geography. Opposing the focus on space within spatial science, humanistic geographers have brought the notion of place to the forefront of geographic inquiry (Cresswell, 2004). For these geographers place is the center of human existence, and meaning and place are largely understood as immobile (Adey, 2006). In contrast, mobile spaces, such as the airport, are seen as without meaning and referred to as “placeless” (Relph, 1976) or “non-places” (Augé, 1995). Sedentarism is, however, not confined to academia but is made material in multiple social practices through which fixity assumes not only metaphysical but also moral primacy. Several authors (see for instance Cresswell, 1999) have explored how mobile figures such as tramps, gypsies, New Age travelers, refugees and migrants have been discursively labeled as ‘out of place’ and their mobilities regarded as deviant and pathological. Such representations of mobility are then mirrored in the material geography of institutions such as the law, the police and the camp whose practices seek to confine and discipline mobilities by fixing them ‘in place’.

Alongside these sedentary strands of thought Cresswell (2001) identifies a *nomadic metaphysics* that sees mobility as transgression and resistance and praises it as the hallmark of the postmodern world of flows. A contrast is made between dominant power

structures, which are seen as immobile and fixed in practices and institutions, and resistance which is mobile and crosses the territorial and classificatory boundaries created by the powerful groups in society. While not casting mobility as a deviant, this strand of thought is unable to move beyond a simple romanticization of mobility and thus fails to grasp how different groups in society have unequal access to this acclaimed mobility.

Clifford (in Cresswell, 2001) makes a link between such a mobile ontology and a mobile epistemology. In this regard, discourse analysis can be conceptualized as mobile thought because discourses are not fixed structures, but open for change:

Social and cultural sense, then, becomes not a goal but a discourse, not a closure but a trace in an endless passage that can only aspire to temporary arrest, to a self-conscious drawing of a limit across the diverse possibilities of the world (Chambers, 1990, cited in Cresswell, 2001: 19).

This does not, however, mean that discourse analysis is prone to the same celebration of mobility that Cresswell (2001) criticizes much postmodern thought of falling victim to. Instead, as I will elaborate on later in this chapter, discourse analysis enables the researcher to investigate discursive struggles to fix the meaning of mobility and thus points out how mobility is highly politicized and differentiated.

In this regard Cresswell (2001, 2006) proposes a third perspective on mobility that he refers to as the *politics of mobility*. According to this view mobility:

(...) is produced and given meaning within relations of power. There is, then, no mobility outside of power. Mobility, unlike movement, is contextualised. It is a word for produced movement (Cresswell, 2001:20).

This third approach is critical of the way in which mobility is taken for granted within much social thought and proposes to see mobility as embedded in specific social, political, cultural and historical contexts. Analyzing mobility thus implies paying attention to how mobility is assigned meaning within these contexts of power and how representations of mobility inform and legitimize judgments about mobile people and their practices (Cresswell, 2006). The politics of mobility approach rests on three assumptions (Adey, 2006; Frello, 2008). Firstly, mobility is assigned different meanings by different people in different circumstances. Hence, mobility cannot simply be reduced to a pathology or elevated to a form of emancipatory resistance. Secondly, the meanings attached to mobility are both constructed through discourses and power relations and

contribute to their (re)production. Thirdly, mobility is differentiated in that the mobility of some people depends on the immobility of others.

In contrast to the general model of mobility proposed by spatial science the politics of mobility perspective emphasizes the “dialectical relationships between mobilities and relative immobilities” (Adey, 2006: 86). This means that mobility is seen as differentiated and interrelated with other mobilities and with immobilities. Immobility implies that the mobility of some is restrained in relation to someone else’s mobility. These differences between mobilities must be “understood as material geographic acts which are given meaning and are implicated in relations of power” (Cresswell, 2001: 22). Empirically based research on the politics of mobility and relational (im)mobilities span a wide variety of forms, practices, scales, locations and technologies of mobility, employing different, and sometimes innovative, methodologies (Blunt, 2007). Hyndman (1997) explores the relationship between the mobility of capital, in the form of humanitarian aid, and the relative immobility of migrant bodies. Sparke (2006) traces the differentiation of mobility inherent in NEXUS, an expedited border crossing program in the US that creates a kinetic elite and a concomitant kinetic underclass. Similarly, Adey (2004) investigates how higher risk passengers in the airport are slowed down so that frequent flyer passengers may move faster. Gogia (2006) also juxtaposes two groups of mobile bodies, but in this case Canadian backpackers in Mexico and Mexican migrant workers in Canada, to analyze the implications of these differentiated mobilities for the relationships between the North and the South. Writing on the politics of mobility in the European Union, Verstraete (2001: 29) concludes that the “freedom of mobility for some (citizens, tourists, business people) could only be made possible through the organised exclusion of others forced to move around as illegal ‘aliens’, migrants, or refugees”. While much of the literature examining the relational politics of (im)mobility emphasizes that mobility is given meaning and differentiated through representations that operate within contexts of power, it is noticeable that so few studies employ discourse analysis to analyze these representations of mobility or base their discussion on empirical material in the form of concrete texts. In the following section I will outline the theoretical premises of such an analysis of representations and discourse.

2.2 The Poetics and Politics of Representation

2.2.1 *Philosophical Foundations of Representation*

In this thesis, representation⁵ is defined as “the production and circulation of meaning through language” (Hall, 1997a: 1). Through representation various ‘things’ are assigned meaning in a process that involves multiple discursive practices including:

the words we use about them [these ‘things’], the stories we tell about them, the images of them we produce, the emotions we associate with them, the ways we classify and conceptualize them [and] the values we place on them (Hall, 1997a: 3).

Hall (1997b) outlines three different theories of representation: the reflective, the intentional and the constructivist approach to representation. The *reflective* or mimetic approach regards language as a simple mirror imitating a true meaning that already exists in the objects, persons, ideas and events of the ‘real’ world. The reflective approach is modernist in nature and its two main tenets are the depth model, which postulates that concepts and ideas are not invented but reflect permanent essences, and the correspondence theory of knowledge, whereby language is regarded as a mirror of reality. The modernist thinker thus seeks to go beyond the apparent in order to reach the ontological essence which is considered to be hidden from view. This approach to representation is characteristic of positivistic science and stands in sharp contrast to that proposed by the second approach to representation, which Hall (1997b) refers to as the *intentional* approach. This approach claims that the source of meaning lies not in the objects or events ‘out there’ but rather in the speaker or author who conveys his or her intended meanings through language. The *constructivist* approach points to certain flaws in both of the two previous approaches and claims that “neither things in themselves nor the individual users of language can fix meaning in language” (Hall, 1997b: 25). Rather, representation is an inherently social process and meaning is socially constructed. It is this approach to representation that will be used in this thesis.

The constructivist approach draws upon a poststructuralist conception of language whereby meaning is not fixed once and for all before being ‘found’ and mirrored through

⁵ By ‘representation’ (in singular) I refer to the process of representing. By ‘representations’ (in plural) I refer to the outcome / products of this process. Both are the objects of my analysis.

language, rather it is continuously negotiated and (re)constructed. The constructivist approach thus views representation as a social constructionist practice. Burr (1995) identifies four common principles underlying social constructionism. Firstly, social constructionism is critical of taken-for-granted knowledge and claims that our knowledge cannot be considered objective truth, but is a product of our own ways of categorizing the world. Moreover, these categorizations are themselves socially constructed and “do not necessarily refer to real divisions” (Burr, 1995: 3). Secondly, and as a direct consequence of this, social constructionism sees our representations of the world as historically and culturally specific and contingent. This view opens up for the possibility of change and bears similarities with Foucault’s (in Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002) view that each historical era has its own distinct regime of knowledge that regulates whether a statement is considered ‘true’ or ‘false’. Thirdly, social constructionism postulates a relationship between knowledge and social processes in that our ways of seeing the world are maintained through social interaction by the establishment of common ‘truths’. The relationship between knowledge and social practice constitutes the fourth and last pillar. Different representations enable different social practices because particular ways of seeing make some actions natural and others not (Burr, 1995).

Hall (1997a) discusses two variants of the constructionist approach: the poetics of representation and the politics of representation. The poetics of representation is concerned with semiotics or the study of how meaning is established and communicated through signs (Heradstveit & Bjørge, 1992). Theories of signs frequently draw on the legacy of the French structural linguist Saussure (1966) who proposes that language is structured according to social codes that fill words with meaning. To analyze these codes Saussure proposes a threefold semiotic model composed of ‘sign’, ‘signifier’ and ‘signified’. Signifier is the actual word, image or sound whereas signified is the corresponding concept or idea. Combined they constitute a sign. According to Saussure, signs are defined relationally in opposition to what they are *not*. Meaning is thus derived from a system of distinctions and this system divides the world into separate categories. Moreover, within the same language, categories often have fuzzy rather than neatly delineated boundaries and the boundaries between them are not fixed, but are open to

change. Legality and illegality are pertinent examples of concepts with such porous linguistic borders.

While Saussure focuses on denotation, or the descriptive level linking signifier to signified, Barthes (1993) is primarily concerned with investigating the connotative aspects of language. He gives the following famous example of the two levels of signification (see Box 1):

Box 1: Cover of Paris-Match⁶

“I am at the barber’s, and a copy of Paris-Match [a French magazine] is offered to me. On the cover, a young Negro in a French uniform is saluting, with his eyes uplifted, probably fixed on a fold of the tricolour [the French flag]. All this is the [denotative] meaning of the picture. But, whether naively or not, I see very well what it signifies to me [its connotation]: that France is a great Empire, that all her sons, without any colour discrimination, faithfully serve under her flag, and that there is no better answer to the detractors of an alleged colonialism that the zeal shown by this Negro in serving his so-called oppressors” (Barthes, 1993: 115)



Barthes refers to connotative signs as *myth* and sees myth as a “type of speech” with three characteristics. Firstly, myth “is never arbitrary; it is always in part motivated” (Barthes, 1993: 126). Secondly, myth works by naturalizing speech, transforming what is in reality cultural, historical and constructed into something that is presented as natural, innocent and factual. The third aspect follows from this and concerns myth as depolitized speech. Barthes (1993) claims that myth does not deny the existence of things, but makes us consider them in their purified and innocent version and thus depoliticizes the way we talk about certain phenomena. The value of Barthes’ approach to meaning lies in its explicit recognition of meaning and mythical structures as both motivated and naturalized. However, for the purpose of this thesis, Barthes’ writings on myth are too poorly developed to serve as an analytical framework alone as they lack a thorough

⁶ Source: http://courses.nus.edu.sg/course/elljwp/parismatch_files/image002.jpg. [Retrieved Aug 15, 2008]

theorization of issues of power and change in language. For this, I now turn to consider discourse analysis and the politics of representation.

2.2.2 *Discourse Analysis: The Politics of Representation*

Poststructuralist theories of meaning are rooted in Saussure's structural linguistics. However, instead of focusing on language as a system (*langue*) their emphasis is on language in use (*parole*). This makes it possible for poststructuralists to place the potential for change in the relation between signifier and signified, which Saussure failed to theorize, at the heart of their theory of meaning and analyze change as *discursive* change (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002). According to the poststructural theory of meaning, language is structured into discourses, or ways of talking about the material reality, and it is through these discourses that meaning is created. The analysis of meaning is thus an analysis of discourses. In this thesis I understand discourse analysis as "[t]he analysis of a piece of text in order to reveal either the discourses operating within it or the linguistic and rhetorical devices that are used in its construction" (Burr, 1995: 184). In my use of discourse analysis emphasis is on answering both of the following questions: *Which discourses operate within the text? Which discursive strategies can explain how meaning is created?*⁷ In analyzing discourses of migrant (il)legality in France I have adopted elements from three different approaches to discourse analysis: Foucault's (1972; 1977; 1999) analysis of discursive formations, Laclau and Mouffe's (2001) discourse theory and Fairclough's (1995; 2003) critical discourse analysis.

If Saussure is regarded as the father of semiotics Foucault can be said to occupy a similar position in relation to the concept of discourse. Foucault's discourse analysis is located on a broad macro level. In his books Foucault focuses on the discursive breaks that spur large historical transitions and sets out to trace the history of a discursive formation, or what he terms its archaeology (Foucault, 1972). Following this method Foucault's work has among others investigated discourses on punishment and the birth of the prison (Foucault, 1977), on sexuality (Foucault, 1980a) and on insanity and the establishment of asylums (Foucault, 1965). One of Foucault's central insights is that discourses are linguistic, but also material, being embedded and reproduced in

⁷ These two questions are connected to my second and third sub research question respectively.

institutions such as the prison, the clinic and the asylum (Sandmo, 1999). Another contribution is his notion of regimes of truth which clearly positions Foucault's work within the constructivist approach to representation. According to Foucault the purpose of discourse analysis is not to establish the 'Truth', as such a 'Truth' or more 'real' relations lying behind discourses do not exist. Instead truth is considered a discursive construction and the task of the discourse analyst is to look for the 'effects of truth' in the text studied, to wit how discourses operate to naturalize their ways of seeing and make them appear as true. While Foucault identified one regime of truth within each historical era, subsequent theorizations of discourse have emphasized how different discourses continuously struggle to fixate meaning (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002).

Laclau and Mouffe's key contribution to the theory of meaning is the way in which they distinguish between different types of meaning in terms of their relative (in)stability. According to Laclau and Mouffe (2001) discourse can be understood as the fixation of meaning within a specific domain. Each discourse is established around particular *nodal points*. These are privileged signs in relation to which the meaning of others signs crystallizes. Jørgensen and Phillips (2002) designate 'the body' and 'democracy' as examples of such nodal points. Furthermore, Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory distinguishes between *elements*, defined as concepts or signs that are ambiguous and can assume several meanings, and *moments*, which refer to unambiguous concepts or signs whose meaning has been fixed through a process of articulation. The result of such an articulation is a discourse. Articulation implies that elements are made into moments through a process of closure, whereby the meaning of a particular sign is fixed. Through this process, certain possible meanings are excluded, and a discourse entails thus a reduction of possibilities (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002). Laclau and Mouffe (2001) refer to these excluded possible meanings as the *field of discursivity*, or the constitutive exterior. This process of closure is never total and can be reversed or take a new direction as the meaning of the sign in question is renegotiated and redefined. Discourses are thus conceptualized as *contingent*, that is possible but not necessary, as different discourses engage in a continuous struggle to fix the meaning of signs. Concurrently, they also display a degree of *continuity*, in that discourses are relatively fixed and stable systems of meaning. Thus, discourse analysis does not subscribe to the cliché that 'anything goes',

but points to the fact that there are indeed consistencies, continuity and a certain degree of inertia in the social world and that though meaning fluctuates, this does not happen overnight. The purpose of discourse analysis according to Laclau and Mouffe is thus to map those processes by which we struggle over how to fix the meaning of signs (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002). Focus is hence on how discursive structures are constituted and changed, and not on structures in themselves.

The third approach to discourse analysis that forms the basis of my theory of meaning is Fairclough's (1995; 2003) critical discourse analysis (CDA). CDA can be distinguished from the two other approaches by its clear orientation towards text and the linguistic analysis of discourse. In doing so, CDA attempts to combine social theory and linguistic analysis (Fairclough, 2003). Fairclough (1995, 2003) understands text in its broad sense, to include the oral, the written and the visual, and he proposes a three-dimensional analytical framework, whereby the critical discourse analyst should examine the characteristics of the text (the text dimension), the processes of production and consumption surrounding the text (the discursive practice dimension) and finally the role of discursive practices in reproducing the existing social order or contributing to social change (the social practice dimension)⁸. Similar to Foucault, Fairclough has a pronounced aim to analyze processes of social change. His focus is, however, more on the micro-level, sometimes subtle, changes in society than on the changes associated with wider historical eras that Foucault examines. In the analysis of discourse CDA continuously oscillates between a focus on concrete texts and its wider discursive context, captured analytically by the notion of order of discourse, interdiscursivity and intertextuality. *Order of discourse* refers to the limited number of discourses competing to fix meaning within a particular social institution or domain. As will become clear in the analytical chapters different discourses strive to fill notions of legal and illegal migration with meaning, and this discursive struggle is particularly accentuated in the discourse on undocumented migrants (*sans-papiers*) where several competing discourses can be identified. For Fairclough (1995) social change can manifest itself through a discursive redrawing of boundaries within a specific order of discourse or between different orders of discourse. Change is particularly prone to take place when discourses,

⁸ However, Fairclough (1995) clearly states that his analytical emphasis is on the text dimension.

which traditionally are seen as belonging to different orders of discourse, are mixed and articulated within one order of discourse. This is termed *interdiscursivity*. An example of this is how discourses belonging to a business or market economy order of discourse are incorporated into discourses on education, for instance when students are said to ‘produce’ credits and universities attempt to market themselves. In this case, interdiscursivity has led to changes not only in how higher education is conceptualized within and outside this social field but also to changed social practices in relation to education. Interdiscursivity is a form of *intertextuality* which refers to the fact that all texts draw on previous texts, leading to either the reproduction or change of discourses (Fairclough, 1995). In the case of media discourse newspaper texts frequently make references to events that have previously been narrated by other media texts.

2.2.3 *Structure and Agency in Discourse Analysis*

Graham (1997) asserts that social science is concerned with identifying some kind of ‘order’ in the social world. This permanence is often conceptualized as various forms of structures. The question of how structure is theorized is intrinsically linked to the ontological premises of discourse analysis. Ontology is the study of the nature of being and reality. A central ontological debate concerns whether reality exists independently of our conceptions, understandings and discourses or whether it is somehow created by us (Buch-Hansen & Nielsen, 2005).⁹ According to the social constructionist view, language gives structure and meaning to our experiences, and hence what we can experience is limited by the linguistic concepts at our disposal. The social world exists not within people (as in humanism) or outside people (as in structuralism) but between them (Burr, 1995). Discourse analysis is thus anti-foundational and rejects the claim that “there exist fixed, indubitable, and final foundations that guarantee the truth of a given claim to knowledge” (Johnston et al, 2000: 278-279).

Discourse analysis, in its various guises, is part of a critical tradition in human geography that seeks to criticize social injustice and contribute, in some way or other, to social change (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002). By denaturalizing discourses, it has been argued, the discourse analyst exposes the contingency of what might previously have

⁹ Buch-Hansen and Nielsen (2005) stress that the central question is not whether reality exists, but whether it exists independently of our conceptions of it.

been considered established ‘truths’, and by moving something from the domain of the objective to the political, that is from the silently taken-for-granted to something one can be for or against, it is potentially made the target of discussion and critique, and thus change (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002). Hence, discourse analysis has the potential to empower people to make use of their agency to bring about social change. However, discourse analysis has been criticized for being little more than a new form of structuralism (Hansen in Buch-Hansen & Nielsen, 2005) where discourses assume the position of social structures that regulate and shape social life, thus to a large extent ignoring the role of human agents in shaping society and space (Chouinard, 1996). As previously stated, discursive structures are not pre-given, external or essential; rather they are collectively and discursively constructed through social practice. Moreover, social order is apprehended as partial and contradictory (Graham, 1997) as discourses are not fixed once and for all. Despite this, Burr (1995: 89) points out that “[i]f human beings and the things that form the objects of their knowledge are constructed through discourse, then this seems to afford more agency to discourse than it does to people”.

A similar criticism has been levied against Foucault’s understanding of human agency, where the human subject is regarded as decentred and governed by discourses through a process of interpellation. Based on Althusser’s structural Marxism, interpellation implies that discourses ‘locate’ individuals in different subject positions, offering no possibilities for resisting the position offered. Laclau and Mouffe consent to this view and see individuals as determined by structures (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002). Rejecting such an extreme structuralist view, other approaches to discourse analysis seek to accommodate human agency by pointing out that human subjects are not only products of discourses, they also actively use and produce discourses (Burr, 1995). Moreover, they are not interpellated into one single subject position, as Althusser claimed, because different discourses accord different, and possibly conflicting, subject positions. Discourses are thus “sites of power and conflict, where power relations are acted out and contested” (Burr, 1995: 41).

While much theoretical writing on agency has centered on questions of identity and the construction and positioning of subjects through discourse (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002), the question of voice and who is telling whose story is often overlooked in

theoretizations of agency. This question is related to the politics of positionality and “raises complex issues about speaking positions, about silencing and giving voice” (Johnston et al, 2000: 605). Critical geographers have long struggled with these questions of voice and how to represent the ‘other’ in their own writings on marginalized groups in society. In this regard Spivak (1988: 271) makes a distinction between representation as ‘speaking for’ or ‘speaking of’ and asks the rhetorical question “Can the subaltern speak?” The notion of subaltern originated within historical materialism, but subaltern studies have also moved towards engaging with poststructuralism, postcolonialism and feminism. The term derives from Gramsci’s writing on hegemony and “can be applied to any non-hegemonic position” (Shurmer-Smith & Hannam, 1994: 125). Spivak (1988) is critical of ‘speaking for’ as it presupposes both an inability of ‘others’ to speak for themselves and the legitimate right of the geographer or the journalist to speak on behalf of ‘others’ by interpreting what they have to say and then represent it to a reader, with the potential risk of distortions and misrepresentations along the way. Moreover, as will become clear in the section on the ethics and politics of mediation later in this chapter, the crucial question is not whether the representation of the migrant ‘other’ is correct or not, as this would imply the existence of some privileged, more ‘true’ representation. Rather, the interest of this thesis lies in examining the agency granted to migrants and this includes among others migrants’ agency to represent themselves.

2.2.4 Power, Representation and the Media

The constructionist approach to representation, while retaining the importance of language and meaning, also broadens the scope of analysis by inserting issues of representation into a wider social context of knowledge and power. It suggests analyzing how various representations enter into the production of social knowledge and how this production is enmeshed in distinct power relations (Hall, 1997b). Edward Said (1995), in his seminal and much cited work on Orientalism, proposes the concept of imaginative geographies to refer to how representations link with issues of power and knowledge. For Said (1995) representations are bound up in asymmetrical grids of power between the authors of certain imaginings and the people, places and events being imagined. Over time, these representations become sedimented and accumulate into a self-reinforcing archive from which subsequent representations draw. Said’s emphasis on power draws

“attention to the ‘non-innocence’ of any act of representation” (Johnston et al, 2000: 704) and is thus in line with Barthes (1993) claim that myth is always motivated. In this section emphasis is on power and representations within the media. I start by drawing on Foucault to establish a general notion of what power is. I then narrow down the focus to the power of media representations and discuss how the power of the media is a kind of special power. In the last part of the section I exemplify this special power using two notions from scholarship on the media: agenda setting and news framing.

Foucault’s work is central to understand what power is and how it operates. According to Foucault (1980b: 119) power “traverses and produces things, it induces pleasure, forms knowledge, produces discourse. It needs to be considered as a productive network which runs through the whole social body”. This statement illustrates two central aspects of Foucault’s notion of power. Firstly, Foucault links power to knowledge. By doing this he departs from the conventional understanding of power as repression and the use of force and instead sees power as discursive in that it regulates what is considered true and thus shapes social conduct and practices. This is related to the second aspect of power as productive and everywhere. Foucault does not see power as a resource that can be possessed by certain actors but as situated in space, time and social relations, enabling certain practices at the expense of others.

Within political geography, questions of power, representation and the media have in particular been espoused by geographers engaged in critical geopolitics. This subfield of political geography is involved in a “*critical* reengagement with geopolitical discourse (...) that examines the imagination, narration and scripting of global and strategic spaces” (Johnston & Sidaway, 2004: 289, original emphasis). Such a geo-graphing of the world finds expression in three different but interrelated fields (Ó Tuathail, 1996). *Formal* geopolitics refers to the geopolitical narratives produced and circulated within strategic institutions, think tanks and academia, whereas *practical* geopolitics involves state bureaucracy and political institutions. *Popular* geopolitics, the third and last field, consists of the geopolitical imaginations that can be found in novels, cartoons, movies and the mass media. The geographical framings of political events and issues embodied in these everyday spaces have received increased attention in recent decades and constitute an important field of inquiry within critical political geography.

The mass media¹⁰ are an interesting field in which to investigate representations of people, places and events as the media in many regards occupy a position as a mediator or messenger. Being social institutions, the media retain in many cases close links, be it formal or informal, to the political, economical and cultural elites and centers of power. Concurrently, the media, being “the few talking to the many” (Bell, 1991: 1) are able to reach and influence a large audience ‘on the ground’. The media are thus to a large extent powerful institutions in that media representations are able to influence and shape our ways of seeing and understanding the world. While it is generally agreed that journalists “do not simply ‘transcribe’ a set of transparent events” (Schudson, 2003: 18), there is considerable disagreement as to how and to what extent the media influence and exert power. Schudson (2003) claims that people often overestimate the power of the media simply because the media are a visible actor and thus an easy target for accusations, while in reality the media might act more as a conduit for relaying and translating other people’s message to the general public. Fairclough (1989) refers to this kind of power relation as “hidden power”, claiming that media discourse is distinguished from the ordinary face-to-face discourse in that media discourse is characterized by one-sidedness, given that the audience does not participate in the production of the text, but is simply consuming an already finished media product. Fairclough (1989) questions whether this product, and the representations that go into it, is purely the result of the journalist or the editor’s perspective on the people, places or events represented. Rather, in the context of British media, Fairclough (1989: 51) suggests that “the balance of sources and perspectives and ideology is overwhelmingly in favour of existing power-holders”. Accordingly, the media can be perceived as mediating and translating representations, and the power relations they embody, from the domain of the formal and practical (e.g. the power-holders) to the popular domain of the masses. Hence, media power is “power of a special sort” (Schudson, 2003: 25), and it implies the power to favor certain interpretations, while downplaying or excluding others, and the power relations implicit in this favoring are hidden in the sense that the resulting representations appear to be

¹⁰ In this thesis my main interest lies in the printed news media.

those of the journalists or media institutions and not those of the powerful elites in society (Fairclough, 1989)¹¹.

Despite this hidden power, the media cannot be reduced to a simple conduit for transmitting information from the powerful groups in society to the general public, as this would lead into another extremity, namely to underestimate the power of the media. Rather, the media play a powerful role in shaping our understanding of what is going on in the world. This process can take several forms. Firstly, the media have the power to set the agenda and define which stories are considered newsworthy and which are not. In this regard, Seneviratne (2005) points to a double standard in the media coverage of the US-led attack on Fallujah, Iraq in November 2004 versus the coverage of the Asian tsunami just a month later. He asks the rhetorical question “Why is the Asian Tsunami big news, but not the destruction of Fallujah?” (Seneviratne 2005: 27). Compared to the saturation of media coverage of the tsunami, the coverage of Fallujah is marked by absence and silence, to the extent that the story of Fallujah fades into the realm of the forgotten, erased from the media’s map of ‘hot spots’ and not considered newsworthy enough to be put on the agenda. One possible explanation for this is that “white death (...) seem[s] to count for more in the calculus of interest, concern, and grief represented by the Western media” (Olds et al, 2005: 475). The media thus engage in a powerful logic of memory and amnesia, visibility and invisibility.

A central concept in the theory of agenda setting is media gatekeeping. According to Schudson (1997) the media act as a gatekeeper by selecting which information pass as news and which is rejected at the ‘border’ and by consequence never printed and transmitted to the audience. Hence, the media have the power to influence which stories are currently known and debated by the public, resulting in a somewhat distorted representation of the world. This is the result of “socially organised distortions built into the structures and routines of news gathering” (Schudson, 2003: 33). In early media theory these distortions were explained by reference to the concept of representational bias, implying that “the reporter, editor, or news institution owner knows what the real

¹¹ Fairclough (1989) claims that this process of favoring in many cases might not be the result of a conscious manipulation of news, rather the power relations at play in the production of media representations are to some degree hidden even from media workers themselves.

event looks like, but will [intentionally] color it to advance a political, economic, or ideological aim” (Schudson, 2003: 34).

While the news media certainly are far from giving neutral and detached accounts of events taking place in the world, the concept of representational bias has in recent time given way to that of news framing. Schudson (2003: 35) defines framing as “principles of selection, emphasis, and presentation composed of little tacit theories about what exists, what happens and what matters”. What is at stake is thus not just which stories make it through the filter of the gatekeeper, but how these stories are subsequently narrated and represented by emphasizing some aspects and ignoring others. Like the frame surrounding a photography media frames are the result of specific standpoints and provide the audience with only a segment of reality, while simultaneously excluding from the story what lies beyond the edges of the frame. Nevertheless, frames, in their various guises, are indispensable tools in our everyday lives as we constantly, either consciously or unconsciously, make certain assumptions and simplifications in order to be able to make sense of the complex world we inhabit. It is thus “humanly impossible to avoid framing” (Schudson, 2003: 35) in the same way as knowledge is always a situated view from somewhere. However, while enabling us to comprehend various events by inserting them into an already familiar context or system of classification, frames also actively structure meaning, and thus they move beyond the simple notions of exclusion and inclusion of agenda setting theory. Moreover, frames are “socially shared and persistent over time” (Reese, 2001: 11) and thus each editing and framing of news can be seen as drawing upon an archive of previous representations. This is similar to Fairclough’s (1995; 2003) notion of intertextuality. In this way frames become central to the production of knowledge as “the frame in a news text is really the imprint of power - it registers the identity of actors or interests that competed to dominate the text” (Entman, 1993: 55). According to Reese (2001) it is especially in the classification and categorization of an event as well as in the definition of its context that frames exercise power. To take a simple example: framing a demonstration march as a confrontation between the police and those protesting, instead of as a confrontation between the views and values of mainstream society and those of the protesters, serves to define the latter’s societal critique as not relevant to the story and thus it is omitted (Reese, 2001).

2.3 The Ethics and Politics of Mediation

2.3.1 *The Media and Public Action*

The media play a central role in disseminating information. Because we seldom have direct access to the people and places narrated in the news we are dependent on the media in order to gain knowledge about the world around us. Consequently we see the world as it is represented to us through the media and not how it ‘really’ is. While unavoidable in a society where social relations, institutions and practices are spatially dispersed this reliance on mediated representations can be problematic in two ways. Firstly, because the media construct specific representations of the events narrated and, secondly, because these representations are often naturalized to the point of being taken for granted and considered as the ‘Truth’. While these two aspects are not necessarily the result of a conscious choice to exclude certain representations or ‘truths’, media representations, as any representation, cannot claim to be purely neutral, but are always a situated view from somewhere. Hence, my aim in this thesis is not to show that the media is manipulating or misleading the readers of a newspaper, as this would imply the existence of some privileged, more ‘true’ representation. Rather, I see the media as simultaneously reflecting naturalized discourses operating on the level of society and in a position of power to reproduce and/or transform these discourses. Because of the power of the media to represent events taking place ‘out there’ and the power of these media representations to form our judgments, opinions and reactions towards people and places ‘elsewhere’ it is crucial to examine and denaturalize the media and its representational practices.

As I have already alluded to distance and proximity are two central notions when discussing representations and the media. The media are means of communication, but an instance of face-to-face communication would not be considered part of the media¹². This is because the media by definition rely on technologies of mediation to bring what is happening out ‘there’ to an audience situated ‘here’. The concept of mediation has two distinct, but interrelated, facets. Firstly, mediation involves immediacy, or the overcoming of physical and moral distance in communication. Secondly, mediation can be understood as hypermediacy, which refers to the act of passing information through a medium structured by specific techno-semiotic modes, such as the choice of genre and

¹² I am grateful to Elin Sæther for pointing out this in a (face-to-face and thus unmediated!) conversation.

linguistic narrative, the strategies of camera work and the interplay of visual and verbal components. This influences if and how the physical and moral distance between the audience and the people and places in the news is closed (Chouliaraki, 2006).

It is a central claim of this thesis that mediation is both political and ethical. Mediation is political because it takes part in an exercise of world-making through which various actors attempt to construct and control meaning. As I have already mentioned media representations are not neutral accounts reflecting the essential nature of things, rather meaning is socially constructed through relations of power. This constructivist approach to representation (Hall, 1997b) links media representations to the power embedded within media institutions and transnational networks of media organizations as well as to the power within the media representations themselves. This power of media representations is related to the claim that mediation is ethical. In this thesis the ethical role of the media is evaluated through the prism of practice and the ability of the media to create conditions conducive of public action. While public action has traditionally been conceived of as action on the spot, which relies on co-presence and face-to-face interaction between the involved actors, Chouliaraki (2006) advocates that public action has to be understood as action at distance, that is action that incorporates the power of mediation and takes into account the fact that most audiences are located ‘elsewhere’ in relation to the (mis)fortunes they read or hear about in the news. Following up on this mediation can be regarded as a “textual technology of governmentality” (Chouliaraki, 2006: 6) because media representations have the capacity to produce geographical, ethical and political sensibilities and thus shape the conduct of their recipients.

While some argue that the contemporary society of mediation is suffering from a profound compassion fatigue as audiences become indifferent to the suffering they are witnessing on screen or reading about in the newspaper, Chouliaraki (2006) argues that compassion fatigue is not an indicator of a general loss of morality within modern societies but a product of media representations that do not enable the reader to engage with the lives of those narrated in the news. The central question is to ask how the media cultivate a response of engagement with and responsibility for distant others and their (mis)fortunes. In this regard it plays a decisive role whether a news event and the people affected by it are presented as a moral cause of action or rather as being of no concern to

the reader. This does, however, not entail that the media have the power to determine how the reader apprehends a newspaper article and whether the reader's reaction will be one of indifference or engagement with the people and places in the news. In his seminal essay entitled "Encoding/decoding" Stuart Hall (1980) criticized such a textual determinism for undermining the agency of the reader (or decoder in Hall's terminology). Readers do not automatically adopt the codes, identities and relations that have been encoded or inscribed into the text at the moment of its creation, but are in a position to resist and negotiate these semiotic codes. Moreover, texts do not necessarily contain only one preferred reading, but can be polyphonic, containing different voices or perspectives within the same text, and thus open up for various and possibly conflicting interpretations by the reader (Sæther, 2008). While reception studies can give a more detailed answer as to how readers actually decode texts¹³, such studies are of little value if they are not coupled with an investigation into how the media instill a disposition for public action in the audience, or fail to do so. In this regard I concur with Chouliaraki (2006)'s exhortation that research into the media's role in shaping political and ethical conduct take concrete texts as its starting point and analyze the codes written into the texts that influence, though not determine, how the texts are decoded and whether the response of the reader will be to reach out to the people in the news or pay little or no attention to them.

2.3.2 The Analytics of Mediation

Chouliaraki (2006) proposes an analytics of mediation to examine how specific media texts shape geographical, political and ethical sensibilities and construct people and places in the news as a reality to which the reader can react. The empirical focus of this analytics of mediation is on concrete texts but the analysis also takes into account how texts and the representations they contain interact with historical imaginations of far and near 'others' in order to (re)produce particular hierarchies of place and human life. The term analytics suggests that emphasis is put on "practice and discourse that place human beings in certain relationships of power to one another within a specific social field, such as the field of media and mediation" (Chouliaraki, 2006: 7). Mediation is understood as

¹³ See Höijer (2004) for an excellent example of this.

both hypermediacy and immediacy and how these two aspects of mediation contribute to producing meaning. The analytics of mediation is composed of three distinct and interrelated fields of investigation: space-times, multimodality and agency.¹⁴

The analysis of *space-times* focuses on the spatial axis of proximity and distance and the temporal axis of urgency and finality (Chouliaraki, 2006). Spatial and temporal closeness makes possible a moral encounter between the reality of the reader and that of the people in the news whereas distance removes these people from the reader's sphere of action. However, it not the absolute distance or proximity between migrants and readers that influence how the reader may relate to the migrants in the news, but whether the migrant is *constructed* as distant or near. In this regard the distinction between 'near' and 'far away' is a function of the qualities that are attributed to each type of space:

'Near' is a space inside which one can feel *chez soi*, at home; a space in which one seldom, if at all, finds oneself at a loss, feels lost for words or uncertain how to act. 'Far away', on the other hand, is a space which one enters only occasionally or not at all, in which things happen which one cannot anticipate or comprehend, and would not know how to react to once they occurred: a space containing things one knows little about, from which one does not expect much and regarding which one does not feel obliged to care (Bauman, 1998, cited in Frello, 2008: 32).

According to Bauman distance is a question of unfamiliarity and difference rather than physical distance. Analyzing three instances of television news Frello (2008) demonstrates how physical distance can be translated into metaphorical closeness and vice versa and how spaces of belonging can be constructed in terms of a zero-sum understanding of who belongs where, according to which the 'here' of the reader is discursively separated from the 'there' of the 'Other'. The process of othering is thus not only a function of the qualities that are attributed to different groups of people but also has a clearly defined spatial component.

The analysis of *multimodality* consists in examining those semiotic devices that bestow the text with specific linguistic properties. A particular emphasis is laid on modes of news presentation and modes of narrating news. The mode of news presentation

¹⁴ Chouliaraki's (2006) framework is primarily designed for analyzing news on television, where the verbal and the visual interact in complex ways. Because I do not analyze visual material in this thesis I will not go into detail on those aspects of the analytics of mediation that pertain to analyzing visual representations. Moreover, what I present in this section is a slightly modified version of Chouliaraki's analytic of mediation, adapted to the purpose of this thesis.

“refers to locations from which the news story is told and the media used to tell the story” (Chouliaraki, 2006: 74). In the case of a newspaper article the modes of presentation may include the use of material from news agencies or journalists in the field, the inclusion of expert commentaries or testimonies of witnesses and the decision to publish the news as a short news item or as a more extensive article. The mode of narrating news serves to make a news event into a story that carries meaning for the reader and in the process it “includes and excludes, foregrounds and backgrounds, justifies and legitimizes. It separates ‘us’ from ‘them’” (Chouliaraki, 2006: 77). There are three modes of narrating news: descriptions, narrations proper and expositions. Descriptions focus on facts, on the who, where and how of a news event. They also contain an implicit claim to the objectivity and the facticity of the reported news. In contrast to descriptions narrations proper make claims to the reader’s emotions. This is done by replacing factual reporting with elements of storytelling that bring the news story closer to the reader and encourage the reader to engage emotionally with the narrated news. Thirdly, expositions include an element of indignation or a moral judgment vis-à-vis the news story. While analytically separate these three modes of narrating news can interact, and at times overlap, in complex ways in the news texts (Chouliaraki, 2006).

The analysis of *agency* looks first at how active migrants appear in the news and second at the agency attributed to other actors that are present in the news articles (Chouliaraki, 2006). In this thesis I conceptualize agency as the capacity to act within a specific social context (Chouinard, 1996) and see it as having two dimensions, namely choice and power (Giddens, 1984, in Horst, 2006). In both Giddens’ structuration theory and discourse analysis this exercise of choice and power takes place within social structures that simultaneously enable and constrain action. However, the emphasis in this thesis is not on people’s ‘real’ capacity to act but on agency as the discursive subject positions offered to actors. This includes on the one hand the capacity to act that the news texts represent migrants as having and on the other hand the types of agency or response that the texts propose for the reader to engage in. Concerning the first type of agency, that of migrants, humanization is a discursive strategy that represents migrants as active human beings by bestowing them with human qualities. This has the effect of closing the physical and moral distance between the migrant and the reader, presenting migrants as

part of ‘us’ rather than ‘them’ and thus facilitates a more direct political and ethical engagement with the news on the part of the reader. Dehumanization, in contrast, fails to depict migrants’ capacity to act and their human qualities. Instead migrants are stripped of their humanity and represented as a distant ‘Other’. This blocks the readers’ modal imagination, or ability “to imagine something that they have not experienced themselves as being possible for others to experience” (Chouliaraki, 2006: 20). By closing off the reader’s ability to imagine that the migrants in the news are ‘real’ people, dehumanization also impedes the reader from engaging in any form of political or ethical action towards the migrants. Chouliaraki (2006) gives few specific details as to how humanization and dehumanization operates in concrete texts. The analysis of the social construction of migrant (il)legality thus enhances our understanding of these discursive mechanisms by proposing an elaborate typology of both humanizing and dehumanizing strategies. These strategies will be presented in chapter six.

Concerning the second type of agency, that of the reader, the absence or presence of other actors than the migrants themselves in the texts and the type of action these actors are engaged in serve as role models for how to act and thus play a crucial role in shaping the ethical positions open for the reader. In this regard, Boltanski (1999) distinguishes between three types of ethical and political reactions: the aesthetic mode, the topic of sentiment and the topic of denunciation. The aesthetic mode is characterized by detached contemplation. The reader is invited to watch, read and reflect on the misfortunes of others, but the aesthetical mode does not suppose a more active engagement on the part of the reader. For this reason Boltanski (1999) links the aesthetic mode to the medium of the painting, which presumes a more voyeuristic engagement with its contents. The topic of sentiment involves an emotional response whereby the reader is invited to have empathy or compassion with the unfortunate people in the news. This topic is illustrated by the medium of the novel and its potential to nurture the reader’s emotions. The third and last type of reaction is the topic of denunciation. The example that Boltanski (1999) uses to illustrate this topic is that of the political manifesto. In this case the reader’s response is less emotional and more political in that it seeks to point out and condemn injustice and possibly accuse those responsible for such injustices.

| 3 | Analytical Approach

In this chapter I account for the route that I have taken in writing this thesis and the choices I have made when approaching my object of analysis. In qualitative research in general, and in discourse analysis in particular, the researcher and her positionality have the power to influence the course of the research undertaken. But this power also entails the responsibility to keep one's path clean by making the various stages of the research process transparent. In following this maxim I build on the previous chapter which has outlined the theoretical framework of this thesis and thus accounted for the theoretical contributions that have influenced me in undertaking this thesis. By demonstrating how I have approached my research questions analytically I also discuss how my theoretical framework and analytical approach¹⁵ combined have contributed to shape the analytical object and by consequent the findings of this thesis.

3.1 Research Design

This thesis was initially meant to be an inquiry into the plight of undocumented migrants (*sans-papiers*) residing illegally on French territory. When this idea was never carried out in practice, it is largely due to the fact that I realized, at an early stage of the research process, that illegality cannot exist outside of a discursive system opposing it to the concept of legality. In other words, there is nothing illegal without there also being something perceived as legal. Reading further on migration in France and Europe I was struck by how recurrent this set of binary oppositions was in the texts that I was reading and also by the extent to which the phenomena of legal and illegal migration were taken for granted. They were presented as an *a priori*, requiring little or no justification of their existence. How did the texts achieve this effect? And what differentiated the categories of legality and illegality apart from the use of terms such as legal and illegal? To answer these questions I decided to conduct a discourse analysis of representations of migration in France.

¹⁵ Following Andersen (1999) I use the term analytical approach or analytical strategy instead of method.

Due to the nature of my research questions discourse analysis is the most appropriate analytical strategy for this thesis. The main research question asks *how are migrant legality and illegality constructed and differentiated?* This question and the concomitant sub-questions all seek to interrogate the social construction of migrant (il)legality and are thus of an epistemological, rather than an ontological nature. Ontology seeks to answer the question ‘What exists?’. In contrast, epistemology does not ask what but *how* something exists as an object of knowledge (Andersen, 1999). Questions of how are at the centre of the constructivist approach to representation that I introduced in the previous chapter. This approach is based on the philosophy of social constructionism and the poststructuralist conception of language that see reality not as a fixed state of being (an ontological given), but as a process of becoming (Neumann, 2001). Since this thesis examines how knowledge, in the form of categories and meanings, is constructed within a particular social field, namely migration, discourse analysis offers a highly pertinent philosophical and theoretical framework to pursue this line of epistemological inquiry.

I decided at an early stage to analyze concrete texts, in line with Fairclough’s (1995; 2003) critical discourse analysis, and to focus on newspaper articles. The focus on news, and not on individual actors’ representations, is deliberate because of the aspiration of this thesis to analyze social constructions of migrant (il)legality as shared understandings and representations circulating within the public sphere. In this regard the media occupy a central role as mediator between social institutions and the individual reader. I also saw it as fruitful to rely on published texts as these are already part of the actual public debate in France. While it would have been interesting to examine television news because of the complexities of the modes of news presentation and the interplay between visual and verbal strategies that the medium of television offers (Chouliaraki, 2006) it was not practically possible because of lack of access to the relevant material. Moreover, confining the analysis to the verbal aspects of texts not only offers a more detailed understanding of the texts’ discursive strategies but also highlights that words, though less obvious than images, play a main constitutive role in themselves.

Based on my previous knowledge of the French printed news media I singled out two major national newspapers as my sources: *Le Monde* and *Le Figaro*. Both are published daily and based in Paris. The choice of *Le Monde* and *Le Figaro* responded to a wish to

analyze mainstream French news discourse on migration as these two newspapers represent the major political trends in France. I also assumed that *Le Monde* and *Le Figaro*, through their geographical proximity to the French centre of political power, might be aptly situated to capture the public debate on migration in France.

Le Monde (literally: “The World”) was established in 1944 and sees itself as “a reference within the Francophone press” (Le Monde, 2002). With a circulation of 340,131 copies in 2008 it is the second¹⁶ largest daily newspaper in France (OJD, 2009a). It is distributed in more than 120 countries (Le Monde, 2002) and is in many cases the only French language daily newspaper available outside France and other French-speaking countries. The website *lemonde.fr* had 2.98 millions unique visitors in June 2008 (Le Figaro, 2008). The website gives free access to articles from the current issue whereas access to back issues and special reports is restricted to subscribers.

Le Figaro was established in 1826 and is the third largest national daily newspaper in France with a circulation of 336,939 copies in 2008 (OJD, 2009a). Its website *lefigaro.fr* gives free access to current and back issues and had 3.17 millions unique visitors in June 2008, making it the primary site for general information in France (Le Figaro, 2008).

Garanto (2002) highlights the importance of the regional news media in France. In terms of readership the regional daily newspapers have a circulation twice as big as the Paris-based newspapers, and the list of the 10 biggest newspapers in France contain six regional newspapers. Despite this quantitative dominance I chose to exclude the regional newspapers from my data material as I found a national perspective, and not a regional perspective, more pertinent to answer my research questions. Moreover, including regional newspapers would have required me to make a choice of which regions to represent as it would have been impossible to include all the newspapers.

Finding an appropriate temporal demarcation for the data sampling came about as a compromise between my aspirations for breadth in the sample, not wanting to focus on specific cases of migration-related news, and the time and space constraints of the data

¹⁶ The largest national daily newspaper in terms of circulation figures is *Le Parisien / Aujourd'hui en France* with a circulation of 524,558 (OJD, 2009a). However this number can be misleading as it in reality refers to two newspapers. *Le Parisien*, often considered a regional newspaper, consists of 10 local editions (one for each of the *départements* surrounding Paris) and its circulation in 2008 was 330,020 copies (OJD, 2009b). *Aujourd'hui en France*, however, is considered a national daily newspaper and had a circulation of 194,538 copies in 2008 (OJD, 2009a).

collection and subsequent analysis. Through previous readings I had discovered that a number of events had put migration firmly on the French public agenda in the past couple of years, starting with the 2006 Immigration and Integration Law. Anticipating that a time span of three years (2006-2008) might yield a data material too large to handle, yet wanting to focus on the recent debate on migration, I opted for the time frame of January 2007 to November 2008 for the newspaper sampling. As a result of this the analysis of how migrant (il)legality is constructed within mainstream French newspaper discourse is cross-sectional rather than historical.

The corpus of examined newspaper articles is limited to conventional news articles or “hard news” coverage, defined as “news reporting that has been subjected to the normal journalistic routines of sourcing objective data, interviewing non-partisan sources and testing for bias and validity” (Hier & Greenberg, 2002: 495). I deliberately excluded explicit opinion discourse in the form of editorials, guest columns and letters to the editor. In doing this I do not intend to claim that hard news coverage does not contain articulated opinions on the people and places narrated in the news. On the contrary, it is a central claim within discourse analysis that any piece of text purports a specific view on the world. However, given my interest in analyzing taken-for-granted representations of migrant (il)legality I found hard news coverage more suitable for my purpose.

3.2 Data Collection

The newspaper sampling was conducted during a two-week long fieldwork within the confines of the French National Library (*Bibliothèque Nationale de France*) in Paris. Here I had access to both microfilms and Europresse, a newspaper database. Prior to my fieldwork I had conducted a series of online searches, primarily in *Le Monde* and *Le Figaro* but also in other newspapers. These online searches, using Google or the search function at the newspaper’s website, were of an explorative nature and had two main aims. Firstly, I wanted to identify and evaluate relevant key words that would allow me to search for articles in the database. Secondly, I sought to familiarize myself with the language and topics of French newspaper discourse. Before leaving for Paris I had decided to select the articles using a combination of two approaches. The first approach would consist in systematically going through the 2007 and 2008 issues of *Le Monde* and

Le Figaro, either as microfilm or printed copies, singling out articles that reported on migration and thus contributed to constructing representations of migrant (il)legality. The second approach would involve conducting several database searches for articles containing relevant key words. I had chosen to follow this two-fold approach because I assumed that relevant articles do not necessarily contain pre-conceptualized key words.

Arriving in Paris, I was soon faced with a number of practical challenges that affected the process of data collection. Firstly, not all issues of *Le Monde* and *Le Figaro* were available as microfilms. Concurrently, I was not able to read strictly through all issues from January 2007 to November 2008¹⁷. Secondly, given the limited time I had available and the fact that reading microfilms turned out to be more tedious than expected, I was not able to read the articles I selected in detail at the library. Rather, I decided to focus on the title and lead paragraph of each article. If these caught my attention and I found that the article might be relevant I included it in my sample. These two practical challenges were frustrating at the time of my fieldwork, but looking back I believe that their effect on the quality of my data material is limited. As this thesis is a qualitative discourse analysis and not a quantitative content analysis I am not obliged to, nor do I see it as relevant, to include *all* newspaper articles reporting on migration from 2007 and 2008. Within qualitative research the aim of data collection is not to comply with a logic of representativeness, but to reach a point where the data material can be said to be saturated, implying that adding new data to the material will not entail adding new layers of meaning to the analysis (Thagaard, 2003).

The choice to largely rely on title and lead paragraph to determine the relevance of an article can be justified as it is in the very nature of a title or a lead paragraph to communicate information about the topic of the article. Because my sampling was predominantly thematic, singling out articles reporting on migration-related issues, the reliance on titles and lead paragraphs was both relevant and of great help. Moreover, choosing to read through the newspapers in microfilm or printed copy rather than simply relying on database searches had an unanticipated ‘side effect’. Not only did it give me, as I had already expected, a richer data material, but it also provided me with an insight

¹⁷ The fieldwork was concluded on November 21, 2008. Some newspaper articles dating from late November and December were accessed at the University of Oslo library and through the newspapers’ websites.

into what issues had been on the French public agenda in 2007 and 2008. Though I did not read non-relevant articles in detail, browsing through them gave me an overview that I would have missed out on if I had only conducted database searches. At a later stage of the research process, this overview enabled the analysis to be sensitive to the overall news context and see the connections different news events. While I had made a list of relevant key words to use in these database searches, my limited access to the Europresse database did not allow me to use all of them. Instead I conducted searches using the following combinations of key words: “immigr* ET clandestin*”, “immigration choisie”, “immigration subie” and “immigr* ET légal*”.

Before leaving for Paris I had decided to use NVivo, a software program for analyzing qualitative data. This choice required me to gain access to the electronic version of all the newspaper articles and was at the outset incompatible with my reliance on microfilm and printed copies in the process of data collection. My way of solving this tension was to only note down the date and title of the articles I identified by means of reading microfilm and printed copies and conducting database searches and then access the electronic version of these articles from the newspapers’ websites after returning to Norway, as I did not have access to the Internet at the National Library. This method of data collection was not the most time efficient and in some cases I was not able to find online some of the articles I had selected while in France. Since these articles were mainly short news pieces the effect on the quality of the data is marginal.

3.3 Analytical Strategy

In the theory chapter I introduced three approaches to discourse analysis, namely Foucault’s (1972; 1977) analysis of discursive formations, Laclau and Mouffe’s (2001) discourse theory and Fairclough’s (1995; 2003) critical discourse analysis. Jørgensen and Phillips (2002) allege that discourse analysis is both a theory and a method, but that its philosophical and theoretical foundations are more developed than its methods. Some textbooks in discourse analysis try to redress this perceived lack of methodological guidelines by listing the various things to look for in a text when conducting a discourse analysis. However, this can be problematic because the analytical strategy adopted by the researcher has to fit the focus of the research as it is expressed in the research questions.

If not there is a risk of forcing one's empirical material to fit with pre-defined methodological guidelines and what the theory claims to be important. Nevertheless, a question that the discourse analyst is often asked is: What do you look for when analyzing your texts? In this section I attempt to answer this question by outlining the multi-step procedure that brought my analysis from texts via nodes to interpretations.

3.3.1 Step 1: From Theory to Analysis and Back Again

During the analysis I have constantly gone back and forth between theory and texts, and the analysis can thus be said to be abductive, combining data-based inductive analysis with theory-based deductive reasoning (Thagaard, 2003). While both theory and texts have influenced the findings that I present in the three analytical chapters, in the final instance it is the texts themselves that have determined what I have a basis to say something about. For instance, the fortune seeker discourse that I present in chapter five is in its entirety induced from the data material. The role played by theory has been to give me ideas as to what to look for in the texts and how to understand and interpret what I read in the texts. My starting point for analyzing the newspaper texts was the theoretical framework. Theory on (im)mobility gives a basis for seeing mobilities not as ontological givens but as social constructs that are part of the political. I have, in other words, already decided that representations of migration are socially constructed. The question is rather *how* they are constructed. Discourse analysis provides a framework for understanding exactly how meaning is socially constructed, and the research questions specify what kind of meaning to analyze, namely meanings attached to migrant legality and illegality. While I do not rely directly on Foucault's (1972; 1977) analysis of discursive formations in the analytical strategy, his work is nevertheless important in stating the importance of denaturalizing discourses and identifying the effects of truth that they purport. Laclau and Mouffe's (2001) discourse theory provides the analysis with an analytical vocabulary for identifying core words (or nodal points) and equivalence chains that link words together, filling them with meaning. I concur with Fairclough's (1995, 2003) textually oriented discourse analysis, but do not conduct an equally detailed linguistic analysis as this is "rather 'labour-intensive' and can be productively applied to samples of research material rather than large bodies of text" (Fairclough, 2003: 6). Working with a large corpus of

texts I have chosen to sacrifice some degree of depth at the expense of gaining breadth in the analysis.

These three approaches to discourse analysis can be combined in fruitful ways when conducting a discourse analysis. However, they rest on slightly different ontological and epistemological premises, requiring the researcher to position her own discourse analysis in relation to these divergences in order to build a coherent analytical strategy. The main difficulty lies in how the relationship between discourse and the material reality, or between epistemology and ontology, is theorized. Fairclough and Laclau and Mouffe agree that discursive practice is a form of social practice and that it constitutes the social world, but they give different answers to what discourse comprises and whether there is anything outside of discourse (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002). Laclau and Mouffe blend epistemology and ontology by stating that everything is discursive and that discourses are material, whereas Fairclough maintains the separation between discourse and materiality, distinguishing between discursive practices and non-discursive social practices. In this thesis my approach to solving the tension between these two approaches is pragmatic rather than philosophical. Material and represented mobilities are intrinsically linked because “human mobility implicates *both* physical bodies moving through material landscapes *and* categorical figures moving through representational spaces” (Delaney in Cresswell, 2001: 4, original emphasis). However, for analytical purposes I separate these two and the following example will serve to illustrate the position of the analytical strategy employed in this thesis. In the case of attempts by France to fight illegal immigration Fairclough would distinguish between discourse in the form of rhetoric and representations legitimizing this presumed fight and social practices and institutions such as for instance border patrols, police arrests and the French Immigration Ministry. Laclau and Mouffe, on the other hand, would claim that these practices and institutions are discursive and refuse such a distinction between discourse and materiality. While this position makes sense, given that social practice also communicates meaning and symbolizes something, these meanings are hard to capture analytically. For this reason the analysis of the social construction of migrant (il)legality takes discourses as its object of analysis and not social practices, despite their contribution to constructing (il)legality in particular ways.

Before conducting the analysis I had already read some academic writings on media constructions of migration (Bakke, 2005; Bruun, 2005; Hier & Greenberg, 2002; Horsti, 2007; Rosello, 1998 and Thompson, 2003). Based on these readings I was familiar with the representation of migrants as flooding Western countries and the criminalization and securitization of migration. This, of course, made me curious to see if I could identify similar representations in my texts. However, none of the academic articles I had read talked about the construction and differentiation of migrant (il)legality and I therefore approached my texts with an explorative mindset, knowing little what to search for.

3.3.2 Step 2: Preliminary Analysis Observations

When the data collection was finished the corpus of newspaper articles consisted of 189 articles from *Le Monde* and 218 articles from *Le Figaro*. The second step in my analytical strategy then was to import all the acquired newspaper articles into NVivo and read through them once. At this stage the aim was to get an overview of the thematic variety of the data material and I did not conduct a close analysis or coding of the texts, but made short notes of what I observed. The result was an analysis overview based on preliminary observations where I identified thematic categories, where each category identified some of the major topics that the articles discussed within that category. Moreover, I tried to organize my short notes according to whether they pertained primarily to legal or illegal migration. Based on the first analysis overview and subsequent feedback from my supervisors I made two decisions. The first one was to narrow the scope of my analysis to only focusing on third country nationals and thus exclude discussions of intra-EU migration as well as the mobility of the Roma people because these two instances of migration were not discussed in terms of legality and illegality. Moreover, I excluded some articles as they reported primarily on migration in other European countries¹⁸. Consequently the corpus of newspaper articles was reduced to 116 articles from *Le Monde* and 109 articles from *Le Figaro*. A list of these articles is included in Appendix I. The second decision stemmed from the observation that illegal migration several times was represented as emotive. Based on this I decided to examine this closer to see if there was any hold in my initial observation and look into the work of

¹⁸ The exception to this is the articles on boat migration which I included, despite the fact that France is not the primary receiving countries of these migrants.

Chouliaraki (2006) on the interface between media representations and spectators' ethical and political action.

3.3.3 *Step 3: Developing Guidelines for What to Look for in the Texts*

The next step consisted in writing down some loose guidelines for what to look for in the texts, based on theory, previous readings and the preliminary analysis observations. While not extensive these questions gave me some directions to pursue in the analysis:

Where do the migrants come from?

Which concepts or features are legality and illegality *associated* with?

Are the migrants presented as anonymous and silent *crowds* or as *individuals* with a name and a life story?

How is the relation between the readership and the migrants constructed in terms of *proximity and distance*?

What is the text's *context*? Are the migrants presented as a news story in themselves or more as an 'illustrative context' to a larger story on migration?

Which French *actors* (e.g. the police) are represented in the texts? How is their relation to the migrants portrayed? (help, create obstacles etc)

What *terms* are being used to refer to the migrants?

Are the migrants represented as *victims or criminals*?

What *policy topics* are migrants connected to?

What do we get to know about the migrants' *countries of origin* and their reasons for leaving?

Are the migrants represented as a security concern or as a humanitarian issue?

How are relationships of *cause and effect* constructed?

Which *subject positions* are assigned to migrants?

3.3.4 *Step 4: Coding the Data Material*

While the first reading of the newspaper articles in step two was aimed at getting familiar with the breadth of the data material, the second reading went more in depth of each

article. At this stage I started coding the material by selecting content from the articles and assigning nodes to each text fragment. In NVivo there are two types of nodes: tree nodes and free nodes. Whereas tree nodes are part of a hierarchy, free nodes design independent categories. In the first system of tree nodes and free nodes that I developed the tree nodes were more of a descriptive nature and referred primarily to the different themes the articles discussed whereas the free nodes were more analytical.

3.3.5 Step 5: Refining and Classifying the Nodes

The fifth step consisted in a circular process of further reading and coding the articles, coming up with new nodes and then coding the data again using these nodes. In the coding process it is the researcher herself who decides whether the nodes used are broad or very specific. In my way of coding the newspaper articles two developments emerged as I read through the articles several times and got a better grasp of the data. Firstly, I refined my nodes, making broader nodes more specific by reducing the meaning attached to each node. Secondly, I was able to classify the nodes by merging free nodes into a hierarchy of tree nodes. For instance I split what was originally a free node called “Fortune seekers” as I was able to identify several aspects of the fortune seekers discourse. These aspects were then combined into a tree structure. Similarly the free node “Contextualization” was split into the three different logics that I present in chapter six. Refining and classifying the nodes were a constant process of going back and forth between nodes and texts, reading the texts in detail and continually asking myself whether the nodes I was working with were analytically useful or not. In this process I also came up with several new tree nodes, such as “Lexicalization” and “Associations”. All the analytical nodes and an adherent description explaining what each node designates can be found in Appendix III.

3.3.6 Step 6: From Analysis to Presenting the Findings

The last step of my analytical strategy was aimed at combining the research questions and nodes into an analysis structure that formed the basis of my analytical chapters. In these chapters I seek to answer my research questions and to do this in a transparent and sound way I saw it as important to link each free node or hierarchy of tree nodes to each of the research questions. The result was an analysis structure where each of the three research

questions was accorded one analytical chapter and where I identified the main arguments (or chapter sections) I wanted to make and the corresponding nodes that would enable me to base my arguments directly on the empirical material. While some minor changes have occurred during the process of writing up this thesis, the analysis structure and its underlying purpose have in overall terms remained the same and a quick look at the nodes in Appendix III should suffice to confirm this.

3.4 Positionality and the Politics of Translation

Critical geographers, and especially feminist geographers, have increasingly advocated the need to situate the knowledges that underpin geographic research at all stages of the research process (Rose, 1997). Taking knowledge as situated implies that academic knowledge is neither neutral nor universal. Rather it is, like any knowledge, produced through social relations that position the researcher and the researched in specific relations of power to one another. It is the task of the researcher to not only acknowledge the situatedness of knowledge but also reflect on how her own positionality within a social field of power influences the research process and the subsequent findings. However, such a self-critical transparent reflexivity is a daunting, if not unfeasible, task due to “the impossibility of such a quest to know fully both self and context” (Rose, 1997: 311). Instead of an all-seeing researcher situating herself in a landscape of social positions, Rose (1997) argues for an explicit awareness of the uncertainties and gaps that mark any piece of research. In the present thesis these uncertainties particularly revolve around two issues: political positionality and language.

The first issue pertains to how my political positionality has affected the research process and my interpretations of the newspaper articles. In this regard three points of concern will be highlighted. Firstly, my interest in migration as a social phenomenon stems from a personal rather than a predominantly political motivation. I have both migrated myself and encountered migrants living both in Norway and in other countries. These migrants were all, to my knowledge, legal migrants, but I am of course conscious of the fact that mobilities are in practice highly differentiated. While my Norwegian passport functions as a virtual door opener, friends from Africa or Asia are most often obliged to go through an intricate administrative procedure to obtain the necessary papers

to cross national borders. This can at times feel unjust and constitutes a point where my personal experiences become more explicitly political. Secondly, my academic-cum-political worldview is shaped by my subscription to the premises underlying social constructivism and discourse analysis. I believe that paying attention to representations is important because they color our understandings of the world and hence our actions in this world. In this there is also a critical edge. By critical I mean an ambition to deconstruct taken-for-granted understandings and categorizations. This does not, however, imply that there are 'right' and 'wrong' representations. Thirdly, my initial entry into the field of media discourse and the migrant in France is framed by the political debate on immigration in Norway, as it appears in the newspaper articles I read on a daily basis. Yet, I deliberately say 'initial entry' because it soon became clear to me that while the Norwegian debate has a strong emphasis on the issue of asylum seekers, this topic is almost absent from the political debate in France. This might be because asylum is seldom discussed as a separate issue in France (Delouvin, 2000). Instead, the political debate in France focuses on migration in general and particularly the issue of undocumented migrants (*sans-papiers*), a topic that only recently has been introduced in the Norwegian public debate on immigration.

The second issue concerns the fact that the very act of analyzing and presenting words, discourses and meanings is shaped by three different languages: Norwegian, French and English. Firstly, my native Norwegian constitutes a linguistic and cultural background that cannot be bracketed out, even if the research itself is neither conducted nor presented in Norwegian. If, as some argue, a language is a specific way of looking at the world then my particular way of engaging with the world of migration has without doubt been marked by my growing up and being socialized into the Norwegian language and culture. While acquiring other languages at various points in my life has somehow 'de-norwegianized' my way of thinking, the Norwegian legacy is still there, interspersed with elements from French and English as well as the social contexts within which I acquired these languages.

Secondly, the examined newspaper articles are written in French with the main purpose of being read within a Francophone context. Conducting a discourse analysis requires that the researcher has thorough knowledge of the source language and its social

context in order to be able to grasp how words and concepts are bestowed with meaning. Having lived in France as an exchange student for one year and pursued several courses in French language, literature and civilization at the university level, my knowledge of the French language and society has a solid grounding. I am neither a native speaker nor a French citizen, but I still read and understand French with great ease and have experienced the French society from the inside. While my lack of linguistic and ethnic nativeness probably made me overlook some linguistic subtleties and connotative meanings I believe that my non-Frenchness also has enabled me to be more conscious of the use of a specific word at the expense of others than might be, for instance, a native speaker socialized into a French context. As native speaker one is often so used to how words are employed in particular contexts that these combinations are taken for granted. Hence, my role as a researcher was that of partly insider and partly outsider and I believe this duality was beneficial for the research undertaken.

Thirdly, the findings of this thesis are presented in English. While the closest I come to having lived in an English-speaking country is a year spent as an exchange student in Singapore I have from an early point of my studies been socialized into an academic community where English is the prime language of communication. This does, however, not imply a smooth transition between researching in French and presenting the findings of this research in English. In an article entitled “Translating political geographies” Sidaway et al (2004) translate three central concepts within political geography, namely state, territory and border, into seven different languages¹⁹ in an attempt to “complicate the distinctions and categorizations which have too often been taken for granted in Anglophone scholarship” (Sidaway et al, 2004: 1039-1040). While illustrating the difficulties involved in translation, the article does not engage in a more thorough discussion of translation as an act of world-making in itself. In contrast, Müller (2007: 207) sees “the translating geographer as an active agent who moulds the production of meaning”. Hence translation, understood as the act of transferring meaning from a source language into a target language, is both political and subjective. It is subjective because the search for equivalence between the two languages is complicated by the difficulties involved in conveying the connotations, assumptions and values attached to specific

¹⁹ Portuguese, Spanish, Malay, Korean, Japanese, Urdu and Thai.

words. Consequently, the geographer-cum-translator has to resort to reconstructing the cultural meaning of a word in a process that highlights the agency of the researcher. Translation is also political because choosing one possible meaning in the target language at the expense of others may serve to hegemonize this meaning and thus obstruct the polyvalence of concepts in the source language.

In the course of writing up this thesis I have been particularly conscious about the challenges involved in translating and my own (in)ability as a translator. To compensate for my lack of nativeness in both French and English I have consulted dictionaries whenever I was unsure about the meaning of a word. I have in particular relied on an online French-English dictionary²⁰ and its language forum²¹. In this forum any registered user can post and reply to translation queries and the members form a heterogeneous group of French and English native speakers, bilinguals, professional translators and language learners. While I have based my translations on suggestions and advice from old forum posts and also posted my own queries, in the final instance the choice between different translations is entirely my own. In order to elucidate these choices and problematize the fixation of meaning that translation involves I have resorted to two complementing strategies. Firstly, I have inserted French expressions in parentheses in the English text in order to make the very act of translation visible to the reader. This translation technique is called *holus-bolus* (Müller, 2007) and has especially been used in those instances where I found a concept or expression particularly difficult to translate or where the meaning of the source language expression is polyvalent. Secondly, I have included the complete French version of all translated quotations in the thesis. For shorter expressions or quotations the French version is put in a footnote whereas in the case of a longer excerpt from a newspaper article the French version can be found in Appendix II.

3.5 Criteria for Evaluation

Academic research has traditionally been evaluated according to the criteria of reliability, validity and generalization. However, different types of inquiry require the researcher to adopt different sets of criteria when assessing the quality of the research project (Patton, 2002). In this regard Thagaard (2003) proposes the criteria of credibility, confirmability

²⁰ www.wordreference.com

²¹ <http://forum.wordreference.com/forumdisplay.php?f=3>

and transferability for evaluating a qualitative research project. However, her inclusion of the criterion of confirmability is problematic in evaluating quality in discourse analysis because it is a central claim within social constructionism that knowledge cannot be considered objective or neutral. Rather knowledge is always situated (Haraway, 1996). For this reason I reject the criterion of confirmability but keep the criteria of credibility and transferability and complement these with the criterion of reflexivity, taken from Tonkiss (2004), and the criterion of rigor, taken from Taylor (2001). While I see these four criteria as largely intertwined, they will for practical reasons be discussed separately.

In qualitative research *credibility* is not conditioned on fulfilling a list of standard criteria, rather the researcher has to argue for the credibility of her research. Credibility thus demands transparency in the research process and challenges the researcher to give reasons for the choices made during the research process. While I have argued that full transparency is unachievable because of the impossibility to fully account for how the choices I have made have affected the research findings, I have provided detailed accounts of the various stages of the research process and tried to explain the choices I have made. Given that each reader, including the researcher, is in a position to decode the newspaper articles in slightly different ways (Hall, 1980) I have in particular made efforts to make my decoding process as transparent as possible by outlining the various stages in the analytical strategy.

Discussing the criterion of *transferability* challenges the researcher to look beyond the specific research undertaken. While it is a central pillar in the discipline of human geography to pay attention to the context specificity of social phenomena, I assert that my findings have value beyond the specific case of French media representations. Especially I argue for the pertinence of an approach that combines discourse analytical perspectives with an attention to how texts shape public action. I believe that such a combination can be fruitful not only for examining how migrant (il)legality is constructed but also in order to shed light on broader social processes. A coherent approach linking discourse and social practice would facilitate an investigation into how actors use discourses for political purposes and the power of such discursive manipulations to engender social and discursive change.

Reflexivity requires the researcher to discuss how her own positionality has bearing upon the research process and the subsequent findings. On this issue I concur with Rose (1997) that it is impossible to fully situate one's knowledge. Yet I believe that the researcher should be open about her own theoretical, political and social positionality, without drawing any final conclusions as to how this positionality has influenced the research. Because migration is a politically sensitive topic and the research has been conducted in a multilingual context I have particularly made an effort to communicate my own political and linguistic positionality.

The criterion of *rigor* prompts the researcher to base her analysis on a systematic examination of the data material. Taylor (2001) proposes that rigor in discourse analysis can be linked to how detailed the data material and subsequent analysis are and how the analysis process is explained. In this regard, outlining the different steps in the analytical strategy employed in this thesis has been motivated by an ambition to clarify the methodology of discourse analysis given that discourse analysis has been criticized for having strong philosophical and theoretical foundations but weak methods (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002). The need to make clear the methodological underpinnings of discourse analysis has also led me to include the analytical nodes used in Appendix III and incorporate a great number of detailed excerpts from the examined newspaper articles in the analytical chapters.

| 4 | Geographies of Migrant (Il)legality

This chapter investigates how the spatiality of migration is represented in the examined newspaper articles. The analysis is part of a tradition within the discipline of geography that seeks to investigate the geographical imaginations (Gregory, 1994) or imagined geographies (Said, 1995) that undergird specific representations of people and places. The analysis is also inspired by Chouliaraki's (2006) attention to the construction of space-times within the analytics of mediation. While the analytical concepts used in this chapter differ from those proposed by Chouliaraki (2006) I share her interest in examining how distance and proximity are constructed in media discourse and how this regulates how the reader responds to what he or she reads in the news. The chapter constitutes the first of three analytical chapters where I seek to answer the overall research question of this thesis: *How are migrant legality and illegality constructed and differentiated?* The main argument of this chapter is that the spatial construction of migrant (il)legality construes the relationship between the reader and the migrant as one marked by either distance or proximity. This is crucial because closeness facilitates the reader's engagement with the reality of the migrants whereas distance locates the migrants beyond the reader's sphere of attention and action.

The chapter starts with a discussion of how spatial metaphors construct Europe as a closed versus a leaking space. I subsequently examine how sending, transit and receiving countries of migration are represented and placed in specific relations to each other. I then use discuss how the newspaper articles construct distinct hierarchies of distance and size. In the fourth and last part of the chapter I analyze how French migration policies attempt to discursively root migrants by linking migration, development and return in specific ways. While it is beyond the scope of this thesis to venture deep into the migration and development literature, I argue that analyzing the linkages between migration, development and return is relevant for understanding the construction of migrant (il)legality. This is because these linkages cast migration as temporary and rely on the assumption that the migrants should one day return to their home countries. Hence

the constructions of home and away within the migration, development and return nexus serve to represent the migrant as an ‘Other’ that belongs elsewhere.

4.1 Spatial Metaphors: Europe as Fortress or Sieve?

At the onset of the French EU presidency in July 2008 Immigration Minister Brice Hortefeux was asked if the French proposal for a European Pact on Immigration and Asylum embodied “the image of a European Union about to close itself”.²² His answer was that the Pact promotes “neither a fortress Europe nor a sieve Europe”²³, a statement that he later repeated at several occasions. Nevertheless, the imagery of Europe as fortress or as sieve remains a powerful one and is also present in the examined newspaper articles. Bringing together these two sets of spatial metaphors culminates in a discursive tension between conceptualizing Europe as a closed versus leaking space.

In both academic and popular discourse, European migration policies, and especially the Schengen agreement, are often perceived as creating a fortress Europe. The removal of internal border controls and the concomitant intensification of external border controls are said to transform Europe into a fortress “combining a high degree of internal mobility with an impermeable external shell” (Rumford, 2006:160). The metaphor of fortress Europe has, in my view, two assumptions: one political and the other spatial. The political assumption resides in the very nature of the fortress as a structure of defense and implies that Europe is in need of defending itself against some unspecified threat. The spatial assumption contained within fortress Europe is two-fold. Firstly, it suggests that this unspecified threat is foreign because a fortress is constructed to defend a community against external threats, but has little or no value in fighting an internal threat. Secondly, the fortress metaphor casts space as a closed entity, something that can be sealed off and made impregnable. Such a conceptualization of space is also present in several other spatial metaphors used in the newspaper articles. What is peculiar is that many of the spatial metaphors revolve around Turkey. Turkey is represented as “a natural lock”²⁴ and the reluctance to allow Turkey to join the European Union is likened to a “door slammed

²² *l'image d'une Union européenne en train de se refermer sur elle-même (Le Monde 07.07.08)*

²³ *promeut ni une Europe forteresse, ni une Europe passoire (Le Monde 07.07.08)*

²⁴ *un sas naturel (Le Monde 22.10.08)*

in the face of the Turks”²⁵. These tensions between Turkey and the EU result in a need to “turn the border with Turkey into a bunker”²⁶ in order to deal with “the problems caused by illegal immigration”²⁷. The emphasis on Turkey in these excerpts must be understood on two levels. Firstly, the geographical proximity of Turkey is crucial, and especially its perceived roles as a migratory “corridor” leading to Europe and a “buffer zone” between Europe and the Middle East²⁸. While boat migration from Africa to Europe receives the brunt of press coverage, Turkey is emerging as an important transit country for migration. Secondly, Turkey occupies a more controversial role in French politics than do African sending or transit countries, of which many are former colonies with which France cultivates special relations. President Sarkozy is hostile to the entry of Turkey in the European Union and this explains the “door slammed in the face of the Turks”.

Alongside these representations of European space as closed and fenced off from the rest of the world, there exists another set of spatial metaphors that conceive of space as something porous, where unwanted elements may leak in. This is in line with the use of the word sieve, a metaphor that can be interpreted in two ways. Either it can be understood as pointing to the failures of European migration policy to shut out illegal migrants, leaving instead weak spots or holes in the European spatial fabric. Or the sieve can be read as a tool used to separate those wanted or needed from the undesirable others. In both cases the metaphor highlights Europe’s vulnerability to cross-border threats (Walters, 2004). The imagery of leakage contained within the sieve metaphor is also found in several of the examined newspaper articles. Legitimizing the above-mentioned need to close off the Turkish border, Turkey and the Aegean Sea are represented as “a virtual sieve”²⁹. Similar metaphors are also used when describing other external borders of the EU:

With its 97.9 kilometers the Slovakian-Ukrainian border constitutes the shortest border section of the enlarged Schengen space, but it has for a long time been considered by Brussels as a weak link. (*Le Monde* 26.11.07)

²⁵ *porte claquée au nez des Turcs (Le Figaro 06.01.07)*

²⁶ *bunkériser la frontière avec la Turquie (Le Figaro 06.01.07)*

²⁷ *les problèmes que nous pose l’immigration clandestine (Le Figaro 06.01.07)*

²⁸ *couloir and zone tampon (Le Figaro 23.06.08)*

²⁹ *un véritable passoire (Le Figaro 07.01.08b and Le Figaro 23.06.08)*

The Slovakian-Ukrainian border is represented as a “weak link” in the attempt to seal off the EU borders. In this regard, one of the key concerns behind Sarkozy’s reform of French migration policy through the two laws passed in 2003 and 2006 was to prevent France from becoming the weak link in Europe (Chou & Baygert, 2007). While European states have been “incapable of making their borders waterproof against illegal immigration”³⁰ this does not mean that the closing of borders is not a policy goal of the EU. Instead of seeing the imageries of closure and leakage as competing representations of Europe, I argue that they should be conceptualized as intertwined. Both imageries belong to “a spatial containment schema which grounds conceptualizations of one’s country as a closed container that can be *sealed or penetrated*” (Chilton 2004, cited in Charteris-Black, 2006: 575, my emphasis). Indeed, constructing space as a “sieve” or pointing out “weak links” along European borders serves to legitimize the restrictive immigration policies that erect fortress Europe, as the following excerpt illustrates:

Turkey is a migratory corridor to the European Union. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees evaluate the number of foreigners in irregular situation (*étrangers en situation irrégulière*) on Turkish territory, either in transit or installed on a permanent basis, to 500.000. A figure that is difficult to verify. Simultaneously a final destination for some migrants and a gateway to Europe, Turkey is accused by Brussels for not containing the migratory flows crossing through its territory. (*Le Figaro* 23.06.08)

While conceptualizing Europe as a fortress or a sieve is a discourse more than an empirical reality (Bigo in Walters, 2004) it exemplifies how migration is constructed as a threat. This has political implications, resulting in new practices of border policing and new metaphors to describe the external borders of the EU (Pinos, 2009). Turkey is represented as a “migratory corridor” and a “gateway to Europe”, leading to the implementation of policies aimed at “containing the migratory flows crossing through its territory”. The imagery of containment in this sentence deserves further attention. Tesfahuney (1998: 501) argues that the strategies employed to respond to the perceived threat of migration “echo the strategies of containment, followed by the West in the post-war period, to curb the ‘red peril’”. This imagery of containment is also present in the expression “contain the illegal wave”³¹ that is used in several of the articles.

³⁰ *Incapables de rendre leurs frontières étanches à l’immigration illégale* (*Le Figaro* 24.03.07b)

³¹ *endiguer la vague clandestine* (among others *Le Figaro* 24.02.07)

4.2 Mapping Migratory Routes

When analyzing a flow phenomenon such as migration it is particularly interesting to examine how sending, transit and receiving countries are represented and how the spatial relations between them are constructed. Such representations create specific cartographies of illegality³² and attempt to explain the causalities behind migratory flows.

Sending countries

Africa and Asia are portrayed as the important sending regions. However, it is noticeable that the main geographical emphasis is put on migrants from sub-Saharan Africa, despite their numerical inferiority compared to migrants from the Maghreb³³ (de Haas, 2008). This is interesting because migration in France traditionally has been visualized in the figure of the *beur* or Arab North-African migrant. Rosello (1998: 140) wrote in 1998 that “a gradual displacement may be taking place that is slowly constructing people from Mali or Mauritania or Senegal as the latest wave of (illegal) immigrants”. In this regard, my analysis confirms that there has been a visual shift in media representations of migrants from *beurs* to blacks. The visibility of blacks is particularly conspicuous given that they are otherwise almost absent from media representations (Malonga, undated; Rosello, 1998) and this contributes to further marking them as ‘others’.

Newspaper articles on illegal entry tend to offer limited or no context as to the reasons why people migrate and most is left untold about the migrants’ countries of origin. However, some representations emerge from this contextual void, constructing an image of a natal “blind alley”³⁴ or referring to Africa as “shipwrecked”³⁵. Two images dominate in representations of sending countries: that of misery and destitution and the image of war. For instance, an article on the role of emigration in facilitating upward social mobility in Senegal states that “[i]n the poor suburbs of Dakar, devastated by unemployment, there is often no other means to escape misery”³⁶. Imagining sending

³² The focus in this section will be on illegality as all the examined spatial representations come from articles that deal with illegal entry.

³³ The term Maghreb is commonly used to designate Morocco (including Western Sahara), Algeria and Tunisia, often also including Libya and Mauritania.

³⁴ *impasse* (*Le Figaro* 10.03.07)

³⁵ *naufragée* (*Le Monde* 08.10.08)

³⁶ *Dans les misérables banlieues dakaroises, ravagées par le chômage, il n'est souvent pas d'autre moyen d'échapper à la misère.* (*Le Figaro* 27.07.07a)

countries as places of misery and destitution casts poverty as the cause of migration. Likewise, war is designated as a cause in the following excerpt:

The travelers found at the Greek-Turkish border are fleeing Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, Somalia and recently Georgia... This flow is a barometer for conflicts in the world. (*Le Monde* 22.10.08)

In this article the link between war and migration is tightened to the point of representing migratory flows as a “barometer” for conflicts. Constructing misery and war as the root causes of migration has four main effects. Firstly, it reinforces existing stereotypical images of poverty and warfare as endemic to Africa (and to a lesser degree Asia). Secondly, such an exclusive focus on push factors serves to conceal the fact that migration to Europe is also “fuelled by a structural demand for cheap migrant labour in informal sectors” (de Haas, 2008: 1305. See also Calavita, 1998; Cornelius, 2005). Thirdly, representations of war and violent conflict can legitimize people’s claim to stay legally as refugees. However, and this is the fourth effect, representing migration as a result of poverty and war may also legitimize recent policies to develop sending countries in order to remove the impetuses to migrate. I will discuss this linkage between migration and development in the last section of this chapter. Moreover, representations of sending countries as war-torn and poverty-ridden must be read alongside with representations of Europe as an Eldorado and privileged destination for migrants³⁷.

Transit countries

Certain countries are designated as temporary or transit countries for migration flows in the examined newspaper articles. These countries or regions include France, Libya, Ukraine, Greece, Turkey and the Aegean Sea. In this regard France constitutes a special case as it is described as both a receiving and a transit country:

But France is not only an Eldorado for immigrants she also becomes a turntable in Europe. This week the “immigration police” Ocriest³⁸ demanteled an extensive network of illegal Chinese waiting for a transit to Great Britain. (*Le Figaro* 13.10.07)

³⁷ See additionally the section on the fortune seeker discourse in chapter five.

³⁸ L’Ocriest = l’Office Central pour la Répression de l’Immigration irrégulière et de l’Emploi d’Etrangers Sans Titre (Office for the Prosecution of Illegal Migration and Employment of Illegal Aliens)

What is particularly noteworthy in this passage is the designation of France as a “turntable”³⁹ for illegal immigration. A turntable not only gives the impression of flows of migrants arriving from one direction and then setting off in another direction, but the use of a mechanical metaphors to denote flows of people further contributes to lifting the issue of migration out of the realm of the political and into the realm of nature. Furthermore, while it is not made explicit in the article, this imaginary of a turntable serving to turn migrants from France to the United Kingdom could be understood as referring to Sangatte, located in Northern France. Formerly a reception center opened in 1990 to accommodate migrants who had arrived in Northern France in the hope of finding a passage to the United Kingdom, Sangatte was closed down in 2002. The closure came after considerable debate between both French and British politicians due to the poor conditions in the center as well as the fact that especially British politicians claimed that the center functioned as a magnet attracting migrants to the United Kingdom (Thomson, 2003). After its closure Sangatte has remained in the public memory and even taken on the character of an expression, as evidenced in the following excerpt:

Patras, a major port in Western Greece where 500 to 900 trucks transit to Italy every day, has become a hot spot for illegal immigration, a Greek Sangatte. (*Le Figaro* 07.01.08a)

What is originally a place name is here used as a metonymic expression, transferring all the connotations associated with Sangatte to a Greek context. In addition to the presence of the word “hot spot” this discursive reorganizing of space has the effect of bringing Patras closer to the French reader and likening it to the Sangatte center.

Receiving countries: the Case of Malta

Among the countries represented as receiving countries Malta stands out as occupying a unique position as a country where migrants arrive “against their will”⁴⁰. The following article, of which an excerpt is provided, elaborates on this representation of Malta as a ‘no-go’ country:

³⁹ Because of the connotations attached to the original French term I have chosen to use the literal translation “turntable” although *plaque tournante* can also be translated as “hub” when used figuratively.

⁴⁰ *contre leur gré* (*Le Monde* 08.06.07b)

Malta, the island of lost immigrants

- They had been told to go straight ahead. “Always straight ahead”. They had even been given a compass. They left Libya, dreamt of Europe and took aim at Italy. But the sea was rough and water and gasoline ran out. Today they roam the 316 km² of Maltese pebble. Because you never arrive (*accoste*) on Malta. You get stranded (*s’y échoue*). They are now more than 3000, coming from Somalia, Sudan, and Eritrea, picked up a fortunate day on a boat in peril. Three thousands, chained to a country they did not aim at. And that did not want them.

(...)

Three-quarters of the migrants who disembark on Malta claim asylum. Only a tiny minority obtain the status of political refugee which in particular gives the permission to travel. Most use it to leave the island. The others find themselves captives of the Maltese soil. (*Le Monde* 13.06.07)

The article sketches a somewhat caricaturized image of migration on Malta. Not only is the island itself reduced to “316 km² of (...) pebble”, but migrants are also said not to “arrive” but to “get stranded” on Malta, unwillingly being “chained” to the country and “captives of [its] soil”. When read alongside representations of migrants as fortune seekers⁴¹, this has the effect of casting migrants as “dream[ing] of Europe” and then ending up “roam[ing] 316 km² of Maltese pebble”. Implicitly the blame for the mismatch between migrants’ needs and expectations and what they encounter on Malta is laid on the migrants themselves and not on the failures of the Maltese government to provide decent accommodation conditions and work opportunities for those who are allowed to stay.

4.3 Hierarchies of Place

The clearest example of a hierarchy of place is the way in which detention centers are represented as what I refer to as spaces of exemption. While inspired from Agamben’s (1998) concept of states of exception and Goffman’s (1961) writings on total institutions, the notion of spaces of exemption is explicitly spatial and refers to how the detention center is constructed as a space set apart and as a space of otherness penetrating ‘our’ space. Such circumscribed spaces serve both to mark their occupants as Other and keep them disentangled from the surrounding normality of the national territory (Gedalof,

⁴¹ See chapter five.

2007). Attempts to create a ‘seamless’ expulsion procedure by locating detention centers close to airports reinforce such an interpretation since the location decision can be seen as an effort to reduce the contact with the ‘normal’ national territory. The detention center is also a spatial manifestation of the sedentary metaphysics that I discussed in the theory chapter in that it serves to control mobility for “peoples out of place” (Malkki, 1992: 34. See also Cresswell, 2006). The following excerpt demonstrates how one of the two detention centers located at Vincennes, just outside Paris, is described:

At first sight the buildings, one dating from 2006, the other recently renovated, seem relatively clean. On the whole they are well maintained, if it wasn't for this plumbing problem that has provoked a water leak in one of the bathrooms and in a room these last days. But the premises are cold, dehumanized: tiled walls, grey linoleum on the floor... only the painted doors lined up along the corridors add a touch of color. The rooms, shared, are impersonal, equipped with two or three beds (some bunk beds), a table covered with leftovers of bread and coffee cups, not to say a small, rough shelf where the foreigners lay their “toilet bag”: a plastic bag that was given to them at their arrival, equipped with a soap, toilet paper, a tooth brush “that cannot be disassembled”, samples of tooth paste and shampoo. The windows, without shutters, are often obscured by a sheet. For entertainment, in a common room, a TV set, blaring very loud, perched and protected by a Plexiglas, and two PlayStation, recently installed, also built into a scrap metal chest. Even pens are forbidden “for security reasons” commander Bruno Marey, in charge of the detention centers in Paris, explains. Impossible to write. A form of forced idleness that reinforces the unbearable waiting.

(...)

All the same, the size of the premises, of a total capacity of 280 places (two times 140) reinforces the incarcerating atmosphere of the place. (*Le Monde* 27.02.08)

Detention centers are characteristically represented as lifeless and gloomy places. It is noteworthy that the article focuses on the materiality of the center, with detailed, almost novel-like descriptions of the surroundings. The center is implicitly compared to a prison, with its “incarcerating atmosphere”. The basic facilities, the shared bed rooms and the built-in television set reinforce this representation. However, there is a noticeable disregard for social relations and the people inhabiting the center in the article. This is characteristic of all the articles reporting on detention centers. In general it is difficult for the media to gain access to detention centers due to their being closed to the general

public. Nevertheless, some exceptions are made, granting the press access to the detention centers. The following excerpt is taken from an article entitled “Everyday life in detention centers”:⁴²

Not very experienced with visits and even less with the visit of journalists, the undocumented migrants in the two detention centers at Vincennes made use of all the microphones held out to them to denounce their situation, during a visit exceptionally granted to the press. (*Le Figaro* 05.01.08)

Given this introduction to the article it is striking that the rest of the article does not make any attempt to give the detainees a name, a voice or a life story. Nor does the article give much information about the everyday life in the detention center. Instead the detainees remain anonymous and invisible figures, furthering contributing to their othering⁴³. This construction of the detainees as ‘others’ is also achieved by the frequent focus on troubles associated with the centers, in the form of fires and smaller uprisings. Such articles construct detainees as engaged in criminal behavior. While the detainees in fact occupy a space geographically close to the reader these representations have the effect of distancing them from the life-world of the reader, thus failing to construct them as a moral cause of action.

A similar hierarchy of closeness and distance is reproduced in representations of the sea. These representations construct the sea as a kind of no man’s land that migrants have to cross in order to reach Europe at the risk of being intercepted and detained. This no man’s land has three important attributes. Firstly, it is a space that is not claimed by or belongs to a specific country. While international treaties define and lay out the rights and duties of states in international waters, there is uncertainty as to who really controls the sea. This is the second attribute and leads to a situation where states argue among themselves and no state takes responsibility for receiving the migrants intercepted at sea. Several of the articles refer to such cases. The third and last attribute is the abstract and vague spatiality given to the sea. When reporting on migrants being intercepted by patrols the precise location of the operation is often left out. Instead location is described in vague terms, as illustrated in the following excerpt:

⁴² *La vie quotidienne en centre de rétention*

⁴³ I will elaborate on the dehumanization of migrants in chapter six.

Forty-five illegal emigrants have died of thirst, hunger and cold off the coast of Africa while attempting to reach the Canary Islands in one of the most fatal immigration dramas in West Africa these past years. (*Le Monde* 06.11.07)

Situating what is referred to as “one of the most fatal immigration dramas” in a vaguely defined “off the coast of Africa” has the effect of depicting location as “decontextualized formations, distant and irrelevant to Western [readers]” (Chouliaraki, 2006: 101). Such abstract representations of space discursively increase the distance between these spaces of interception and the spaces inhabited by the reader, placing the two at opposite points within the hierarchy of place.

In representations of the island the hierarchy of place takes on a somewhat different shape. Now it is not closeness versus distance that becomes the defining feature of the hierarchy. Rather the hierarchy is structured according to size as “some bodies, designated as not-belonging, are perceived as taking up more space than others” (Gedalof, 2007: 79). In the following passage the Greek island of Symi is represented as a small island facing an overpowering influx of migrants in a David versus Goliath logic:

Lately, the smallest islet is invaded. Mid August 160 illegal immigrants set foot in Symi, a confetti of 2500 inhabitants. (*Le Monde* 08.09.07b)

The same type of representation also applies to other Greek islands in the Aegean Sea, Malta and Lampedusa, where the small size of the islands is underlined, as to highlight their vulnerability. In this hierarchy of place the encounter between migrants and the island space is represented as unequal in size, with the island, and not the migrants, being the inferior part in this encounter. This representation further dehumanizes migrants and glosses over the asymmetry in power and resources between the European island space and the migrants’ countries of origin.

4.4 Home and Away: Rooting Migrants

Lisa Malkki (1992) writes on the tendency to naturalize the connections between people and place, leading to a perceived need to root people in national territories labeled as ‘home’. In this context migration is seen as a pathological process uprooting migrants and placing them ‘away’ from the place where they really belong. The notion that migrants are temporarily uprooted from their homes is present in the way that French migration

policies represent the link between migrants' home and away. In the following I will analyze these representations by focusing on two types of links, namely the link made between migration and development and the linking of these two with the issue of return.

Migration and Development

The past decade has seen an increased interest in linking migration and development among policy makers, academics and development practitioners such as multilateral institutions and non-governmental organizations (Bakewell, 2008). In France this received a new impetus in May 2007 when the Ministry of Immigration, Integration, National Identity and Mutually-Supportive Development⁴⁴ was established under the presidency of Nicolas Sarkozy. While some of the new ministry's competences were transformed from other ministries, the institutionalization of the connection between development and migration at a ministry level constituted a novelty in France. The linkage forged between migration and development relies on two objectives, one explicit and the other more implicit. The explicit objective consists in creating development 'at home' by making it easier for migrants to send remittances back to their countries of origin. In particular, emphasis is put on increasing the use of remittances for productive investment rather than consumption (MIINDS, 2009). Such a policy reflects the recognition of the economic effects of remittances and that migrants can act as agents of development for their countries of origin (Bakewell, 2008). In this way migration and development are linked by acknowledging that migration can cause development 'back home'. However, and this is where the second and more implicit objective of French migration policies becomes relevant, this cause and effect relationship between migration and development is also thought to apply the other way around. Although in this case it is not development but the *lack of* development that is represented as causing migration. This gives rise to a policy goal of developing sending countries in order to stem migratory flows. While this goal is less explicitly formulated it is nevertheless present in the political discourse on migration and development. The following quotation is taken from a speech that Nicolas Sarkozy, then Minister of the Interior and charged with

⁴⁴ The French name of the ministry is *Ministère de l'Immigration, de l'Intégration, de l'Identité nationale et du Développement solidaire*. The official English name is taken from <http://www.premier-ministre.gouv.fr/en/acteurs/gouvernement/> [Accessed May 17, 2009]

immigration affairs, held at a European-African Minister Conference on Migration and Development held at Rabat in July 2006:

How can we restore confidence among African youths and persuade them that there exists a future for them apart from emigration? This seems to me to be one of the fundamental questions of our time. Because if our destinies are united Africa's failure today will be Europe's disaster tomorrow.

(...)

In France we have just created, within the framework of the immigration reform, a savings instrument designed to promote investments of migrants in their countries of origin. Eventually, the development of Africa is the only solution, the only answer to the challenge of immigration. (Sarkozy, 2006: unpaginated)

This policy goal includes the belief that development can reduce the incentives for migrating and is thus in line with the representation of poverty and destitution as the primary causes of migration that I discussed in the second section of this chapter. Moreover, Sarkozy's statement and French policies on migration and development reflect an underlying conceptualization of development as sedentary, with its primary aim being to enable migrants to stay at 'home' instead of searching for a better life away from their countries of origin (Bakewell, 2008). This causality constructed between increased development at home and reduced impetuses to migrate is fundamentally flawed, as it is not the poor but the lower middle class that migrates. Thus development will increase people's abilities and aspirations to migrate, not reduce them (Bakewell, 2008; de Haas, 2008). In this regard, Bakewell (2008) claims that policies linking migration and development instead operate as a means to control mobility.

Migration, Development and Return

Migrants are also rooted through a growing emphasis in Europe on returning migrants 'home'. In French migration policies this linkage between migration, development and return is based on three policy objectives. The first is to encourage return through policies of voluntary repatriation and repatriation assistance⁴⁵. These policies contain measures to organize migrants' return, pay their transportation costs and give them financial aid through a predefined grant. The underlying aim is to solicit migrants to "opt for a

⁴⁵ The French expressions used by OFII (2009a) are *retour volontaire* and *retour humanitaire* respectively.

dignified return to [their] home country” by offering “help in successfully preparing [their] return home” (OFII, 2008a: unpaginated). The emphasis on returning ‘home’ in these policies contributes to constructing return as “the natural thing to do for migrants” (van Houte & Davids, 2008: 1411) as migrants are represented as going ‘home’ to the place where they belong. Moreover, return migration is linked to development as returned migrants can be eligible to benefit from programs aimed at “supporting the development of economic activities created by migrants in their countries of origin”⁴⁶ (OFII, 2009b).

The second objective to encourage circular migration also involves linking return migration and development. Circular migration has been defined by the European Commission (2007: 8) as “a form of migration that is managed in a way allowing some degree of legal mobility back and forth between two countries”. While opening up for migration into Europe, there is an explicit condition “that migrants return to their home country after their residence permits expire” (European Commission, 2007: 11). Circular migration has its roots in colonial practices of migration management in Africa (Bakewell, 2008) and has emerged as one of the many new buzzwords on the migration policy agenda in the EU, to the extent of being included in the European Pact on Immigration and Asylum (2008a) under the Pact’s fifth commitment on migration and development. In France, the expression circular migration is not widely used in policy discourse, but its underlying premises can be identified in policies on legal labor migration, especially in the “Skills and Talents” permit that was introduced in 2006:

It’s a matter of organizing not a “brain drain” but a “circulation of competences”. (...) The “Skills and Talents” permit can only be renewed once: after six years of residence in France, its holder will have to return to his/her country of origin in order for the country to benefit from the experience acquired in France. (Hortefeux, 2007: 6-7)

The “circulation of competences” is also an underlying premise of the Agreements on Concerted Management of Migratory Flows and Mutually-Supportive Development that France has signed with a number of migrant sending countries⁴⁷.

⁴⁶ *soutenir le développement d'activités économiques créées par des migrants dans leur pays*

⁴⁷ *Accords de gestion concertée des flux migratoires et de codéveloppement*. As of mid December 2008 agreements have been signed with Gabon, Senegal, Congo-Brazzaville, Benin, Tunisia, and Cape Verde (Cimade, 2009).

The third objective to facilitate the return of migrants is also a central facet of these bilateral agreements on migration management and development. The agreements integrate measures on the management of legal migration and the fight against illegal migration with mutually-supportive development and conventional development aid (Premier Ministre, 2007). By doing this, the agreements use development and legal channels for migration as bargaining tools to incite states to accept the return of migrants because the agreements facilitate the deliverance of *laissez-passer*, a sort of permit without which France is unable to send illegal migrants back. Such a readmission clause is also present in the European Commission's proposal for mobility partnerships between EU states and third countries where the third countries are committed to "readmit its own nationals" in return for "[i]mproved opportunities for legal migration" (European Commission, 2007: 4-5). According to Carrera and Chou (in Chou, 2006) such an approach to migration and development can be considered coercive.

4.5 Summary

This chapter has discussed the question *how are migrant legality and illegality spatially constructed?* Based on the premise that distance and proximity are not absolute measures but discursive constructs, the focus of the analysis is on how relations of distance and proximity are constructed between the migrants and the newspaper reader. The chapter has demonstrated how the newspaper articles construct an image of Europe as a fortress or a sieve that is threatened by migration. This threat is external as migratory flows are conceptualized as unidirectional, bringing migrants from abroad into European space. In this regard the causal forces behind migration flows are reduced to simplistic images of war and poverty. The spatial axis of distance and proximity becomes particularly articulated in the articles' constructions of hierarchies of place and their attempts to root migrants in a home located away from Europe. These two strategies both serve to other the migrants and place them in a discursive space located beyond the reach of the reader's attention and action. This discursive construction of space is especially apparent in representations of the detention center. While located close to the 'normal' national space the articles construct these centers as spaces set apart and thus discursively increases the distance between the detainees and the newspaper reader.

| 5 | **Defining Migrant (Il)legality**

This chapter analyzes how migrant legality and illegality are defined in mainstream French newspaper discourse and thus seeks to answer the question who is the (il)legal migrant? As there is no clear-cut boundary between legality and illegality (Yamamoto, 2007) it is necessary to deconstruct these two categories in order to understand how migrants can be defined as (il)legal. In this regard legality and illegality can be considered as nodal points (Laclau & Mouffe, 2001). Nodal points are privileged signs around which the meaning of other signs is fixed and they thus serve to organize how meaning is structured within a particular social field. The newspaper articles discuss several modes of (il)legality and attach different meanings to them by linking each mode to other concepts. In this way, the texts construct chains of equivalence (Laclau & Mouffe, 2001) and take part in an exercise of defining migrant (il)legality. The chapter starts with a brief overview of the modes of (il)legality found in France before I examine the terms used to refer to legal and illegal migration. After discussing how legality is defined in the case of legal labor migration and family reunification, I investigate discourses on illegal entry and illegal stay. Here I identify a fortune seeker discourse and discuss the definition of illegal stay is subject to a struggle between two opposing discourses.

5.1 Modes of (Il)legality

When discussing modes of (il)legality it is useful to distinguish between (il)legal entry and (il)legal stay. Entry refers to the crossing of state borders whereas stay is connected to migrants' residence on national territory. Both entry and stay can be either legal or illegal. The distinction between entry and stay enables us to grasp some of the complexity of who the (il)legal migrant is as modes of (il)legality can be classified depending on whether they are characterized by legal or illegal entry and legal or illegal stay. Table 1 gives an overview of the modes of (il)legality and their corresponding characteristics.

Table 1: Modes of (Il)legality

	Mode	Characteristics
Modes of legality	Legal labor migration	Legal entry, legal stay
	Family reunification	Legal entry, legal stay
	Student residence permit	Legal entry, legal stay
	Tourist visa	Legal entry, legal stay
	Regularization	Illegal entry, legal stay
Modes of illegality	Entrants without inspection (EWI)	Illegal entry, illegal stay
	False documentation	Illegal entry, illegal stay
	Overstaying	Legal entry, illegal stay

Based on Carling (2002) and Yamamoto (2007).

In the following I will briefly elaborate on these modes of (il)legality and place them in a French context. The remainder of this chapter then looks at the terms used to refer to these modes before analyzing two of the modes in detail, namely legal labor migration and family reunification, in addition to illegal entry and illegal stay. While illegal entry and illegal stay do not neatly correspond to any of the modes, I have found it useful for analytical purposes to use these two concepts as the newspaper articles seldom specify the mode of illegality in operation in each case.

While *legal labor migration* has a long history in France, its legal framework has recently been reformed by the passing of several laws and decrees, notably The 2006 Immigration and Integration Law⁴⁸ which created several new categories of work permits and introduced the principle of a selective opening of the labor market for certain professions and geographical zones that face recruitment difficulties.

Family members of foreign nationals residing in France can be eligible for *family reunification*⁴⁹, on the condition that the foreign national meets certain requirements in terms of residence, financial resources, housing and integration (OFII, 2008b). Thirdly, by obtaining a *student residence permit* a foreign national has the right to reside legally in

⁴⁸ *La loi du 24 juillet 2006 relative à l'immigration et à l'intégration*

⁴⁹ In addition, the two other types of family-related migration concern family members of French citizens and individuals with special “personal and family-related ties” (*liens personnels et familiaux*) with France. The term “family reunification” is reserved for family members of foreign nationals (CICI, 2008). Because the newspaper articles primarily discuss family reunification, I will not go into details on the two other forms of family-related migration.

France in order to pursue his or her studies. This permit also gives its bearer the right to work part-time (MIINDS, undated).

The *asylum* institution occupies a special legal place, distinct from the other modes of legality, and is therefore not included in Table 1. While asylum seekers often cross national borders without authorization (Yamamoto, 2007), this form of unauthorized entry is legitimate under the 1951 United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees when the purpose is to seek asylum (Carling, 2007). In France, asylum can be granted on the basis of either being accorded the status of refugee (in accordance with the 1951 Geneva Convention), for medical reasons or on the basis of meeting other criteria justifying a “subsidiary protection” (*protection subsidiaire*) (CICI, 2008).

Table 2 shows the numerical distribution of the modes of legality that I have discussed so far:

Table 2: Numerical Distribution of Some Modes of Legality

Category	Number of permits		Percentage of total 2007	Evolution 2003-07
	2003	2007		
Legal labor migration	12,457	10,731	6,3%	-13,9%
Family reunification	23,423	18,891	11,0%	-19,3%
Other types of family-related migration	70,182	66,901	39,1%	-4,7%
Student residence permits	52,317	46,635	27,2%	-10,9%
Humanitarian grounds ⁵⁰	16,953	15,101	8,8%	-10,9%
Other	15,493	12,963	7,6%	-16,3%
Total	190,825	171,222	100,0%	-10,3%

Source: CICI (2008: 45, 54)

In addition, a migrant can enter France legally by obtaining a *tourist visa*, or short-term Schengen visa, which entitles the foreign national to stay in France for a period of less than three months. In 2007 a total of 1,891,301 such Schengen visas were accorded to third country nationals, a decrease of 2,2% since 2003 (CICI, 2008: 28).

⁵⁰ Includes the three categories of refugees, medical reasons and subsidiary protection

Regularization refers to various government measures implemented in order to legalize the resident status of migrants who are staying illegally on the national territory. This scheme therefore differs from the schemes previously mentioned in that migrants' entry and subsequent stay in France until they are regularized are deemed illegal. Over the past three decades France has undertaken two major regularization programs. In the 1981-1982 program 130,000 undocumented migrants were regularized whereas the 1997-1998 program regularized roughly 90,000 migrants (Levinson, 2005).

Entrants without inspection cross national borders without state authorization and without reporting to national authorities (Yamamoto, 2007). The main ways of entering Europe illegally are by crossing the Mediterranean Sea or Aegean Sea by boat, by crossing land borders in Eastern Europe, by boarding a plane to Europe or by hiding in trucks driving into Europe. While the secret character of these border crossings makes it difficult to give any precise measurement of the extent of this phenomenon, French authorities attempt to measure such illegal entries based on three indicators: i) the number of migrants placed in holding centers, ii) the number of migrants turned back at the border and iii) the number of asylum applications at the border. Based on these indicators, the number of migrants attempting to enter illegally in France in 2007 would be 47,543; an increase of 13,9% since 2003 (CICI, 2008: 76).

Migrants with *false documentation* enter and /or remain in France by using forged passports, visas or other documentation or by using someone else's identification documents. In contrast, *overstayers* have at some point in time entered France legally and/or possessed a valid residence permit or visa making their stay legal at the time of entry. However, such permits are in most cases temporary and a migrant who fails to renew his or her authorization, yet continues to reside in France, is considered illegal by the law. Typical examples include migrants entering on a tourist visa and then staying beyond the validity of their visa without reporting to the authorities, or foreign nationals on a student visa violating the interdiction to take up fulltime work (Yamamoto, 2007). While it is uncertain how many migrants currently reside illegally in France, the total number has been estimated to be between 200,000 and 400,000 (CICI, 2008: 90).

Both asylum seekers who have had their application rejected, entrants without inspection, migrants with false documents and overstayers risk being deported. In 2007

23,196 foreign nationals were effectively deported from France, almost a doubling compared to 2003 (CICI, 2008: 99). However, some migrants cannot be deported, for instance because their nationality has not been identified or their country of origin refuses to issue a *laissez-passer* that France needs in order to return them. When these migrants at the same time do not fulfill the criteria for having their status regularized, they are referred to as non-expellable-non-regularizable (*inexpulsables-irregularisables*).

5.2 Naming

The choice of which word to use when referring to a social phenomenon is not neutral. This becomes especially clear when talking about migration as there exists a range of possible concepts with markedly different meanings. Moreover, analyzing the words used when referring to migration is also important as words carry different connotations and thus tell us something about how the issue in question is defined and understood. The examined newspaper articles use several words to refer to the different modes of (il)legality. In this section, focus is on the concepts used when discussing on the one hand legality in the form of legal labor migration and family reunification and on the other hand illegality in the form of illegal entry and stay and asylum.

Legality

Whereas family reunification almost without exception is referred to as ‘family immigration’ (*immigration familiale*) or ‘family reunification’ (*regroupement familial*) there exists a plethora of words in use when talking about legal labor migration. The expressions ‘labor immigration’ (*immigration de travail*), ‘professional immigration’ (*immigration professionnelle*) and ‘economic migration’ (*immigration économique*) each in their own way define legal labor migration in economic terms and is a value-laden term in the sense that emphasis is put on the usefulness of legal labor migration for the French economy, and not for the labor migrants themselves. Hence, the legal labor migration discourse attempts to close the meaning of the sign ‘economic’ by defining it as migrants’ economic contribution to their host society in the form of working and paying taxes. This articulation of the sign ‘economic’ is different from the one found in the fortune seekers discourse that I will expand on later in the chapter.

Another set of expressions used to refer to legal labor migration in France offers a poignant example of how semantics can turn into a highly politicized fight over words. When presenting his proposed Immigration and Integration Bill to the French National Assembly in 2006⁵¹, president Nicolas Sarkozy, then Minister of the Interior, used the expression ‘chosen immigration’⁵² (*immigration choisie*) to refer to the proposals related to legal labor migration contained within the bill (Assemblée Nationale, 2006). Chosen immigration signals that “France has the right to choose who it wants to welcome on its territory”⁵³, as Immigration Minister Brice Hortefeux has put it (Le nouvel observateur, 2007). Following the passing of the 2006 law⁵⁴, chosen immigration has been linked to a sarkozian stand on immigration policy, to the extent that *Le Figaro* described the concept as dear to Sarkozy⁵⁵. Yet, it is telling to see how the French government has changed the semantics of its discourse on legal labor migration, largely replacing chosen immigration with a ‘chosen and concerted immigration’ (*immigration choisie et concertée*) that “takes into account the interests of both countries of origin and host countries” (Hortefeux, 2007). The clue here is the insertion of the word ‘concerted’ that frames French policies on legal labor migration as a joint effort supported both by France and the sending countries, to a large extent African states for whom the semantic unilateralism of chosen immigration was hard to swallow. Hence, a change of word can contribute to subtly increasing the legitimacy of the policy while simultaneously smoothing diplomatic relations between sending and receiving countries.

Illegality

When reporting on migrant illegality, several expressions are used, most notably ‘clandestine’ (*clandestin*), ‘illegal’ (*illegal*) and ‘undocumented migrants’ (*sans-papiers*). *Sans-papiers* literally means ‘without papers’ and is similar to the term ‘undocumented migrants’ which in a European context denotes a special legal category of illegal migrants who lack necessary documents (Samers, 2004). However, there is an important

⁵¹ This bill was later passed as the Immigration and Integration Law of 24 July 2006

⁵² In English-language media (e.g. BBC) the expression is often translated as ‘selective immigration’. However I translate it as ‘chosen immigration’ as this better conveys the original notion of choice.

⁵³ *La France a le droit de choisir qui elle veut accueillir sur son territoire*

⁵⁴ It is unclear when the expression *immigration choisie* was first employed, but Sarkozy did use it before the passing of the 2006 law (see for instance Sarkozy, 2005). However, politicians and the media tend to link the concept to the provisions of the 2006 law.

⁵⁵ *Le Figaro* 07.05.07

difference between the two terms in that the term *sans-papiers* has a political usage and is widely used by various associations supporting the *sans-papiers* cause. The *sans-papiers* expression is an excellent example of metonymy, or how a part is taken as representative of a larger entity. By referring to the part, a whole series of connotations are activated that constitute the entity. In this case having no papers is connected to a lack of nationality, legality, citizenship and ultimately identity (Rosello, 1998). In the newspaper articles there is a tendency to use the word *clandestin* when referring to migrants entering illegally and *sans-papiers* or *clandestin* for migrants staying illegally in France. The word *illegal* is used to a lesser extent to denote both illegal entry and illegal stay. What is telling for all these three expressions is the way in which they have evolved from their original use as adjectives to becoming nouns, as in the following two examples:

Some 30.000 illegal immigrants (*clandestins*) arrived in the Canary Islands in 2006 (*Le Monde* 09.02.07c)

120 undocumented migrants (*sans-papiers*), who had been installed in the park by the labor exchange in Lille since July 25th, were arrested by the police yesterday morning. (*Le Figaro* 02.08.07)

How can we analyze such uses of an adjective as a noun? When migrants are referred to as *clandestins* their illegality takes on the shape of a defining characteristic, in the same way as someone can be ‘a boy’ or ‘a teacher’. There are fundamental differences between an adjective and a noun and these differences influence how meaning is constructed in the above-quoted examples. Adjectives are both etymologically and grammatically a class of words that modify nouns by adding a quality to the noun in question. For instance, a ‘tree’ is and remains a tree, but can be qualified as being ‘tall’, ‘beautiful’, ‘green’ etc. When used as a noun, however, adjectives take on a much more permanent and fundamental character. The French language makes an interesting, and in this regard relevant, distinction between the sentences *Elle est un artiste* and *Elle est artiste*, both translated into English as ‘She is an artist’. The indefinite article ‘*un*’, though small, makes a big difference in that it defines, in the first sentence, the person as an artist, but also many other things, whereas in the second sentence the person is first and foremost an artist. Likewise, it makes a crucial difference whether *sans-papiers* is used as a noun, *les sans-papiers*, or as a qualifying adjective, *un travailleur sans papiers* (a paperless

worker). In the latter case, the ‘paperlessness’ of the person is less of a defining characteristic and more open for change because the person is defined first and foremost as a worker, and ‘paperless’ is just one of many attributes that can be assigned to this worker. Similarly, the expression ‘immigrant in an irregular situation’ (*immigré en situation irrégulière*) that is used in many of the newspaper articles provides a discursive possibility for change in the migrant’s situation from being irregular to regular. Furthermore, migrants are also lexicalized simply as ‘migrants’ (*migrants*) or ‘immigrants’ (*immigrés*). However, this visual lack of any reference to illegality does not necessarily make these migrants legal. Rather the presence of some other reference to their illegality, by using some of the above-mentioned expressions in the same text, makes it clear that these migrants should be understood as illegal even if this is not made explicit in each reference.

As for asylum, it is interesting to observe that ‘refugees’ (*refugiés*) and ‘illegal immigrants’ (*clandestins*) are often discussed in the same texts, with few or no explicit efforts made to distinguish the two groups of migrants. The following article, reporting on two civil society organizations accusing the Greek authorities for violating migrants’ human rights, illustrates the adjacent textual positioning of *refugié* and *clandestin*:

According to the two associations, Greek functionaries systematically mistreat refugees (*réfugiés*), attempting to block their makeshift boats (*embarcations de fortune*) or force them to leave Greek territorial waters without worrying about their fate. Some tactics consist in “puncturing their inflatable boats” or in “surrounding the boats by creating large waves likely to make the boats sink”! Several illegal migrants (*clandestins*) have told how they have been abandoned on a desert island without anything to eat or drink. (*Le Figaro* 02.11.07a)

In this article ‘refugees’ and ‘illegal immigrants’ refer to the same groups of migrants. This co-presence implicitly draws a parallel between the two and contributes to undermining the special character of the asylum institution. The term refugee loses its legal meaning and special status according to international law and becomes a word to be used interchangeably with other words, in the same ways as a text can shift between using the words ‘illegal immigrant’ (*clandestin*) or simply ‘immigrant’ (*immigré*) when referring to the same group of migrants. This slippage in language is also observed in the UK by Gedalof (2007) and in Finland by Horsti (2007).

5.3 Legal Labor Migration

The French government underlines the need to break with the previous policy of zero immigration (*immigration zéro*) and represents labor migration as an economic necessity for France. In this regard, Brice Hortefeux has on several occasions affirmed that “selective and concerted immigration does not mean zero immigration, which is neither possible nor desirable”⁵⁶. This claim is taken up in the French draft of the European Pact on Immigration and Asylum where it is stated that a policy of zero immigration is “unrealistic and dangerous” and that “Europe is in need of immigrants for demographic and economic reasons”⁵⁷ (European Pact, 2008b: 1). While this represents a break with the discourse that dominated in previous decades, it is clear that when opening up French borders to immigration, the government’s priority is put on encouraging legal labor migration, as the following quote from Brice Hortefeux illustrates:

Of course, there is an immigration that is humanly indispensable. But to support our economy we need make an effort for those sectors where there is labor shortage: construction and public works, the catering industry and services. (*Le Monde* 10.10.07)

Words such as ‘promote’ (*favoriser*), ‘relaunch’ (*relancer*) and ‘increase’ (*élever*) are often employed when discussing legal labor migration. This must be understood in relation to the perceived need to tilt legal migration in favor of increasing labor migration and reduced family reunification that I will discuss in the next section. Moreover, there is a constant emphasis in government discourse on the need to organize and manage legal labor migration. While not surprising, given that immigration policy is about organizing the entry and stay of foreign nationals on French territory, the use of the word ‘organize’ must be understood in relation to concurrent representations of illegal migration as “badly managed” (European Pact, 2008a: unpaginated) and out of control.

5.4 Family Reunification

Family reunification is discursively defined as a legal mode of migration. The main arguments for this legality are that France is bound by international treaties to provide

⁵⁶ *l’immigration choisie et concertée, ce n’est pas l’immigration zéro, qui n’est ni possible ni souhaitable.* (*Le Figaro* 16.12.07)

⁵⁷ *Irréaliste et dangereuse and L’Europe a besoin de migrants pour des raisons démographiques et économiques*

opportunities for family reunification and that the family is an important value in French society. Hence, family reunification is defined in humanitarian terms in contrast to the economic definition of labor migration. At the same time there is a clearly articulated view that family reunification should be limited, with words such as ‘limit’ (*limiter*), ‘curb’ (*freiner*) and ‘restrict’ (*restreindre*) frequently used in the articles. A recurrent mantra in government discourse is the need to tilt the balance between the legal labor migration and family migration in favor of labor immigration, increasing the latter to 50% of legal immigration flows and correspondingly reducing family immigration to 50%. Juxtaposed with the above-mentioned representations of legal labor migration this has the effect of defining family reunification in negative and restrictive terms. Moreover, this differentiation between the two modes of legality is constructed in a way that largely disempowers those eligible for family reunification. Indeed, migrants who come to France through family reunification are represented as a potential strain on the French welfare system and not as potential contributors to the French economy through their participation in the labor market:

During his presidential campaign Nicolas Sarkozy repeated that in order to get one’s family to France, it is necessary to have accommodation and work that make it possible to provide for the family without taking into account family allowances. (*Le Monde* 12.06.07)

The fear contained within these representations that the persons concerned lack sufficient funds to provide for their families translate into detailed requirements as to the applicants’ financial resources. Furthermore, there is a tendency to link family reunification to the families’ “integration capabilities” (European Pact, 2008a). In France, this has led to another set of requirements for family reunification that obliges applicants to learn French in their home countries. When the applicants are children, their parents residing in France are also obliged to sign an Accommodation and integration contract for families (*contrat d’accueil et d’intégration pour la famille*) in addition to the Accommodation and integration contract (*contrat d’accueil et d’intégration*) that is mandatory for all immigrants. The family contract includes a training seminar on parents’ rights and responsibilities in France. In case of non-compliance with the contract, the parents’ residence permit might not be renewed (OFII, 2008a).

In addition to an emphasis on strengthening obligations, the discourse surrounding family reunification is marked by suspicion, especially towards the authenticity of birth certificates presented by parents who reside in France and seek to have their children join them. While immigrants seeking family reunification are not criminalized, there is a general sense of distrust towards their motives for coming to France and an implicit assumption that some immigrants exploit the family reunification procedure without being legally and morally entitled to do so. This led the French Senate, after much debate, to install a system of optional DNA tests for immigrants from certain regions where “fraudulent documents have become an endemic phenomenon”⁵⁸ in the words of Thierry Mariani, the deputy who originally proposed to install such genetic tests.

5.5 Illegal Entry – *les clandestins*

Illegal migration is characterized by its apparent ‘unwantedness’ and is represented as something that France needs to control and fight. This representation is based on a chain of equivalence linking the sign ‘illegality’ to ‘fight’. The expressions ‘the fight against illegal immigration’ (*la lutte contre l’immigration clandestine*) and ‘fight against illegal immigration’ (*lutter contre l’immigration clandestine*) are recurrent in the newspaper articles and this fight is often linked to the need to implement various forms of control measures and to the politics of deportation. In this regard it is interesting to see that ‘the fight against illegal immigration’ becomes a mantra that is repeated over and over again without really specifying *why* there is a need to fight illegal immigration. Rather, texts rely on interdiscursivity to draw upon previous representations of the need to fight illegal immigration and thus succeed in concealing the lack of any clearly articulated reasons for this restrictive policy. Instead, the reader is left to *assume* that such a reason exists to legitimize this policy of control and deportation. Moreover, in this case ‘illegality’ conveniently functions as an empty signifier that can be inscribed with meaning. One such inscription that dominates in the examined newspaper articles is the construction of illegal migrants as fortune seekers. The fortune seekers discourse is the most clearly articulated definition of illegal migration.

⁵⁸ *La fraude documentaire est devenue un phénomène endémique (...)* (*Le Monde* 14.09.07)

Fortune seekers

The fortune seekers discourse constructs a chain of equivalence between illegal migrants and the sign 'economic' but in contrast to the legal labor migration discourse 'economic' is not taken to signify that migrants contribute economically to their host society. Rather the migrants are cast as people seeking a better life and increased economic opportunities in the West. The fortune seeker discourse is complex and comprises four major elements: Eldorado, emotionality and irrationality, adventure, and *bateaux de fortune*.

Firstly, the West is represented as an Eldorado. Eldorado can refer to Europe in general or more specifically to the United Kingdom, which is seen as more attractive to migrants than France. While it is mainly politicians and the media who use the term Eldorado, this designation is attributed to the migrants themselves:

Anger still occupies the eyes of Amdi Faye. "I shouldn't be here. I should've been working in Europe, earning money to send back to my parents". A dream in which Amdi believed a fall day last year when he touched Eldorado, a beach in the Spanish Canary Islands. (*Le Figaro* 24.02.07)

While the term Eldorado originally referred to a legendary treasure city in South America, its use has been extended to denote any place of great wealth and opportunity that attracts fortune seekers⁵⁹. In this regard the construction of Europe as an Eldorado must be seen in connection with the representation of immigrants as potential abusers of the European welfare states (Bruun, 2005). Eldorado occupies a mythical position in Western imagination as a legendary and somewhat utopian place located beyond the confines of the everyday. There is a sense of disillusionment surrounding Eldorado because it is a place that, though much sought after, might never be found. When applied to Europe, however, the term Eldorado has the effect of locating Eldorado in the concrete space of Europe. Notice in this regard that Eldorado is spatialized as "a beach in the Spanish Canary Islands" and that Amdi Faye is said to have "touched" this piece of Eldorado when he arrived in the Canary Islands. Moreover, it is primarily migrants from third countries that are placed within the Eldorado discourse. Their fortune seeking behavior is contrasted to that of other migrants:

⁵⁹ www.dictionnaire.com

Natives of Razgrad, Rousse or Silistra [cities in the north-east of Bulgaria], these men know where they will be landing when they get on the Eurolines bus that in two days will drive them to Paris for 80 Euros. They don't dream about Eldorado, but "proud to be Europeans" they know that work hours are better paid in Paris than in Bulgaria. (*Le Monde* 28.06.07)

In this article a contrast is made between some migrants who are represented as not really knowing where they are going, besides the fact that they dream for something better, and these Bulgarian migrants, who are both European citizens and well aware of what lies ahead. Consequently fortune seeking is qualified as something un-European and foreign, which has the effect of further othering those migrants who are labeled as fortune seekers. The text works by drawing upon previous constructions of illegal migrants as seeking a better fortune in Europe and contrasting these to the representation of the Bulgarian workers as decent and well-informed European citizens. This is then a clear example of intertextuality or "how texts draw upon, incorporate, recontextualize and dialogue with other texts" (Fairclough, 2003: 17).

The second element of the fortune seekers discourse is the way in which illegal migrants are represented as emotional and irrational. The articles use an emotional register focusing on migrants' desire, hopes and dreams to reach Eldorado. While the Bulgarian migrants "don't dream about Europe" Amdi Fayé had a "dream" of "working in Europe [and] earning money to send back to [his] parents". Migrants' emotionality is further sustained by representing them as irrational actors that are ready to do anything to reach Europe, including risking their own lives. This irrationalization of migrants' behavior builds upon and feeds into existing representations of the 'other' as irrational in contrast to an enlightened and rational Europe (Said, 1995). The tendency to irrationalize migrants' behavior is especially manifest in articles dealing with boat migration from Africa. Many of these texts contain references to the risks involved in boat migration, notably the threats of starvation, capsizing and ultimately death, and estimations on the number of deaths in the Mediterranean are a common feature of the articles:

Some 30.000 illegal immigrants arrived at the Canary Islands in 2006. But Spanish authorities estimate that one out of six prospective migrants (*candidat à l'immigration*) perishes in attempting to reach this gateway to Europe. (*Le Monde* 09.02.07c)

This quotation is taken from the last paragraph of the article, leaving no space to convey how migrants negotiate and rationalize the risk of deaths and other threats they may encounter on their journey. Rather, the striking lack of references to migrants' risk awareness and strategies for minimizing the risks involved in boat migration not only reduces their agency but also casts them as impulsive, almost child-like people who act before thinking. In this regard migrants in the following passage are said "not [to] hesitate" and the boats they use are described as "rubber dinghies for children":

Thousands of Afghan, Iraqi, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, but also African (particularly Somali and Eritrean) illegal immigrants call upon networks (*filières*) but do not hesitate to board makeshift boats (*embarcations de fortune*), crafts, rubber dinghies for children, to cross the few nautical miles separating the Turkish coast from the multiple Greek islands of the Aegean Sea. (*Le Monde* 06.12.07)

When the articles do represent migrants as being aware of the risks involved in boat migration, as in the slogan *Barça ou barzakh* ('Barcelona or death') attributed to Senegalese migrants, the articles fail to give any context or explanation that might help the reader to understand that being willing to sacrifice everything, even one's own life, might be a valid response to the protracted socio-economic condition of insecurity and lack of meaningful options for the future that migrants may face in their home countries (Hernández-Carretero, 2008). Given the vast number of articles on boat migration there is also a conspicuous lack of insight into how the migrants perceive the risks involved and try to minimize them:

This summer, Sall will make "a pirogue journey". An adventure at 700€ in an inflatable boat. This 23 year old Guinean will take "a life jacket" to ward off fear and bad luck: in 2007 at least 184 persons drowned in the Aegean Sea while attempting to reach the Greek islands, only a few nautical miles away from the Turkish coast. (*Le Figaro* 23.06.08)

In this extract "a life jacket" is said to be Sall's only protection against "fear and bad luck" that might occur during the journey. Such a framing of risk management portrays Sall as ignorant of the 'real' hazards involved in the journey and completely ignores the multiple ways through which migrants deal with risk, such as careful selection of equipment, scheduling departures according to weather conditions, staying far from the coast to avoid being intercepted by patrols and the reliance on protective amulets and

prayer (Hernández-Carretero, 2008). Moreover, and this is the third tenet of the fortune seekers discourse, the journey is characterized as an “adventure”. In the articles depicting the hazardous journey across the sea as an “adventure”, “drama” or even “odyssey” bestows boat migration with a fairytale character. This moves migration into the realm of the unreal and the imaginary and has the effect of depoliticizing it and concealing its socio-political and structural causes. Casting the crossing as an adventure also makes the deaths of migrants seem less important because the reader’s capacity to imagine that these deaths are real is blocked.

The fourth and last element of the fortune seekers discourse is the labeling of the boats used by migrants crossing into Europe as *bateaux de fortune*, which loosely translates as ‘makeshift boats’ in English. However, in the process of translating a central connotation of the expression *bateaux de fortune* is lost. ‘Fortune’ in both French and English means ‘chance’ or ‘luck’ and the use of this word further underlines the representations of boat migrants as both emotional and irrational. Not only do they attempt to cross open sea in rickety wooden vessels, but they also place their future hopes, dreams and indeed lives in the hands of pure chance. Moreover, the use of the word *fortune* in a maritime context creates a discursive interplay with the French expression *fortune de mer* which in English translates as ‘perils of the sea’ and refers to all the risks likely to occur at sea.

5.6 Illegal Stay – *les sans-papiers*

The texts on illegal stay embody the greatest complexity in how (il)legality is constructed because undocumented migrants (*sans-papiers*) are associated with elements of both legality and illegality. In this regard undocumented migrants are discursively situated in-between legality and illegality and the term *sans-papiers* is a floating signifier whose meaning is subject to a struggle between different discourses. In the newspaper articles I have identified two main discourses on illegal stay, namely i) *sans-papiers* and regularization, where *sans-papiers* are represented as migrants with prospects of being regularized, and ii) *sans-papiers* and deportation, where they are constructed as migrants to be detained and deported from French territory. The politics of deportation and regularization associated with the *sans-papiers* calls attention to the fact that the

boundary between legality and illegality can be rather poorly defined at times. It is in this contested and liminal space that the figure of the *sans-papiers* resides. Yet, the inherent ambiguity of the term *sans-papiers* serves a strategic purpose as the term is highly contingent and can be filled with meanings from different discourses. How the term then is articulated depends in the final instance on which signs are linked together to form chains of equivalence. In the discourse on *sans-papiers* and regularization the signs 'sans-papiers' and 'regularization' are brought together with 'work' or 'family' whereas no such linkage is made in the discourse on *sans-papiers* and deportation.

Regularization procedures are in many ways a juridical and analytical quagmire. Not only do regularization programs in different countries have different provisions and target groups, but regularization policies within one country also tend to change over time, as has been the case in France (Levinson, 2005). Moreover regularization is not a right according to French law (Conseil d'État, 1996). Rather, it is an act of grace whereby state authorities decide to accord residence permit to migrants fulfilling certain criteria and thus choose to cancel their illegal status. After two larger regularization programs in 1981-1982 and 1997-1998 the official discourse in France is now imbued with a sense of distrust and hostility towards such massive regularizations. Instead, emphasis is placed on the need to shift to strictly case-by-case regularizations due to a perceived fear that massive regularizations will create an indraft (*un appel d'air*) making France more attractive for illegal migrants. French civil society organizations working with migrants' rights, such as *Réseau Education Sans Frontières* (Network Education Without Borders), *Groupe d'Information et du Soutien des Immigrés* (Immigrant Information and Support Group) and Cimade, criticize the current case-by-case regularization policy for lacking objective and clearly defined criteria for regularization and leading to discrepancies in the way *préfets* (state representatives on the regional level) deal with regularization applications. As a consequence, *sans-papiers* who meet the criteria risk having their application denied (Zappi, 2002). While regularization previously was automatic after 10 years of residence in France the 2006 Immigration and Integration Law abolished this measure (Chou & Baygert, 2007) and new rules adopted in 2007-2008 make the prospects of regularization more unattainable for many undocumented migrants (Robin, 2008). Yet, in line with the emphasis in government discourse on promoting labor

migration, Brice Hortefeux declared in April 2008 that regularization is possible on “a case-by-case examination based on the reality of a work contract and the labor situation in a sector under tension or in a *département*”⁶⁰. This statement, as well as newspaper articles reporting on the regularization of undocumented migrant workers, constructs a discursive chain that equates ‘*sans-papiers*’ and ‘work’ with ‘regularization’. This chain of equivalence is thus similar to that constructed between ‘legality’ and ‘economic’ in the legal labor migration discourse and this explains how the regularization of undocumented migrant workers can be consistent with an overarching discourse that founds legality on being able to contribute economically.

Despite the emphasis on work as a criterion for regularization in both government discourse and practice, work does not constitute the only valid ground for obtaining a residence permit. It is at this point that regularization turns into a real quagmire and the role of extra-legal factors in the regularization process becomes particularly pronounced:

Among many *sans-papiers* rumors say that the birth of a child on French territory will protect them from a deportation. An idea that juridically speaking is false, yet not unwarranted in practice. The slightest deportation operation concerning minor children provokes in general the anger of neighbors and parents. The emergence of Network Education Without Borders (RESF) in 2005 and its many victorious struggles with the Ministry of Interior demonstrate this. (*Le Figaro* 27.03.07)

In this and similar articles signs such as ‘*sans-papiers*’, ‘children’ and ‘parents’ are articulated together to form a variety of the *sans-papiers* and regularization discourse that emphasizes the humanitarian grounds for regularizing illegal migrants. However, this discourse, as well as the discourse linking ‘legality’ and ‘humanitarianism’ that I discussed in the section on family reunification, is more unstable than the discourse that defines legality in economic terms. The regularization of undocumented parents is a contested topic in French public debate. While strongly defended by migrant associations it has at the same time been qualified by Brice Hortefeux as a having the potential to create new networks of illegal immigration (*Le Figaro* 14.10.07a).

Co-existing with the discourse on *sans-papiers* and regularization I have identified another discourse that represents *sans-papiers* as persons to be detained and deported.

⁶⁰ *examen au cas par cas en fonction de la réalité d'un contrat de travail, de la situation de l'emploi dans un secteur en tension ou d'un département.* (*Le Monde* 24.04.08)

This discourse casts them as illegal migrants lacking the economic or humanitarian grounds for staying that undocumented migrants placed in the regularization discourse are said to have. The deportation discourse is particularly pronounced within government circles, as in the following words of Brice Hortefeux:

Undocumented foreigners do not have the calling to stay in France, but to be escorted back to their country of origin, either voluntary or forced. (*Le Figaro* 14.10.07a)

Hortefeux's statement is inscribed within a "policy of firmness, balance and justice" where there is no room for "backing off" and becoming lenient⁶¹. This tough attitude towards undocumented migrants is similar to the fight against illegal migration that I discussed in the section on illegal entry and illustrates how illegal entry and illegal stay are conflated within the same discursive articulation.

5.7 Summary

This chapter has attempted to answer the question *how are migrant legality and illegality defined?* The chapter demonstrates that legality and illegality are defined as opposites, with the former being what the latter is not. The newspaper articles create a chain of equivalence between legality and economic and humanitarian reasons for staying on the one hand, and illegality, fortune seeking and a lack of economic and humanitarian reasons on the other hand. In this regard, 'economic' is a floating signifier, a term that Laclau and Mouffe (2001) use to denote an element whose meaning vary from one discursive articulation to another. This explains how migrants can be linked to the sign 'economic', but still be placed in opposing categories. While fortune seekers migrate for economic reasons, they are not seen to have the proper economic incentive to migrate as their economic contribution is not primarily in the interest of the host society, but stem from a personal aspiration to improve their own living conditions. This articulation undermines these migrants' claim to be considered legal. The analysis also argues that *sans-papiers* is a floating signifier. This makes possible the articulation of *sans-papiers* within different discursive formations, linking them either to regularization (and thus legality) or deportation and illegality.

⁶¹ *politique de fermeté, d'équilibre et de justice and lâcher du lest (Le Figaro 24.04.08)*

| 6 | **Representing Migrant (Il)legality**

In this chapter I bring the analysis one step further by examining the construction of migrant (il)legality through the analytics of mediation that was introduced in the theory chapter. By doing this I contend that migrant (il)legality is not only constructed through the ways in which migrants are defined and the concepts associated with them. Rather the analysis also has to attend to how the relationship between the reader of a newspaper article and the migrants appearing in the article is mediated and whether the article constructs the readers as active or passive by shaping their ethical and political conduct. While not rejecting the discursive processes of naming and associating, I argue that the newspaper articles employ more subtle discursive strategies in order to represent migrant (il)legality in particular ways. In the newspaper articles I have identified four types of discursive strategies that will be the focus of the present chapter. These are narrating, framing, humanization and dehumanization. Concerning the multimodality aspect of the analytics of mediation, I discuss how different narrative modes represent migrant (il)legality. Here I complement Chouliaraki's (2006) analysis of multimodality by looking at how the newspaper articles contextualize migration news and I propose three different logics of framing that the articles make use of. I then analyze migrants' agency by looking at the subject positions assigned to migrants. In this regard, humanization is a set of strategies used to represent perceived legal migrants whereas dehumanization characterizes representations of illegality. While Chouliaraki (2006) gives few details as to how humanization and dehumanization operate in concrete texts I propose a typology of humanizing and dehumanizing strategies and link these to the construction and differentiation of migrant (il)legality.

6.1 Narrating and Framing (Il)legality

Narrative Mode

The choice of narrative mode is not neutral, but opens up for different emotional responses on the part of the reader and thus influences how a particular news story is read

and interpreted. In the examined newspaper articles I have identified three narrative modes that play different roles in constructing migrant (il)legality, namely descriptions, narrations proper and expositions. In some texts one narrative mode dominates whereas in other cases the text shifts between different modes.

Descriptions focus on facts and contain an implicit claim to the objectivity and the facticity of the reported news (Chouliaraki, 2006). Descriptions zoom in on two types of information. First, descriptions tell who the article is about, or its protagonists. Second, the circumstances of the event are described in terms of where and how. Descriptions can be conceptualized as ‘snapshot’ news, with limited time-spaces, little or no regard for why something happens and thus limited historical and political contextualization. Consequently, descriptions purport a detached view on the news event and create a distance between the reader and the news event. Hence they also work to normalize the representations they embody as there is no trace of politics in the texts. Because of their lack of emotions descriptions are often the kind of news articles that we read and then easily forget. In the newspaper articles descriptions dominate in reports on illegal migration to Europe. In the following article about a group of migrants discovered in south-eastern France descriptions prevail throughout the whole article:

Thirty illegal immigrants discovered in a small truck

IMMIGRATION. Thirty illegal passengers, aged from 16 to 30 years and of Indian nationality, were discovered Wednesday night at Chamonix in a small truck driving on the entrance ramp to the Mont-Blanc tunnel. The discovery of these illegal immigrants, hidden in a cache of a few square meters, took place at the moment of a road control in the direction Italy-France. The police heard noises at the back of the vehicle, registered in Italy and coming from Turin, and discovered the illegal immigrants, of whom seven were minors between 16 and 17 years old, men coming for the majority from Punjab (North India).

All the occupants of the truck, including the driver-smuggler, also Indian but staying legally in Italy, have been placed in custody. Some of them, including all the minors, were escorted back to Italy yesterday morning. The illegal immigrants say that they have each paid on average 10,000 Euros and that they were travelling in the direction of Belgium from Rome, where they landed with passports with false visas, documents that were later confiscated. (*Le Figaro* 02.11.07b)

The article reads like a condensed snapshot where the basics of the event are narrated in terms of *who* (“thirty illegal immigrants”), *where* (“on the entrance ramp to the Mont-Blanc tunnel”), *when* (“Wednesday night”, “at the moment of a road control”, “yesterday morning”) and *how* (“hidden in a cache”, “discovered” by “the police”, “placed in custody”, “escorted back to Italy”). The concrete time-space (“the Mont-Blanc tunnel”, “Wednesday night”) and the abundance of details (“aged from 16 to 30 years”, “driving on the entrance ramp”, “at the moment of a road control”, “registered in Italy”) underline the facticity of the event. The article makes no attempt to analyze the event and place it in its wider political and historical context. This lack of “conceptual complexity” (Chouliaraki, 2006) becomes particularly apparent in the many short news items reporting on illegal migration:

GREECE

The influx of illegal immigrants continues in the Aegean Sea

250 illegal immigrants were arrested, Saturday 3rd and Sunday 4th of May, on the islands of the Aegean Sea. Facing the Turkish coast, the coast guard of Samos arrested two groups on two rubber dinghies. A sailing boat registered in Delaware (USA) was seized after having disembarked another group on a beach of the island Euboea, north-east of Athens. (*Le Monde* 06.05.08b)

With a scope of only 5-10 lines, these articles⁶² simply cannot convey the complexity of a news event and thus resort to more simplistic and descriptive representations. Moreover, by representing illegal migration in a specific way these descriptive articles also contribute to creating a representational standard that influences how similar news events are represented in the future and indirectly labels these events as less important and less deserving both of space in the newspaper and the reader’s attention.

In contrast to descriptions, *narrations proper* make appeals to the reader’s emotions. This is done by replacing factual reporting with elements of storytelling that bring the news story closer to the reader and encourage the reader to engage emotionally with the narrated news. Narrations thus go beyond the simple voyeurism of the descriptive mode. Moreover, they are less frequent and not as clearly articulated as descriptions. Narrations

⁶² Such mini articles often come from news agencies such as Agence France-Press (AFP).

often make up only parts of an article, but in the article, from which the following paragraph is excerpted, close to the entire article is written using narrations:

TUESDAY 9 OCTOBER. A few seconds before six o'clock in the morning, at the foot of a small, sad and grey building of a deserted street in Ivry, a dozen of men silently slip on the orange fluorescent armband of the police under the direction of a young blond woman. Captain Rachel J., 36 years old, gets ready to begin "Operation Manzy". At the same moment, other policemen oppose three other buildings in the Parisian region, ready to intervene in ordinary-looking apartments that in reality serve as "storage" centers for undocumented (*sans-papiers*) Chinese awaiting a passage to Great Britain. (*Le Figaro* 13.10.07)

Although it is the opening paragraph of a newspaper article on the arrest and demolition of a network engaged in people smuggling, the above passage reads much like an excerpt from a novel or short story. Real-time storytelling using the historical present ("gets ready to begin") casts the story as unfinished and places the reader right in the middle of the action (Chouliaraki, 2006). In the case of the previous article on the Indian migrants, narrations could have facilitated a closer engagement with their life situation than the more simplistic descriptive mode currently used allows. In the above-quoted article, however, narrations instead have the effect of conveying the dramaturgy of the police operation and reinforcing its inherently action-filled character. The reader is invited to follow the police operation from close up as if he or she was present.

In narrations the reader's emotional engagement with the news event is limited to feelings of compassion or excitement, depending on the nature of the news event. In contrast, *expositions* bring in an element of indignation or a moral judgment vis-à-vis the news story (Chouliaraki, 2006). Expositions can primarily be found in articles reporting on migrants that are perceived to have a legitimate reason to stay legally in France. The use of expositions in these contexts has the effect of strengthening this legitimacy. In some cases it is the author of the text that directly or indirectly makes a moral judgment but often it is done in more subtle ways. One way in which a news text can incorporate a moral judgment while simultaneously preserving its own presumed neutrality is to 'speak through' an interviewee and letting this interviewee entice the reader to concur with the interviewee's point of view. Who is given voice in the news articles and whether their speech is narrated indirectly or indirectly thus play a role. Direct speech creates an almost

uninterrupted communication chain between the speaker and the reader, as if the two were talking face-to-face and the speaker was implicitly trying to convince the reader of his or her points of view. The following excerpt recounts the reaction of Mehdi Daïri, manager of a cleaning company in a Parisian suburb, when his undocumented employees sparked off a strike and occupied the company's premises in June 2008:

He "took things in hand at once" and completed the regularization applications, which he himself brought to the prefecture. "It's in everybody's interest. Their move (*démarche*) is legitimate. They have been here for years, working, paying their contributions and taxes, and we are satisfied with them. Laying them off was not the solution" he says, assuring that he was caught completely off-guard when he discovered their situation. (*Le Monde* 17.06.08b)

Through his statements Daïri purports his own moral judgment on the situation of the *sans-papiers* in his company. He qualifies their actions as "legitimate", stating that they "have been here for years, working, paying their contributions and taxes, and we are satisfied with them". Using direct speech also has the effect of clearly attributing these statements to Daïri himself and his voice carries weight because he has first-hand knowledge about the situation of the undocumented migrants in his company. With no opposing voices, Daïri's point of view remains the only basis for the reader when attempting to figure out the 'truth' about this group of *sans-papiers*. Daïri's last remark ("he was caught completely off-guard when he discovered their situation") refers to the fact that undocumented employees and their employers in many cases disagree as to whether the employer knew about their lack of papers. While the law now requires employees to present their original residence permit and employers to have the prefecture verify the residence permits of their employees, these measures are not always followed up in practice. Moreover, many undocumented immigrants were employed before these rules came into force. In several of the articles undocumented migrants accuse their employer of knowing about their illegality and consciously exploiting it, underpaying or laying them off at will. The figure of the employer is therefore represented as a Janus-faced character, sometimes reduced to a bad guy role, while at other times exalted to the position of a kindhearted benefactor going to great extents to help 'his' *sans-papiers*. Daïri's last remark and his actions place him within this latter category.

At other times it is the text's choice of words that subtly purports a moral judgment. In this regard two words have been identified in the newspaper articles, namely *pourtant* (though or however) and *alors que* (whereas). Both words have the effect of denouncing something that has been expressed previously in the text, as in the following passage taken from an article that, too, reports on the regularization of undocumented workers:

“Today I live a different life” Fodie Konté smiles. I am no longer hiding from the police. I walk like everyone else. Like everyone else? However, he has always paid taxes, up to 1000 Euros per year, possesses an account at Caisse d'épargne, a carte Vitale [French national health insurance card]...
(*Le Monde* 03.05.08)

Sans-papiers in France, as in other countries, hide from the police and live secret lives, to the extent that illegality defines not only their juridical status and sociopolitical condition, but also their everyday embodied experiences of being-in-the-world (Willen, 2007). In this excerpt Fodie Konté likens regularization with living “a different life” and being “like everyone else”. In saying this he is also implicitly constructing his undocumented life as fundamentally different from his current life, as if he were another person. However, the narrative voice in the article contests this view, claiming that Fodie Konté has “always” been like everyone else, paying taxes and having a national health insurance card. Instead of othering Fodie Konté, the article places him, both before and after he got his residence permit, within the confines of normality and uses this as an implicit argument for him to be regularized.

Framing

In addition to the choice of narrative mode, how a news story is framed also influences how it is interpreted. In the articles I have identified three ways of contextualizing news stories: a logic of linked appearances, a logic of problems and a logic of politics. While inspired from the theory on media and framing that I discussed in the theory chapter, the three logics do not refer to any pre-existing theoretical categorization of framing but are induced from the newspaper articles. Framing refers to how news stories are narrated and represented by emphasizing some aspects and ignoring others and the logics offer a way to concretize how the media frame specific news events. Exclusion and inclusion are central aspects of framing and the three logics form a gradual typology where the logic of

linked appearances constitutes the narrowest type of frame, excluding important aspects of the surrounding contexts. In contrast, the logic of politics is more inclusive and places the news story in a wider historical and political context.

The logic of linked appearances offers the weakest contextualization of a news event. The concept is a development of Chouliaraki's (2006) notion of "logic of appearances" where the circumstances of a news story are limited to its immediate context and effects and the news event itself is presented as more or less detached from historical and political processes. This way of contextualizing news items is dominant in articles on illegal boat migration. However, reports on boat migration are not presented uniquely as single news pieces. There is also a tendency to link individual stories together in order to create a chain of events and underline that the news story presented in a particular article is but one out of several similar stories. In many cases a single report on the arrival of a group of boat migrants to Europe ends off by stating how many migrants have arrived so far and how this compares to previous years, as in the following article:

Spain: 68 illegal immigrants on the Canary Islands

Two illegal immigrants, from sub-Saharan Africa, are dead, out of a total of 68 immigrants taken in off the coast of the Spanish archipelago the Canary Islands, according to the sea rescue mission.

Their makeshift boat was located at about 5.30am local time (4.30 GMT) not far from the coast of the island of Gran Canaria. 68 men were on board, of whom two were dead.

Three illegal immigrants were hospitalized because they were "very Weak" according to the sea rescue mission. "About fifteen of them are minors" according to the same source.

The Canary Islands archipelago is a preferred destination for numerous prospective migrants, of whom some die during the perilous crossing. The number of arrivals to the Canary Islands has nevertheless markedly decreased since last year after a record of 31.678 arrivals in 2006.

This decline is notably explained by the dissuasive effect of the plan for aerial and maritime surveillance of the West-African coast of the European agency Frontex and by the repatriation agreements signed by the Spanish government and several African countries. (*Le Figaro* 25.05.08)

The single arrival of a group of 68 migrants to the Canary Islands is contextualized in the fourth paragraph by referring to the Canary Islands as a "preferred destination" for

migrants. This claim is substantiated using statistics, casting 2006 as a “record” year for migrant arrivals. Hence, a mainly descriptive text takes on the character of a piece in a larger story about the massiveness of migration to the Canary Islands. Even if the news story itself is relatively short its discursive role is important as it sustains a discourse on the African flood to Europe. This discourse is nurtured by the use of natural disaster metaphors, a strategy that I will discuss later in this chapter.

Linking single news stories can serve as a somewhat covert way of presenting a news item as a problematic issue by focusing on its excessiveness. In contrast news articles abiding by the logic of problems more clearly constructs an issue as a problem. This can be done in several ways. The logic of problems can operate explicitly, by using words such as ‘crisis’ (*crise*), ‘difficulty’ (*difficulté*), ‘burden’ (*fardeau*) or simply ‘problem’ (*problème*), This is the case in an article reporting on a group of migrants whose vessel broke down off the coast of Mauritania, where it is said that “neither Spain nor Mauritania wants to take responsibility for the administrative and humanitarian problems detected on board”⁶³. The logic of problems can also operate more implicitly, by for instance reporting on the costs associated with a specific social phenomenon.

However, in addition to asking how an issue is constructed as a problem, it is also pertinent to question *what* is being framed as a problem. The newspaper articles do not question the plight of immigrants from the developing world or the historical and political factors responsible for the geographical unevenness between North and South. Instead focus is on the migrants themselves as the problem. This is in line with Malkki’s (1992: 33) claim that refugee literature often “locates ‘the problem’ not in the political conditions or processes that produce massive territorial displacements of people, but, rather, within the bodies and minds (and even souls) of people”. In other articles, it is the lack of adequate reception facilities or the lack of cooperation between receiving, transit and sending countries that are cast as a problem. In this regard, several articles use the word ‘solidarity’ with reference to the need for European states to stand together and increase their cooperation in immigration matters.

⁶³ *ni la Mauritanie ne veut assumer les problèmes humanitaires et administratifs décelés à son bord.* (*Le Figaro* 10.03.07)

Overloaded by the influx of boat people, Malta is receiving a mitigated response to its request for help. The 25 are examining a system of “shared responsibilities”

The European ministers charged with immigrant affairs accepted Tuesday 12th of June, at the request of Malta, to examine, on short notice, a system of “shared responsibilities” in the reception of illegal immigrants taken in at sea off the European coast. They have put their ambassadors in charge of reflecting on this issue, from next week on, to help Malta face the difficulties created by the influx of illegal immigrants. In a common declaration, the German presidency and Commissioner Frattini “deeply regret” the tragedies that have taken place in the Mediterranean and acknowledge that it is a “European problem” that calls for the “solidarity” of the Union and “a fair sharing of responsibilities”. (*Le Monde* 14.06.07)

Not only is the arrival of “boat people” likened to “difficulties”, illegal migration is also framed as a “European problem” requiring “solidarity” and increased cooperation between European countries and “a fair sharing of responsibilities”. This use of the word solidarity stands in stark contrast to its more conventional use in other articles, where focus is on solidarity with marginalized groups in society.

The thickest level of contextualization can be found in the logic of politics. While the media do not necessarily construct politics, but rather report on politics that are already there in the public debate, the media can play a central role as an agenda setter and also have the power to frame a news issue as politicized or not. There is a politics to all the issues brought up in the examined newspaper articles but some issues are represented as contentious and thus made explicitly political, whereas the politics of other issues are silenced, moving the issue out of the realm of the political. The latter is the case for boat migration, where there tends to be a void of politics in the articles, instead framing the issue as a series of linked appearances or inserting it in the logic of problems.

Within the logic of politics an issue is politicized by reporting on the debate surrounding it or by presenting different views, either in the form of different political parties or in the divergent views of French authorities versus civil society organizations. To uncover politics in the texts it may also be necessary to rely on intertextuality by connecting different texts on the same topic. The presence of politics can primarily be identified in newspaper articles reporting on the regularization of *sans-papiers* in France, on the use of DNA tests in family reunification procedures or on detention centers. In the previous chapter I alluded to the politics surrounding the regularization of *sans-papiers* in

general and undocumented families in particular and argued that ‘*sans-papiers*’ is a floating signifier whose meaning is subject to a struggle between different discourses. As I have also already mentioned, the introduction of optional DNA tests to verify claims to family reunification was the effect of a discourse of suspicion and distrust towards the legitimacy of such claims. The DNA tests have been criticized by both politicians and civil society organizations for being inhuman. This counter-discourse reposes on an explicit articulation of the sign ‘humanitarian’ and serves to discuss not the legitimacy of claims to family reunification, but the legitimacy of the DNA tests themselves. In the case of detention centers the articles report on the disagreements between state authorities and human rights advocates. However, the centers are constructed as spaces of exemption, as I discussed in the previous chapter, and the migrants detained within these centers are often represented using dehumanizing strategies, as I will come back to later in this chapter. This weakens the effects of the politicization of detention centers.

6.2 Humanization of Migrants

In addition to the narration and framing of migrant (il)legality an important discursive strategy (or rather a set of strategies) lies in how migrants’ agency is represented and whether the migrants are represented as human or not. In the newspaper articles I have identified several discursive strategies that can be grouped under the headings of humanization and dehumanization. These two sets of strategies construct very different identities for migrants. According to Chouliaraki (2006: 88) the characteristic feature of humanizing strategies is that they bestow individuals “with the power to say or do something about their condition”. In the examined newspaper articles, humanization is used to represent perceived legal migrants. In the articles I have identified the following humanizing strategies: name, voice, action, life story, contributions, rights and advocates. These strategies have three main effects: they reduce the physical and moral distance between the migrant and the reader, they represent the migrants as a moral cause of action and they underline the migrants’ legitimate reasons for staying legally in France.

Name

Names are important in order to reduce distance. They are often the first thing that two individuals exchange when they meet for the first time and using a person’s name serves

to specify whom one is talking about. By referring to migrants by their name, instead of using anonymous labels such as ‘migrants’ or ‘a migrant’, the migrant is represented as a unique individual. The following example is taken from an article on undocumented migrants engaged in a strike to obtain a residence permit:

The majority of these undocumented migrants discovered “on TV” that a strike could lead to regularization. “Why not us?” Issaga Traoré, 39 years old and cook at the restaurant Chez Papa, explains. Therefore they decided to join CGT [French labor union]. At Massy, more than 600 undocumented migrants now have their permit. They were 400 in February. (*Le Monde* 15.04.08)

In contrast to the large group of “600 undocumented migrants” Issaga Traoré stands out as an individual with a name, an age and an occupation. Though limited, this information enables the reader to imagine Issaga Traoré as a person in flesh and blood. Referring to migrants by their names carries meaning and has the effect of making the migrant appear human. In contrast, anonymity and lack of names make it more difficult for the reader to imagine that the migrant actually exists. This makes it more likely that the reaction of the reader will be marked by indifference and not engagement with the migrants.

Voice

Voice adds a second layer of humanity to the migrant. In news texts migrants are given voice by reporting in direct speech what they say, mean or think, as in the following excerpt from an article on a Mauritanian mother waiting for her daughters to be granted family reunification in order to be reunited with them:

Nouakchott-Paris, 8 years of waiting

On the photo, Diarry and Mariam, 9 and 11 years old, pose proudly in their festive boubous [African garments]. Smiling, they hold a cell phone in their hands. “For us, cell phones are vital, Fatimata Lam sighs. When I left my children behind Diarry was 1 years old, Mariam 3 and Kalidou 11. Eight years have passed and I haven’t seen them again. Today, all we can do is to send each other photos by mail and talk from time to time on the phone. I try to tell them that they will come to France one day, that they have to be patient, but it is hard. For years I only have their voice”. (*Le Monde* 19.09.07)

In this article large parts of the story of Fatimata Lam and her three daughters are told through the voice of Fatimata Lam herself. By giving her voice, instead of relying

exclusively on the more anonymized voice of the journalist, the text also endows Fatimata Lam with opinions (“For us, cell phones are vital”), feelings (“it is hard”) and longings (“they will come to France one day”). Someone who speaks (up) is someone who draws attention to him/herself and this act of claiming voice is imbued with power (Spivak, 1988). Giving voice also allows the reader to get to know the migrant, in this case Fatimata Lam and her family, better and further bridges the gap between the two. Moreover, identification is facilitated by the fact that Fatima Lam, as a mother, occupies a subject position that she shares with other, including many readers.

Action

A third way of humanizing migrants is to present them as active or engaged in some kind of action, whether it be working, joining a strike or demonstration or simply taking initiatives to improve their own situation. Consider the article on Suzilène Monteiro, a young Cape Verdean woman deported from France where she was residing illegally. The article represents her as a person with agency and the ability to take charge of her own life and fight for her own future. Because she “wished intensely to return to France” and saw “no future in Cape Verde”, Suzilène Monteiro “signed up for a training course in French”, hoping that it would “increase her chances” to come back to France.⁶⁴ Many articles also report on *sans-papiers* who are on strike to obtain residence permits. Strikes are a recurrent phenomenon in France, to the extent of almost being typical French. References to striking migrants hence not only contribute to making them “come out of the shadows”⁶⁵ but also construct them as political actors (Laubenthal, 2007).

Life story

In many cases giving name and voice is not sufficient to represent the migrant as a complete human being. In order to fully humanize the migrant, the texts need to give the reader glimpses into the migrant’s life story. By doing this, the texts endow the migrant with a past, a present and a future and construct the migrant as a human being with memories, with present-day joys and struggles and with hopes and plans for the future. The following excerpt tells the life story of Abderrahim El-Qaizy, an undocumented

⁶⁴ *Revenir en France, elle le souhaitait intensément, ne se voyant aucun avenir au Cap-Vert (...). Pour multiplier ses chances, elle s’était d’ailleurs inscrite à une formation de français. (Le Monde 06.02.07)*

⁶⁵ *sortent de l’ombre (Le Monde 31.05.09a)*

migrant who risks being expelled after the state authorities found out that he does not possess the necessary papers for staying legally in France:

In perfect French, Abderrahim tells his story. In 1989 he leaves his native Morocco to study at the faculty of Strasbourg. In 1993, in the absence of good results, his residence permit is not renewed. He finds himself without papers. Yet he does not want to go back. He has a pay slip, a social security card, and tax assessments. As a student he had access to the part-time labor market.

His first employers, hardly fussy, hire him full time. In 1998 he replies to an advertisement from the restaurant Au Vieux Mulhouse and is hired as kitchen assistant. He shows his old contracts, his social security card and makes a good impression. Abderrahim promises that later he will bring his residence permit to the boss who asks him for it... Since then, everyone has forgotten that he is a stranger, starting by Abderrahim himself. (*Le Figaro* 30.06.07)

From here the article goes on to recount how Abderrahim submits an application to be regularized, but his application is rejected. Throughout the whole article the reader is invited to follow the life of Abderrahim and its ups and downs. Including his life story in the article has the effect of making Abderrahim appear human and this legitimizes his attempts to be regularized. While this excerpt of his life story is narrated in the third person, Abderrahim is also given voice at several occasions. In the articles it varies how migrants' life stories are narrated, but such stories often include elements from the past, the present and the future, reciting how they came to France, giving details on their family and work relations and describing what they feel and think. By bringing in elements from the migrants' personal lives the texts are able to discursively cross from the public to the private sphere and open up a door into the migrants' life-worlds. This brings the migrant closer to the reader and makes it easier for the reader to relate to the migrant's situation.

Contributions

While access to the migrants' private life-worlds is important in the process of humanizing them, migrants also need to be represented as responsible public actors in order to become fully human. The following passage is taken from an article on the mobilization of a town in Brittany to bring back its undocumented Malian workers:

On the social level, their situation was perfectly right: they paid wage assessments (*cotisations salariales*) and income tax. With their salary, the same as for other employees in the firm, their boss assures, each of them fed his family back home. (*Le Monde* 16.03.07)

By referring to how these migrant workers contribute to society the article discursively moves them from the category of the welfare abuser to the category of the committed resident. What is noteworthy is the emphasis on economical contributions, both in this and similar passages. Such contributions can take the form of paying income or social security taxes or simply by offering one's labor at the service of the national economy. This recalls the discussion in chapter five of how the sign 'economic' is articulated to mean economic contribution to the host society when linked to the sign 'legality'. Hence casting migrants as committed residents also serves to underline their legality.

Rights

The last step in constructing the migrant as a responsible public actor and fellow human being is to endow him or her with rights. Few articles make any detailed references to migrants' rights but there is a brief discussion of women's rights and female liberation in two of the articles. The following excerpt reports on undocumented women who come out in the open to submit an application for regularization and assert their rights:

Even though she is not legal, Nadia has "never been exploited". She is paid a guaranteed minimum wage. "My only problem is that I am not in a regular situation, she says. All that we want is to be free women".

Nadia arrived alone in France. Others have come to join their husband outside of the family reunification procedure. "They come on a simple tourist visa, but without their husbands doing what is necessary to ensure a durable installation. Yet, they often do not know that it is a means for their husbands to reinforce their domination over them. Because they have no papers, they end up under the influence of their spouse" Anne Jonquet, lawyer in Bobigny, observes. For these women regularization is a means to escape from this "double penalty"⁶⁶ they are subjected to. It is a means to come out of the shadows and, Ana Azaria insists, "to assert their rights and free themselves from their husbands". (*Le Monde* 31.05.08a)

⁶⁶ The expression used in the original French text (*double peine*) is used to refer to the idea that an immigrant who has committed a crime or a misdemeanor may, on being released, be deported. While this use could be fitting in this context, it seems more likely that the text is referring to the double penalty of male domination and undocumented status.

According to the article these undocumented women yearn to “be free women” and freedom and asserting their rights are primarily associated with liberating themselves from the oppressive yoke of their husbands. This places the issue of rights in a logic where the West is constructed as haven of modernity and progress, whereas the women’s countries of origin are represented as a backyard of patriarchal social structures. Such a representation gives no room for the West being the persecutor that restrains rights. Yet, the opposite discourse can be found in migrants’ countries of origin where for instance the Mexican government has implemented several programs to protect the political rights, labor rights and human rights of Mexican migrants working in the US (Wise & Covarrubias, 2008).

Advocates

In addition to these various ways of humanizing migrants and endowing them with a certain extent of agency, migrants can be represented as human beings by referring to the presence of other agents acting on the migrants. These benefactors or advocates can be humanitarian agencies, civil society organizations, labor unions, employers or people in the local community. The degree to which these actors contribute to humanizing migrants varies considerably. This will be illustrated with two different text excerpts, of which the first is taken from an article reporting on a group of migrants whose vessel broke down off the coast of Mauritania:

The 400 illegal immigrants from Africa and Asia who are blocked off the coast of Mauritania are “in good health” and want to “regain dry land” a local delegate of the International Organization for Migration (IOM) indicated Thursday night. “We are able to say that they are in good health and regularly provided with fresh supplies” the person in charge, Michael Tschanz, indicated. “We have talked with them on radio, at a distance, for the sake of security as we have been recommended, and we know that their primary concern is to regain dry land” he declared after a mission alongside the Spanish Red Cross and the Mauritanian Red Crescent. The mission brought five tons of food products to the illegal immigrants, unloaded to their cargo ship by the cranes of a Spanish tugboat that is accompanying them, the person in charge at IMO added. (*Le Monde* 09.02.07b)

In this excerpt three different humanitarian actors are mentioned alongside the migrants: the International Organization for Migration, the Spanish Red Cross, and the Mauritanian Red Crescent. However, despite this high actor density the presence of these actors serves

to dehumanize the migrants rather than humanizing them. The reason for this is that these organizations act as mere benefactors, providing relief help in the form of supplies of “food products”. Due to the very nature of their actions the presence of these actors casts the migrants as passive recipients that are unable to do anything about their own condition. Moreover, the migrants are being fed using “the cranes of a Spanish tugboat”. This constructs them as unpredictable animals with which other actors communicate “at a distance, for the sake of security”. How representing migrants as passive and objects contributes to dehumanizing them will be elaborated on later in this chapter.

The following article, on parents mobilizing to protect undocumented families in their neighborhood, also introduces a multiplicity of actors, but their presence serves an inherently different purpose:

“As long as it doesn’t concern you directly, you remain indifferent” Karine Bonnet confirms. She had never asked herself any questions about immigration and undocumented migrants until the day she heard that a Kosovan family that had lived in her municipality Chavagnes-en-Paillers (Vendée) for two years was in danger of being deported. Instinctively she said to herself that it was necessary to set up an association to support them and allow them to stay. A true surge of solidarity came from people “of all tendencies and of all beliefs” she recounts.

“Community solidarity”, “civic act”, this is how they all describe their involvement. In their eyes the reaction of the parents in the 19th arrondissement of Paris who intervened in order to prevent a Chinese grandfather from being arrested was nothing other than the same. (*Le Monde* 29.03.07a)

The support provided by Karine Bonnet and the other parents goes beyond the short-term relief help offered by the humanitarian actors in the Mauritanian case. Karine Bonnet and her peers are more than benefactors, they are advocates supporting and pleading the cause of their undocumented families. Moreover, the action of the parents is not only politicized, it also represented as a “civic act” of “community solidarity”. This is crucial as solidarity by definition requires a degree of reciprocity or resemblance between the involved parties. If not it would not be solidarity, but compassion, as in the above-mentioned example of humanitarian aid, which is characterized by a more accentuated power asymmetry between benefactors and beneficiaries. Having solidarity *with* migrants instead of simply feeling compassion *for* them elevates the migrants and bestows them

with both humanity and co-agency. Furthermore, advocates, as well as benefactors, do not only represent ‘real’ people but should also be understood as symbolic figures. As such they use the private feelings of an actor as a model to subtly suggest a response on behalf of the reader (Chouliaraki, 2006). In contrast to those who are “indifferent” and uncommitted Karine Bonnet is actively involved in advocating for the rights of undocumented migrant families. While she does admit that it is easy to remain passive “[a]s long as it doesn’t concern you directly”, Karine Bonnet did not hesitate to get involved, but “instinctively” took the first steps to “set up an association” and get more people involved in the cause. In this way she serves as a model for how the reader could or even should act. Migrant support organizations play a central role in lobbying and demonstrating to put pressure on state authorities to regularize *sans-papiers*. This mobilization took on new dimensions during 2008 when a series of strikes organized by the General Confederation of Labor (*Confédération générale du travail*) and involving large numbers of undocumented migrant workers placed the issue of regularization firmly on the political and media agenda.

6.3 Dehumanization of Migrants

Dehumanizing strategies have the opposite effect of humanizing strategies and are used in representations of migrant illegality. Instead of underlining migrants’ legitimate reasons to stay legally in France, dehumanization strips migrants of their social or political humanity, leaving them with only their corporeal or “bare humanity” (Malkki, 1996). The lack of identity that dehumanization entails blocks engagement as any response on behalf of the reader requires a defined beneficiary in order to be carried out. The subsequent othering also undermines the migrants’ agency and glosses over their individual characteristics (Ghorashi, 2004). In the articles I have identified the following dehumanizing strategies: aggregation, natural disasters metaphors, origin, gender, objectification and criminalization.

Aggregation

Aggregation involves a strong focus on numbers. This can take the form of a macro-level emphasis on the statistical reality of migration or on how migratory flows develop over time, as when an article reported that Immigration Minister Brice Hortefeux “has made it

an objective to deport more than 25.000 foreigners in an irregular situation”.⁶⁷ Such a numerical logic is also present at a more micro-level, especially in texts dealing with the arrival of boat migrants. While generally lacking in details as to who these migrants are, where they come from (besides more or less vague references to their origin) and why they migrate, these often short news pieces display a striking richness in numerical information, giving detailed descriptions of how many migrants each boat transported, including the distribution between men and women, survivors and deaths:

Italy: critical situation at the center in Lampedusa

The accommodation center in the small island of Lampedusa (south of Sicily) is exploding under the number of immigrants housed under precarious conditions.

303 illegal immigrants arrived on Thursday, of whom 259 came by their own means. A group of 39 illegal immigrants originally from Eritrea, Ethiopia and Sudan, who had taken control over a fishing boat in the Strait of Sicily, has been escorted to Tunisia.

The day before, more than 400 illegal immigrants had been rescued and transferred to Lampedusa, whereas the shipwreck of two boats made four deaths and 12 missing persons.

These arrivals have aggravated the accommodation conditions in the center which has a capacity of 190 places and accommodated more than 800 people on Thursday, according to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in Italy. (*Le Figaro* 20.07.07a)

This article contains no less than eight numerical figures (“303 illegal immigrants”, “of whom 259”, “39 illegal immigrants”, “more than 400 illegal immigrants”, “four deaths” and “12 missing persons”). Aggregation has three effects. Firstly, it can contribute to escalating a news event into a problem or even a crisis (Hier & Greenberg, 2002). Secondly, aggregation constructs migrants as an undifferentiated mass of bodies (Griffin, 2007; Malkki, 1996). When coupled with representing migrants as passive and without name, voice and individual characteristics, this leads to the third effect of dehumanizing the migrants. Subsequently a distance is created between the reader and the migrant as the reader is unable to engage with such a large number of people at the same time, especially when they are represented as indistinguishable one from another. The

⁶⁷ *s’était fixé l’objectif d’expulser plus de 25 000 étrangers en situation irrégulière.* (*Le Figaro* 08.11.07)

construction of migrants as an anonymous mass is particularly striking given how the media has shifted towards presenting people as individuals with distinct personalities rather than as representatives of social types (Fairclough, 1995).

Natural Disaster Metaphors

Thirdly, aggregation can be combined with metaphors such as ‘wave’ (*vague*), ‘flow’ (*afflux*) and ‘flood’ (*flot*) to create a natural disaster effect:

The migrant flood persists

The closure of the Sangatte refugee reception center (Pas-de Calais) in December 2002 was supposed to put an end to the inflow of illegal immigrants. Five years after refugees coming from the Iraqi part of Kurdistan, Afghanistan and from now on also from the African continent continue to pour into the region in the hope of reaching a hypothetical British Eldorado.

Nothing puts an end to the flow, neither tough arrests, nor destroying the shelters or marking the back of their hands with water-resistant ink. (*Le Monde* 24.11.07)

Interestingly, this excerpt contains no specific numerical indications. Yet, it conveys an almost stronger sense of numerical intensity than the previous article on the lack of capacity in the accommodation center in Lampedusa. The reason for this perceived massiveness lies in the metaphors used. According to the article there is a “flood” or “inflow” of refugees who “pour into the region”. These metaphors are unidirectional, implying that the phenomena they refer to move forward in one direction only (Charteris-Black, 2006). Moreover the metaphors belong to the meta-discursive category of natural disasters and their use in a migration context has the effect of depoliticizing migration processes and moving them to the realm of the natural. The metaphors also contribute to likening migration with a natural disaster. In this regard it is remarkable how the Sangatte article states that “nothing puts an end to the flow”, implying a loss of control over the situation. The use of such metaphors, the constant focus on numbers in the articles and the logic of linked appearances previously examined create an image of a Europe overflowing with migrants it neither asked for nor can handle. Combining the use of natural disaster metaphors with metaphors that construct Europe as a closed space has the

effect of legitimizing increased border controls in order to ‘fight against illegal immigration’ and protect Europe from such natural disasters (Charteris-Black, 2006).

Origin

In addition to the emphasis on numbers, migrants’ origin is almost always mentioned. This strategy becomes especially striking in articles on boat migration because numbers and origin often are the only things the reader gets to know about the migrants. Because of the lack of humanizing strategies in these and similar articles, origin becomes something that sets the migrant apart and creates a distinction between ‘us’ and ‘them’ based on citizenship. Moreover it serves to dehumanize migrants, following the logic that “[i]f you are not properly ‘documented’ you might be anybody, which (...) amounts to being nobody, a non-person” (van der Ploeg, 1999: 297).

The castaways, coming from Niger, Nigeria, Ghana, Cameroon, Sudan and Togo, were brought to an accommodation center on the island of Lampedusa, south of Sicily, Sunday morning. (*Le Monde* 04.06.07a)

All are in “good health”, according to the same source. Their nationality is still not known. (*Le Figaro* 18.06.08)

It is noticeable that including migrants’ origin has become naturalized to the extent that the second article underlines that the nationality is unknown. The importance of identifying migrants’ nationality becomes especially clear in articles that report on the difficulties that state authorities in receiving countries may encounter in determining the exact nationality of migrants arriving without any ID papers. The classificatory panic resulting from such scenarios is telling of the power of the nation-state system to become involved in all aspects of life (Carter & Merrill, 2007). This includes the power to provide us with the conceptual tools needed to classify and make sense of the “national order of things” (Malkki, 1992). On a more pragmatic level, the failure to properly identify a migrant (i.e. determine his or her nationality) also has consequences for whether the migrant can be returned to his or her country of origin. Moreover, as I discussed in chapter four, such a preoccupation with nationality is telling of the obsession of European states with rooting migrants in a ‘home’ *away* from European space.

Gender

Migrants' gender may also influence how they are represented and subsequently how they are perceived by the reader. Among boat migrants the large majority is young men (Hernández-Carretero, 2008), a reality that is seldom explicitly acknowledged by the articles, but rather taken for granted in the sense that there is an implicit assumption that boat migrants are men and that there is no need to specify this gendered unbalance. Most articles refer to boat migrants using gender-neutral terms, such as *clandestins*, and only occasionally the migrants' gender is indicated, as in the following passage:

74 illegal immigrants rescued in Lampedusa

Seventy-two men and two women have been rescued during the night off the coast of the Italian island of Lampedusa by a ship from the military marine, a person in charge at the coast guard announced. (*Le Figaro* 18.06.08)

This male preponderance in boat migration, though an empirical reality, is important because it has implications for the social construction of the migrants. Being men, boat migrants are less likely to be perceived as victims worthy of attention and indignation by the reader because they lack the qualities of helplessness and innocence that worthy victims are thought to embody (Höijer, 2004; Malkki, 1996).

In contrast to men, women and children, especially the figure of the mother, occupy a special place in Western culture. Audience studies show that these two groups are perceived as more vulnerable, powerless and innocent than men, making them highly suitable as ideal victims able to mobilize the reader's compassion (Höijer, 2004). Yet, this does not necessarily bestow women and children with agency. As long as the reader's response is limited to compassion the representations of women and children link to the sign 'humanitarian', underlining their helplessness, instead of humanizing them. To humanize women and children it is not enough for them to be present in the article. Rather, the article has to employ some of the humanizing strategies to cast them as human beings worthy of solidarity and not only compassion.

Objectification

Migrants can also be dehumanized by constructing them as objects "subject to packaging, transportation and disposal" (Hier & Greenberg, 2002: 501). This can be done by

referring to migrants as ‘cargo’ (*cargaison*) or ‘goods’ (*marchandise*) or by using verbs such as ‘fish out’ (*repêcher*) or ‘pick up’ (*recupérer*⁶⁸) about the interception of boat migrants at sea.

With the warm season the migratory flow is reinforced, tossing bunches of illegal immigrants onto boats that are inclined to sink. (*Le Figaro* 23.06.07)

In this excerpt, taken from a short note on migration to the Canary Islands, “the migratory flow” is animated to the point of “tossing” migrants onto their boats. Indeed, the migrants are represented as “bunches” without a will or an ability to act on their own. It is also noticeable how migrants similarly are objectified and reduced to factory products when Nicolas Sarkozy, then Minister of the Interior, declared that “[t]he procedure for seeking asylum is no longer a ‘factory producing illegal immigrants’”⁶⁹. Objectification can also take the form of comparing migrants with animals, as in the following excerpt from an article reporting on the discovery of a group of Indian migrants hiding in a truck:

The human “livestock” discovered at the foot of Mont-Blanc, composed in majority of men from 20 to 30 years old, had been travelling imprisoned for hours, like cattle. (*Le Figaro* 03.11.07)

Constructing migrants as factory products, animals or objects not only strips them of their human qualities, but also removes them from the reader’s field of attention. This blocks action in the form of compassion or solidarity.

Criminalization

Lastly, migrants are dehumanized by constructing them as criminal or threatening figures. This can take several forms. First, migrants are linked with criminal activities in that many texts refer to the role of human smugglers in facilitating migrants’ journey to Europe. While some texts do represent migrants as victims of such smuggling networks, the migrants are simultaneously criminalized. Second, the presence of military or police actors in the texts further criminalizes the migrants. This is the case both in articles reporting on the role of the navy or coast guard in intercepting boat migrants and in articles dealing with the police arresting and expelling *sans-papiers*:

⁶⁸ *Récupérer* can be used to refer to both objects and persons, but the latter case is both rare and more common in colloquial speech (CNRTL, 2008)

⁶⁹ *La procédure de demande d’asile n’est plus une ‘fabrique à clandestins’* (*Le Figaro* 11.01.07)

This scene is repeated almost daily in the three islands of the Cyclades; Samos, Chios and [the city of] Mytilene, the islands located closest to Turkey. Every night police patrols equipped with thermal cameras and radars patrol the coast and track down illegal immigrants. (*Le Figaro* 07.01.08a)

Third, the discursive strategy of listing can also contribute to criminalizing migrants. This strategy involves listing several topics after each other, as in the following excerpt:

“It goes without saying that undocumented migrants should not have access to the right to housing” the minister of the Interior declared in the course of a press conference intended to evaluate the fight against insecurity. (*Le Figaro* 11.01.07)

Sarkozy, then Minister of the Interior, creates a link between undocumented migrants and insecurity. The article then goes on to report on Sarkozy announcing that delinquency has decreased in France, implicitly constructing a second link, this time between undocumented migrants and delinquency. Listing undocumented migrants, insecurity and delinquency together in the same article has the effect of transferring attributes from one topic to another through a conflation of illegalites (Löfgren, 1999). Insecurity was a central issue in the political discourse during the 2002 and 2007 presidential elections. Listing insecurity and migration next to each other contributes to moving migration to a security discourse, casting it as a generator of insecurity.

6.4 Representing the *sans-papiers*

In the previous chapter I showed some of the ambiguity surrounding the *sans-papiers*. On the one hand they are endowed with legitimate reasons for staying legally in France in the *sans-papiers* and regularization discourse. This is done either by articulating the *sans-papiers* together with the sign ‘work’, thus underlining their economic contribution to the host society, or by constructing a chain of equivalence between the signs ‘*sans-papiers*’ and ‘family’, thus emphasizing their humanitarian grounds for legality. On the other hand the *sans-papiers* are defined as illegal migrants lacking the economic or humanitarian grounds that would make their stay legitimate. This discourse presents the *sans-papiers* as a figure to be detained and then deported from France. Yet, to fully capture the tension between these two representations of the *sans-papiers* it is not sufficient to examine how they are defined by constructing specific chains of equivalence. A more nuanced

understanding of how legal *sans-papiers* are constructed and differentiated from illegal *sans-papiers* requires an investigation into how humanizing and dehumanizing strategies are used in reporting on *sans-papiers* in the newspaper articles. The reason for this is that humanization and dehumanization serve as strategies that construct migrant (il)legality in particular ways. Humanization casts migrants as having a legitimate reason to stay legally in France or Europe by emphasizing the humanity they share with the reader, thus bridging the cultural and physical distance between the migrant and the reader. Several of the newspaper excerpts that I discussed in the section on humanization report on *sans-papiers*, and the strategies of name, voice, action, life story, contributions, rights and advocates serve to legitimize their attempts to be regularized.

However, not all *sans-papiers* are humanized. Some *sans-papiers* are represented using dehumanizing strategies that construct them as figures lacking human qualities and located beyond the scope of the reader's attention and care. This othering of the *sans-papiers* discursively undermines any legitimate reason they might have to reside legally in France. The differentiating effects of humanizing and dehumanizing strategies become especially apparent if we compare the above-mentioned humanization of *sans-papiers* in France with the articles on one specific group of *sans-papiers*, namely the *sans-papiers* in Lille that engaged in a hunger strike in the summer of 2007. During four weeks several articles were published on this issue, of which nine are included in the analysis. A quick look at the headlines gives a first impression of how these *sans-papiers* were represented:

Table 3: Newspaper headlines during the *sans-papiers* movement in Lille

<i>Le Figaro</i> 02.08.07a	120 illegal immigrants in Lille taken in for questioning
<i>Le Monde</i> 02.08.07	Undocumented hunger strikers evacuated by the police in Lille
<i>Le Monde</i> 07.08.07	Court releases most of the detained <i>sans-papiers</i> in Lille
<i>Le Figaro</i> 11.08.07	Hospitals in Lille taken hostage by the <i>sans-papiers</i>
<i>Le Monde</i> 16.08.07	<i>Sans-papiers</i> in Lille refuse the proposals of the <i>Nord</i> prefect
<i>Le Figaro</i> 17.08.07	Sans-papiers in Lille: divided associations
<i>Le Figaro</i> 23.08.07	The prefect refuses the blackmailing by <i>sans-papiers</i> in Lille
<i>Le Monde</i> 23.08.07	The <i>Nord</i> prefect attempts to weaken the determination of the <i>sans-papiers</i> '
<i>Le Figaro</i> 27.08.07	The <i>sans-papiers</i> movement in Lille is running out of steam

Some of the central words in these titles are “evacuated by the police”, “detained”, “taken hostage”, “divided”, “blackmailing” and “weaken”. None of these words have a positive

connotation and a closer analysis of the articles confirms this first impression and demonstrates that the representations of the *sans-papiers* in Lille are marked by a lack of humanization and a concomitant dehumanization of the migrants. The hunger strikers have no names and no life story and they are seldom given voice. They appear to make no contributions to society and their actions are represented as almost irrational, potentially leading to death. In one of the articles, the prefect of the Nord *département* is quoted as saying that the hunger strike “makes no sense” and that it “no longer has any purpose”⁷⁰. In another article the spokesperson of the hunger strikers declares that “It’s victory or death”⁷¹. This motto is reminiscent of those boat migrants who are represented as fortune seekers, whose maxim is said to be “Barcelona or death”. Combined with the representation of the hunger strike as irrational and senseless this constructs an analogy between the *sans-papiers* in Lille and the fortune seekers that undermines the legitimacy of the hunger strike. Moreover, the advocates of the *sans-papiers* do not represent a common front but are torn by internal disagreements. Some civil society organizations support the hunger strike whereas others actively oppose it and seek to collaborate with regional authorities to put an end to the strike. These internal disputes contribute to moving focus away from the conflict between state authorities and the *sans-papiers*.

Instead of humanizing the *sans-papiers* the articles mainly use dehumanizing strategies, notably aggregation, origin and criminalization. The following passage, taken from one of the first articles, illustrates the strategies of aggregation and origin:

120 undocumented migrants, who had been installed in the park by the labor exchange in Lille since July 25th, were arrested by the police yesterday morning. About sixty of them were on hunger strike, some of them since the 15th of June, in order to be regularized. These immigrants are mainly Algerians and Guineans. (*Le Figaro* 02.08.07a)

In addition to reporting on numbers and origin several articles criminalize the strikers:

But Mr Canepa refuses today to call on a mediator and reproaches CSP59 for manipulating the strikers. He also suspects that there are networks of illegal immigration directing numerous migrants towards Lille and has asked for a police investigation. (*Le Monde* 16.08.07)

⁷⁰ *n'a aucun sens and n'a plus de raison d'être* (*Le Monde* 02.08.07)

⁷¹ *Ce sera la victoire ou la mort* (*Le Figaro* 17.08.07)

In this passage the strikers are criminalized in two ways, firstly by linking them to criminal activities in the form of networks of smuggling and secondly through the police investigation that Mr. Canepa, the prefect, deems necessary.

Furthermore, the way in which the narrative mode of exposition is employed in the articles favors the point of view of national and regional authorities, subsequently undermining the arguments of the *sans-papiers* themselves. At several occasions the prefect is quoted as saying “Hunger strike is blackmailing. Not an argument”⁷² or “I want everyone to understand that hunger strike means deportation and not regularization”⁷³. In contrast, few or none of the strikers’ own arguments for being regularized are presented. Consequently, the reader is not presented with any legitimate reasons why the hunger strikers should obtain the residence papers they strike for. Coupled with the use of dehumanizing strategies, this blocks the reader from engaging emotionally with the *sans-papiers* in Lille and constructs their claims for regularization as illegitimate.

6.5 Summary

This chapter has addressed the question *what discursive strategies are used in order to represent migrant legality and illegality in particular ways?* The analysis has drawn upon Chouliaraki’s (2006) analytics of mediation that proposes to examine the use of narrative mode and the construction of agency through humanization and dehumanization. I have complemented this analytical framework by looking at how the articles frame migration news and induced three different logics that serve to contextualize migration news.

The main finding of the analysis is that the various discursive strategies examined have in common an ability to represent migrants in selective ways. Put simply, one set of strategies is used to represent perceived legal migrants whereas a different set is used in representations of illegality. In the newspaper articles, humanizing strategies are found in texts that present migrants as having a legitimate reason to stay legally in France. In this regard humanizing strategies go along with other strategies that represent migrant legality, such as narrative mode (narrations or expositions) and framing (logic of politics). These discursive strategies build upon and reinforce each other. On the other

⁷² *La grève de la faim est un chantage. Pas un argument.* (*Le Monde* 02.08.07)

⁷³ *Je veux que tout le monde comprenne que grève de la faim, cela signifie expulsion et non régularisation!* (*Le Figaro* 23.08.07)

hand, dehumanization is a strategy used to represent migrants that are perceived as lacking any legitimate reason for being allowed to stay legally in France. Combined with the narrative mode of descriptions, the logic of linked appearances and the logic of problems this set of strategies places the migrant in a realm beyond the reach of the Western reader and constructs the migrant as an ‘Other’ that belongs ‘elsewhere’ and that ‘we’ have no responsibility for.

| 7 | Conclusion

This thesis is motivated by an interest in how we make sense of a world ‘on the move’ by naming, categorizing and ascribing meaning to various forms of migration. Discourses are attempts to control shared meanings and they give order and a sense of coherence to our experiences. At the same time discourses are inherently political and conflict-ridden. The political aspect of discourse can be apprehended at three levels. Firstly, any discursive articulation is the result of a process of exclusion, whereby certain possible meanings are left out and others included. Secondly, discourses regulate what is considered true and thus shape social conduct. In particular, discourses are used for political purposes in order to legitimize specific policy responses. Thirdly, discourse analysis is in itself political because it seeks to criticize taken-for-granted knowledge and move established ‘truths’ from the domain of the objective to the political. Underlying this is the premise that “critique is not an abstract activity but has practical and significant consequences” (Taylor, 2001: 325). Discourse analysis is not about demonstrating what is right or wrong, but about pointing out the contingent and constructed character of the systems of meaning that organize our world, thus making them the target of discussion and potentially change.

In this thesis my approach to examining the politics of mobility has been to address the question of *how are migrant legality and illegality constructed and differentiated?* The empirical focus is on French mainstream newspaper discourse and the analysis has attended to the spatial representations, definitions and discursive strategies involved in constructing and differentiating migrant legality and illegality. The main argument of the thesis concerns the relationship between the reader of a newspaper article and the migrant(s) appearing in the article. How this relationship is constructed plays a crucial role in mediating the ethical and political conduct of the reader and influences how he or she assesses the migrants in the news. This is because legality and illegality are not neutral concepts and it is not obvious who is a legal migrant and who is illegal

(Yamamoto, 2007). Rather, both legality and illegality are social constructs that are based on moral-political judgments of what constitutes legitimate grounds for moving.

The first analytical chapter examines the *Geographies of Migrant (Il)legality* with a special focus on the spatial axis of distance and proximity. The main finding of this analysis is that some groups of migrants are constructed as spatially and morally distant. Many of the same spatial representations are used when representing boat migrants, some groups of undocumented migrants (for instance the hunger strikers in Lille), and migrants detained in detention centers. These spatial representations not only serve to other these migrant, but more crucially they also place the migrants beyond the reach of the reader's care and attention. While boat migrants arriving on the shores of Southern Europe are external Others, occupying a space beyond the confines of France and thus distant from the French readership, the Lille migrants and the detainees inhabit spaces located much closer to the reader. Yet, the way they are represented constructs them as internal Others and has the effect of distancing them from their surroundings. The final result is that the newspaper articles align the internal other with the external other and create a hierarchy of closeness and distance in which places are located regardless of their absolute geographical location.

Following up on this chapter five addresses the question of *Defining Migrant (Il)legality*. The chapter argues that legality and illegality are defined as opposite terms, with the former being what the latter is not. While the newspaper articles construct a chain of equivalence between legality and the signs 'economic' and 'humanitarian', illegal migrants are constructed as fortune seekers lacking any humanitarian ground for staying. In the fortune seeker discourse the sign 'illegality' is also connected to the sign 'economic' but this combination endows 'economic' with a different meaning. In this discourse 'economic' is not understood as migrants' economic contribution to their host country but as the motivational factor inciting migrants to go abroad in order to seek a better life. The difficulties involved in clearly defining migrant legality and illegality are illustrated by investigating how two conflicting discourses construct the *sans-papiers* on the one hand as migrants with prospects of being regularized and on the other hand as illegal figures to be detained and deported from France.

Chapter six, *Representing Migrant (Il)legality*, analyzes four discursive strategies that are used in the newspaper articles to represent migrant legality and illegality in specific ways. While narrative mode and framing pertain to how the articles present and contextualize migration news, the strategies of humanization and dehumanization affect how the migrants themselves and their agency are constructed. In this regard I argue that these strategies, combined with the discursive mechanisms identified in the two previous analytical chapters, often appear together as two distinct sets of strategies of which one set is used to represent migrant legality and the other to represent migrant illegality as illustrated in Table 4:

Table 4: Two sets of discursive strategies

	Legality	Illegality
<i>Primary groups of migrants</i>	Legal labor migrants Beneficiaries of family reunification Undocumented migrant workers Undocumented families	Boat migrants Undocumented migrants without work or family (for instance the hunger strikers in Lille) Migrants in detention centers
<i>Spatial characteristics</i>	Proximity	Distance
<i>Key definition words</i>	‘economic’ (contributing to the host society through working) ‘humanitarian’	‘economic’ (seeking a better life for self) ‘fortune seeker’
<i>Narrative mode</i>	Narrations Expositions	Descriptions
<i>Framing</i>	Logic of politics	Logic of linked appearances Logic of problems
<i>Agency</i>	Humanization - Name - Voice - Action - Life story - Contributions - Rights - Advocates	Dehumanization - Aggregation - Natural disaster metaphors - Origin - Gender - Objectification - Criminalization
<i>Relationship reader-migrant</i>	Bridging of spatial and cultural distance	Othering
<i>Type of public action</i>	Compassion Denunciation Solidarity	Indifference Aesthetic contemplation

The table presents the primary groups of migrants that are represented in the newspaper articles as well as the set of strategies used to construct them in particular ways. In order to understand how migrant legality and illegality are constructed and differentiated it is crucial to see the label (il)legality as a function of how the relationship between the reader and the migrant is constructed and which types of public action this opens up for. These two aspects of the construction of migrant (il)legality are in turn dependent on which discursive strategies the articles employ. These strategies take the form of spatial characteristics, key definition words, narrative mode, framing and constructions of agency. Moreover, there are also variations within each set of strategies. While the legality set has the effect of bridging the spatial and cultural distance between the reader and the migrant, the degree to which their relationship is marked by proximity shapes the type of public action that the reader is invited to engage in, with compassion as the weakest form of public action and solidarity as the strongest. In contrast, the set of strategies that construct migrant illegality fail to present the migrant as a moral cause of action. Instead the proposed reaction on behalf of the reader is either distancing or indifference towards the migrants or voyeuristic contemplation of the suffering of the other. Hence, media representations, and the power contained within them, can be said to be productive as different representations enable different social practices.

The analytical findings of this thesis are grounded in discourse analysis and perspectives on the ethics and politics of mediation. While these theories constitute a coherent theoretical framework they are poor in practical guidelines for how to analyze the social construction of meaning. This can easily place the novice discourse analyst in a bewildered state and lead her to adopt either an analytical strategy that is not fitting for the purpose of the research or a strategy that fails to operationalize the philosophical and theoretical underpinnings of the research. In both cases the discourse analyst is unwillingly making herself an easy target for criticism. A recurrent critique of discourse analytical work is that it expresses strong but weakly founded opinions and that discourse analysis is a theory but not a method. This critique implicitly labels discourse analysis as less 'scientific' than other forms of social inquiry.

Andersen's (1999) distinction between ontology oriented and epistemology oriented approaches to social inquiry offers a language to understand the basis of this criticism and

simultaneously respond to it in a constructive way (pun intended!). In ontology oriented approaches *what* we can get to know about the object of analysis is of less importance than how this object has come into existence. This leads ontology oriented approaches to place a primacy on methods and the procedural rules to follow in order to acquire knowledge. In contrast, epistemology oriented approaches such as discourse analysis do not ask *what* but *how* something exists as an object of knowledge. For instance, this thesis has been interested in examining how migrant legality and illegality exist as objects of knowledge. The analysis has attended to how migrant legality and illegality are constructed as concepts and the meaning that these concepts are filled with. Epistemology oriented approaches thus de-ontologize their object of analysis. Moreover, they adopt an analytical strategy for how to deconstruct and analyze constructions of a particular social phenomenon rather than following a pre-defined method.

The shift from method to analytical strategy raises several challenges that discourse analysts are struggling to cope with in a satisfactory way. While ontology oriented approaches to social inquiry often rest on methods that have been developed and refined over the course of several decades of thinking, discourse analysts are still toiling with the question of how to conduct their analysis in practice. In this regard it has been an ambition of this master's project to contribute to clarifying the methodology of discourse analysis. While I concur with Andersen (1999) that it is more appropriate to talk about analytical strategy than method in the context of discourse analysis, I believe that a systematic approach to academic analysis is not reserved only for the more ontology oriented approaches within social science. In my analysis of the social construction of migrant legality and illegality this quest for a rigorous and well-documented analytical strategy has been facilitated by developing a system of hierarchical tree nodes and independent free nodes that serve to structure the analytical findings. It is my hope that such a systematic approach can contribute to clarifying how a discourse analysis can be conducted in practice. Moreover, this thesis has contributed to our understanding of the politics of mobility. In particular, it has demonstrated that the categories of legality and illegality are contingent. This has political consequences because it opens up for change in how we categorize and organize the world.

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Appendices

Appendix I. Overview of examined newspaper articles

Articles from *Le Figaro*

06.01.07	Bunkérisation aux frontières bulgare et roumaine
11.01.07	Sarkozy valorise son bilan sur l'immigration illégale
17.02.07	Un film pour décourager les clandestins chinois
24.02.07	Des milliers de candidats à l'émigration vers l'Europe attendent leur heure
26.02.07	Une action volontariste contre l'immigration illégale
10.03.07	L'odyssée des clandestins du "Marine 1"
13.03.07	Un village breton veut garder ses sans-papiers
24.03.07a	L'immigration légale en baisse pour la première fois depuis dix ans
24.03.07b	La régularisation comme soupape
27.03.07	Le casse-tête de la régularisation des familles d'enfants scolarisés
27.04.07	Une famille kosovare expulsée revient illégalement
07.05.07	Immigration et intégration dans un seul ministère
15.05.07	Nouveau flux de clandestins en Espagne et en Italie
30.05.07	Les naufragés clandestins de l'île de Malte
04.06.07	Une frégate de la marine a rapatrié 18 cadavres à Toulon
06.06.07a	Hortefeux sur le front des clandestins africains
06.06.07b	Malte se défend d'abandonner des immigrés en mer
06.06.07c	Les patrons de la police devront exécuter 25 000 reconduites en 2007
12.06.07	Le regroupement familial sera bientôt durci
13.06.07	Hortefeux veut un "pacte européen pour l'immigration"
23.06.07	Egarés en mer
30.06.07a	Le chef alsacien était un Marocain sans papiers
30.06.07b	Clandestin, mais assuré social et contribuable: un cas de plus en plus répandu
04.07.07	Immigration choisie et politique des quotas pour une France qui "a du coeur"
10.07.07a	L'objectif fixé à Hortefeux: 50% d'immigration économique
10.07.07b	Des jeunes Algériens cherchent l'âme soeur sur Internet pour obtenir un visa
11.07.07	Les personnels d'Air France contre les expulsions
20.07.07a	Italie: situation critique au centre de Lampedusa
20.07.07b	Une cinquantaine de clandestins disparaît au large des Canaries
27.07.07a	Pour les Sénégalais, l'exil favorise l'ascension sociale
27.07.07b	A Dakar, Sarkozy prône une immigration régulée
02.08.07a	Interpellation de 120 immigrés illégaux à Lille
02.08.07b	Immigration: la mise en garde de Hortefeux
11.08.07	Les hôpitaux lillois pris en otage par les sans-papiers
13.08.07	Expulsion de sans-papiers: la polémique s'accroît
15.08.07	Clandestins: les parents d'Ivan accusent l'Etat
17.08.07	Sans-papiers lillois: les associations sont divisées
21.08.07a	L'immigration: le cap de la fermeté concilie avec le souci de la prudence
21.08.07b	Brice Hortefeux peine à atteindre ses quotas d'expulsions
23.08.07	Le préfet refuse le "chantage" des sans-papiers lillois
	Malaise après l'agression de policiers français qui escortaient des sans-papiers en
24.08.07	Guinée
27.08.07	Le mouvement des sans-papiers lillois s'essouffle
13.09.07	Hortefeux se pose en ministre de l'asile

II *Appendix I. Overview of examined newspaper articles*

- 15.09.07a Immigration : la fermeté selon Brice Hortefeux
- 15.09.07b Embarquement immédiat pour les clandestins
- 20.09.07a Le maire PS de Cherbourg demande l'expulsion d'un squat d'Irakiens
- 20.09.07b Des clandestins interpellés dans une communauté Emmaüs
- 24.09.07 La Chinoise qui s'était défenestrée à Paris est décédée
- 25.09.07 Mort de la Chinoise qui a tenté de fuir la police
- 27.09.07 Au Sénat, les tests ADN sont mal partis
- 03.10.07 Immigration : Fillon défend les tests ADN
- 04.10.07 Tests ADN: les sénateurs UMP sur la défensive
- 05.10.07 Le Comité national consultatif d'éthique contre les tests ADN
- 11.10.07 Lutte renforcée contre les illégaux
- 12.10.07 Pas de "nouveau Sangatte" en France
- 13.10.07 Avec les traqueurs de clandestins chinois
- 14.10.07a Immigration : Brice Hortefeux s'explique
- 14.10.07b Immigration: Fillon Zapatero veulent agir ensemble
- 19.10.07 La loi Hortefeux prévoit une régularisation par le travail
- 02.11.07a La Grèce accusée de torturer ses immigrés clandestins
- 02.11.07b Trente clandestins indiens découverts dans une camionnette
- 03.11.07 L'interminable calvaire alpin des clandestins indiens (1)
- 08.11.07 Hortefeux annonce 18600 expulsions de sans-papiers
- 09.11.07 Hortefeux pour une politique d'immigration "cohérente"
- 16.11.07 La France a expulsé 21 000 immigrés depuis janvier
- 19.11.07 211 immigrants à Lampedusa
- 31.12.07a Tension persistante dans des centres de rétention
- 31.12.07b Du Nil à la Seine, l'étrange destin des Badraouis
- 05.01.08 La vie quotidienne en centre de rétention
- 07.01.08a L'odyssée grecque des clandestins
- 07.01.08b La Grèce porte d'entrée des clandestins en Europe (1)
- 07.01.08c 23/24.000 clandestins expulsés en 2007
- 12.01.08 Cette filière tchéchène qui prend Roissy d'assaut
- 18.01.08a L'aide médicale aux étrangers pourrait être reformée
- 18.01.08b Hortefeux : «le nombre de clandestins a diminué de 6%»
- 19.01.08 Mobilisation contre la rétention des sans-papiers
- 05.03.08 Immigration: Hortefeux invite l'UE au volontarisme
- 21.04.08a Les sans-papiers marchent pour se faire entendre
- 21.04.08b Italie : 60 clandestins secourus en mer
- 24.04.08 "Pas de régularisation massive des salariés sans-papiers"
- 25.04.08 Italie: 370 immigrés secourus au large
- 04.04.08 130 clandestins échouent aux Canaries
- 11.05.08 Grèce: plus de 200 clandestins interpellés
- 12.05.08 Tunisie: 50 migrants périssent
- 21.05.08 Immigration: le Cameroun prêt aux tests ADN
- 25.05.08 Espagne: 68 clandestins aux Canaries
- 26.05.08 Malte: 5 immigrés clandestins disparus
- 30.05.08 La France mobilise l'Europe pour limiter l'immigration
- 15.06.08 6 clandestins se noient au large de Malte
- 18.06.08 74 clandestins secourus à Lampedusa
- 20.06.08 Immigration: le coup d'arrêt au regroupement familial
- 23.06.08 La Turquie, carrefour migratoire vers l'Europe
- 24.06.08 Centre de rétention incendié : la polémique enfle
- 27.06.08 Une filière d'immigration démantelée

10.07.08	Espagne : 15 clandestins décédés en mer
05.08.08	Sans-papiers : Brice Hortefeux hausse le ton
11.08.08	Des clandestins employés sur un centre de rétention
24.08.08	Malte : 79 immigrés secourus en mer
09.09.08	Hortefeux veut unifier l'asile en Europe
09.10.08	Immigration: Hortefeux veut associer l'Afrique
13.10.08	Immigration : le nombre de retours volontaires bondit
16.10.08	Immigration : le grand jour européen d'Hortefeux
17.10.08	110 clandestins débarquent aux Canaries
20.10.08	La compagne d'un sans-papiers meurt après s'être immolée
29.10.08	Le français obligatoire pour les candidats à l'immigration
30.10.08	Une mère sans-papiers dénoncée en inscrivant son enfant à l'école
31.10.08	Immigration : les retours volontaires en hausse
15.11.08	Les immigrés affluent en masse sur les côtes italiennes
19.11.08	Hortefeux annule l'expulsion d'une mère camerounaise

IV *Appendix I. Overview of examined newspaper articles*

Articles from *Le Monde*

- 13.01.07 La traque des clandestins est ouverte au Maroc
17.01.07 Les anciens salariés sans papiers de Modeluxe ont été régularisés
05.02.07 Un bateau avec 200 clandestins pakistanais en panne au large de la Mauritanie
06.02.07 M. Sarkozy fait revenir une Cap-Verdienne qu'il avait expulsée
09.02.07a Guyane, l'Eldorado des clandestins
09.02.07b Les acteurs internationaux peinent à débloquer la situation des clandestins immobilisés au large de la Mauritanie
09.02.07c L'accostage en Mauritanie du cargo transportant 400 clandestins remis en cause
12.02.07 Franco Frattini presse les Etats à « tenir leurs engagements » sur l'immigration
15.02.07 Trois étrangers malades expulsés en un mois contre l'avis des médecins
22.02.07 Au Sénégal, le thème de l'émigration enflamme le débat présidentiel
23.02.07 L'arrestation de sans-papiers se rendant à la préfecture est jugée illégale
06.03.07 Le BIT en campagne contre l'immigration illégale chinoise
07.03.07 Ces enfants veulent vivre en France
16.03.07 La mobilisation d'un bourg breton pour faire revenir ses travailleurs maliens sans papiers
27.03.07 La question des sans-papiers s'invite dans la campagne
29.03.07a A Belleville, les habitants affichent leur soutien aux sans-papiers
29.03.07b François Bayrou demande la régularisation de 23 Maliens
29.03.07c Isolé, le 9e collectif de sans-papiers ne faiblit pas
29.03.07d Sans-papiers : les parents d'élèves ne voient pas de relais politique
18.04.07 RESF dénonce l'arrestation d'une vingtaine de sans-papiers à Aubervilliers
28.04.07 Expulsée en novembre, la famille Raba effectue un retour très médiatisé
31.05.07 Des clandestins naufragés, accrochés à des cages à poisson
04.06.07a Pêche à l'immigrant clandestin
04.06.07b Les corps de dix-huit migrants ont été repêchés au large de Malte
04.06.07c "Nos patrons menaçaient de nous livrer à la police"
05.06.07 Les corps de clandestins repêchés par la marine française ramenés à Toulon
08.06.07a Bruxelles veut renforcer le système européen d'asile
08.06.07b Les Maltais soutiennent la ligne dure de leur gouvernement débordé par l'afflux de clandestins
12.06.07 La restriction du regroupement familial sera débattue dès l'été
13.06.07 Malte, l'île des immigrants perdus
14.06.07 Paris refuse une repartition entre Etats membres des clandestins
15.06.07a Reconnus en cuisine, clandestins dehors
15.06.07b A l'origine, la dénonciation d'un chef
16.06.07 Sans-papiers : les associations dénoncent « le zèle des préfets »
28.06.07 Porte de Bagnolet, à Paris, des membres de la communauté turque de Bulgarie ont organisé leur bidonville
03.07.07 Bruce Hortefeux se voit en "ministre des immigrés légaux"
19.07.07 La police aux frontières loue un avion privé pour assurer des expulsions d'étrangers en situation irrégulière
21.07.07a Un bateau de pêche détourné par des clandestins près de Lampedusa
21.07.07b A 68 ans, une Centrafricaine malade et sans-papiers est menacée d'expulsion
02.08.07 Des sans-papiers grévistes de la faim ont été évacués par la police à Lille
06.08.07 Immigration clandestine: suspension des patrouilles en Méditerranée
07.08.07 La justice remet en liberté la plupart des sans-papiers lillois placés en rétention
10.08.07 Sans-papiers: condamnation d'une préfète
15.08.07 Des Comoriens se noient en vue de l'eldorado mahorais

16.08.07	Des sans-papiers de Lille refusent les propositions du préfet du Nord
17.08.07	Une majorité des clandestins de la "Cité U" ont été régularisés
23.08.07	Le préfet du Nord tente d'affaiblir la détermination des sans-papiers
29.08.07	Baisses du nombre des clandestins africains qui accostent aux Canaries
08.09.07a	Passeurs ou sauveteurs, le procès de pêcheurs tunisiens en Sicilie
08.09.07b	Odysée en mer Egée
14.09.07a	Des tests génétiques pour le regroupement familial
18.09.07a	La nouvelle loi sur l'entrée des étrangers oublie l'objectif de relance de l'immigration de travail
19.09.07a	Nouakchott-Paris, 8 ans d'attente
28.09.07a	Les fantômes de Cherbourg
03.10.07	Les élites économiques victimes inattendues du projet de loi sur l'immigration
04.10.07a	La solitude de Chulan Zhang Liu, clandestine chinoise morte à Paris
04.10.07b	L'hébergement d'urgence des sans-papiers est menacé
10.10.07	Bruce Hortefeux: "Nous avons apporté six garanties supplémentaires aux tests ADN" (débat)
19.10.07	La régularisation de travailleurs sans papiers bientôt facilitée
20.10.07a	La vie confinée et discrète des familles de sans-papiers
20.10.07b	Une "gestion concertée" des migrants avec les Philippines
20.10.07c	Pour 2010, l'objectif est fixé à 28 000 expulsions
30.10.07	Bercy a élaboré deux listes de métiers susceptibles d'être proposés à des immigrés
03.11.07	A Dunkerque, les associations dénoncent le marquage au feutre des réfugiés
06.11.07	Quarante-cinq émigrants africains périssent au large des Canaries
08.11.07	Un sans-papiers se jette du troisième étage
09.11.07	Brice Hortefeux organise l'immigration économique
10.11.07	Etranger à huit clos
24.11.07	Le flot des migrants persiste
26.11.07	La Slovaquie aux avant-postes de la frontière Schengen
06.12.07	La Grèce est à son tour débordée par les clandestins qui veulent gagner l'Europe via la Turquie
29.12.07	Des étrangers d'un centre de rétention établissent un cahier de doléances
04.01.08	Dans les centres de rétention, une ambiance "carcérale"
15.01.08	Le graphique immigration
14.02.08	Exceptionnelle opération de police dans un foyer d'étrangers à Paris
16.02.08	La révolte des cuisiniers sans papiers
26.02.08	A Massy, 400 salariés en situation irrégulière "ne se cachent plus" en ralliant la CGT
27.02.08	Les étrangers en rétention à Vincennes: "On se sent des moins que rien"
08.04.08	Ils ont tout pour être régularisés, mais...
15.04.08	Grève simultanée de plusieurs centaines de salariés sans papiers en Ile-de-France
24.04.08	Brice Hortefeux exclut toute régularisation massive des salariés sans papiers
25.04.08	Salariés sans-papiers: M. Hortefeux rejette toute "régularisation massive"
26.04.08	Devenir français avec de fausses cartes d'identité, la nouvelle combine pour trouver un travail
30.04.08	"Une grande partie des employeurs savent que leurs salariés sont sans papiers"
01.05.08	Premières régularisations de travailleurs sans papiers
03.05.08	Au bout de la grève, les papiers
06.05.08a	Immigration choisie: quand la "rupture" se heurte aux réalités du marché du travail
06.05.08b	L'afflux de clandestins continue en mer Egée
09.05.08	Le projet de directive sur les clandestins reste contesté
17.05.08a	Au Maroc, en Tunisie, et en Libye aussi

VI *Appendix I. Overview of examined newspaper articles*

- 17.05.08b "Harragas", un avenir à tout prix
22.05.08 L'ambassadeur du Mali juge "légitime" la revendication de régularisation
31.05.08a Les femmes sans papiers sortent de l'ombre
17.05.08b La France propose l'immigration « choisie et concertée » à l'Europe
Face-à-face tendu à Montreuil entre policiers et manifestants après l'arrestation
d'un sans-papiers
05.06.08
17.06.08a Des villages maliens au bord de la Seine
17.06.08b 400 régularisations obtenues par les sans-papiers grévistes
20.06.08 Selon Brice Hortefeux, le nombre de clandestins a baissé de 8% en un an
Un rapport remis en juin alertait le gouvernement sur le centre de rétention de
Vincennes
24.06.08
07.07.08 "Le pacte ne promet ni une Europe forteresse, ni une Europe passoire"
08.07.08a Le père expulsé, la famille brisée
08.07.08b Bamako, ou la fin du rêve d'Oumar Diallo
04.08.08 Controverse après les incidents au centre de rétention du Mesnil-Amelot
05.08.08 L'UMP accuse les collectifs de défense des sans-papiers d'"incitation à la violence"
06.08.08 Brice Hortefeux s'en prend aux soutiens des sans-papiers
14.08.08 L'été favorise l'afflux par la mer de clandestins au sud de l'Europe
23.08.08 Près de 300 clandestins secourus au large de la Sicile
26.08.08 En Italie, le centre d'accueil de Lampedusa est saturé
19.09.08 Des travailleurs sans-papiers ont investi le restaurant parisien La Tour d'argent
Le nombre des régularisations de travailleurs sans-papiers a dépassé le millier en
28.09.08 six mois
08.10.08 Prisonniers du rêve libyen
12.10.08a A Calais, parfois, l'exode finit bien
12.10.08b Au bord de l'A16, les tombes des sans-nom
Des milliers de candidats à l'exil, irakiens, afghans, géorgiens, affluent à la frontière
12.10.08 gréco-turque
11.11.08 Plus de 300 clandestins arrivés au sud de la Sicile
09.12.08 L'île italienne de Lampedusa, porte d'entrée de futurs clandestins

Appendix II. French versions of used quotations

Chapter 4: Geographies of Migrant (II)legality

Le Monde 26.11.07

Avec ses 97,9 kilomètres, la frontière slovaco-ukrainienne constitue le plus court tronçon frontalier de l'espace Schengen élargi, mais il a été longtemps considéré par Bruxelles comme un maillon faible.

Le Figaro 23.06.08

La Turquie est un couloir migratoire vers l'Union européenne. Le Haut-Commissariat des Nations unies pour les réfugiés évalue à 500 000 le nombre d'étrangers en situation irrégulière sur le territoire turc, en transit ou installés durablement. Des chiffres difficilement vérifiables. À la fois destination finale pour certains migrants et porte d'entrée sur l'Europe, la Turquie est accusée par Bruxelles de ne pas endiguer les flux migratoires qui la traversent.

Le Monde 22.10.08

Les voyageurs que l'on retrouve à la frontière gréco-turque fuient l'Afghanistan, l'Iran, l'Irak, la Somalie, plus récemment la Géorgie... Cet afflux est un baromètre des conflits dans le monde.

Le Figaro 13.10.07

Mais la France n'est pas seulement un eldorado pour les immigrants, elle devient une plaque tournante en Europe. Cette semaine, la « police de l'immigration », l'Ocriest, a démantelé un vaste réseau de clandestins chinois en attente d'un passage vers la Grande-Bretagne.

Le Figaro 07.01.08a

Patras, grand port de la Grèce occidentale, où transitent chaque jour entre 500 et 900 camions vers l'Italie, est devenu un haut lieu de l'immigration clandestine, le Sangatte grec.

Le Monde 13.06.07

Malte, l'île des immigrants perdus.

- On leur a dit d'aller tout droit. "Toujours tout droit." On leur a même donné une boussole. Ils quittaient la Libye, rêvaient d'Europe, et ont visé l'Italie. Mais la mer était agitée, l'eau, l'essence se sont épuisées. Aujourd'hui, ils errent sur les 316 km² du caillou maltais. Car on n'accoste jamais, à Malte. On s'y échoue. Ils sont désormais près de 3 000, venus de Somalie, du Soudan et d'Erythrée, repêchés un jour de hasard sur une embarcation en péril. Trois mille, enchaînés à un pays qu'ils ne visaient pas. Et qui ne voulait pas d'eux.

(...)

Les trois quarts des migrants qui débarquent à Malte demandent l'asile. Une infime minorité seulement obtient le statut de réfugié politique qui permet, notamment, de voyager. La plupart en profitent d'ailleurs pour quitter l'île. Les autres se retrouvent prisonniers du sol maltais.

Le Monde 27.02.08

A première vue, les bâtiments, l'un datant de 2006, l'autre récemment réhabilité, semblent relativement propres. Ils sont dans l'ensemble bien tenus - si ce n'est ce problème de tuyauterie qui a provoqué ces derniers jours une fuite d'eau dans un des sanitaires et une chambre. Mais les lieux sont froids, déshumanisés : murs carrelés, lino gris au sol... seule la peinture des portes s'alignant le long des couloirs apportent une vague touche de couleur. Les chambres, collectives, sont impersonnelles, équipées de deux ou trois lits (pour certains superposés), d'une table jonchée de restes de pain et de gobelets de café, voire d'une petite étagère sommaire où les étrangers

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déposent leur "trousse de toilette" : un sac en plastique qui leur a été donné à leur arrivée, doté d'un savon, de papier hygiénique, d'une brosse à dent "non démontable", d'échantillons de dentifrice et de shampoing. Les fenêtres, sans volets, sont souvent occultées par un drap. Pour toute distraction, dans une salle commune, un poste de télévision, hurlant à tue-tête, juché et protégé d'un Plexiglas, et deux PlayStation, récemment installées, elles-mêmes encastrées dans un coffre en ferraille. Mêmes les stylos sont interdits, "pour des questions de sécurité", explique le commandant Bruno Marey, chef des centres de rétention de Paris. Impossible d'écrire. Une sorte d'oisiveté forcée, qui renforce l'insoutenable attente.

(...)

Il n'empêche, la taille de l'établissement, d'une capacité totale de 280 places (deux fois 140), renforce l'atmosphère carcérale du lieu.

Le Figaro 05.01.08

Peu rodés aux visites et encore moins à celles des journalistes, les sans-papiers des deux centres de rétention administrative de Vincennes se sont servis hier de tous les micros tendus pour dénoncer leur situation, lors d'une visite exceptionnellement accordée à la presse.

Le Monde 06.11.07

Quarante-cinq émigrants clandestins sont morts de soif, de faim et de froid au large des côtes africaines en tentant de rejoindre les Canaries, dans l'un des drames de l'immigration les plus meurtriers en Afrique de l'Ouest ces dernières années.

Le Monde 08.09.07

Depuis peu, le moindre îlot est pris d'assaut. A la mi-août, 160 clandestins ont posé le pied à Symi, un confetti de 2 500 habitants.

Sarkozy (2006)

Comment rendre confiance à la jeunesse d'Afrique et la persuader qu'il existe un avenir pour elle en dehors de l'émigration ? Telle est, me semble-t-il, l'une des questions fondamentales de notre temps. Car nos destins sont liés : l'échec de l'Afrique aujourd'hui, ce serait le désastre de l'Europe demain.

(...)

Nous venons ainsi de créer en France dans le cadre de la réforme de l'immigration, un produit d'épargne destiné à favoriser l'investissement des migrants dans leur pays d'origine. A terme, le développement de l'Afrique est la seule solution, la seule réponse au défi de l'immigration.

Hortefeux (2007: 6-7)

Il s'agit d'organiser, non pas « un pillage des cerveaux », mais une « circulation des compétences. (...) [L]a carte « compétences et talents » ne pourra être renouvelée qu'une fois : après six ans de séjour en France, son titulaire devra retourner dans son pays d'origine, pour le faire bénéficier de l'expérience acquise en France.

Chapter 5: Defining Migrant (II)legality

Le Monde 09.02.07

Quelque 30 000 clandestins sont arrivés en 2006 aux Canaries

Le Figaro 02.08.07

Cent vingt sans-papiers, installés dans le parc de la bourse du travail de Lille depuis le 25 juillet, ont été interpellés par la police hier matin.

Le Figaro 02.11.07

Selon les deux associations, les fonctionnaires grecs maltraitent systématiquement les réfugiés, tentent de bloquer leurs embarcations de fortune ou les forcent à sortir des eaux territoriales grecques, sans s'inquiéter de leur sort. Certaines tactiques consistent à « crever les canots pneumatiques » ou à « encercler les bateaux en créant de grosses vagues susceptibles de les couler » ! Plusieurs clandestins ont raconté avoir été abandonnés sur une île déserte, sans nourriture ni eau.

Le Monde 10.10.07

Certes, il y a une immigration humainement indispensable. Mais, pour soutenir notre économie, nous avons besoin d'un effort sur les secteurs de pénurie de main-d'oeuvre : le BTP, la restauration, les services.

Le Monde 12.06.07

Nicolas Sarkozy l'a dit et répété pendant sa campagne, pour faire venir sa famille, il faudra un logement et un travail "permettant de la faire vivre sans prise en compte des allocations familiales"

Le Figaro 24.02.07

La colère habite toujours les yeux d'Amdî Faye. « Je ne devrais pas être là. Je devrais travailler en Europe, gagner de l'argent pour envoyer à mes parents. » Un rêve auquel Amdî a cru un jour de l'automne dernier alors qu'il touchait l'Eldorado, une plage des îles espagnoles des Canaries.

Le Monde 28.06.07

Originaires de Razgrad, de Roussé ou de Silistra, ces hommes savent où ils atterriront quand ils montent dans le bus d'Eurolines qui, en deux jours, les conduit à Paris pour 80 euros. Ils ne rêvent pas d'Eldorado, mais, "fiers d'être Européens", ils savent que l'heure de travail est mieux payée à Paris qu'en Bulgarie.

Le Monde 09.02.07c

Quelque 30 000 clandestins sont arrivés en 2006 aux Canaries. Mais les autorités espagnoles estiment qu'un candidat à l'immigration sur six meurt en tentant d'atteindre cette porte d'entrée dans l'Europe.

Le Monde 06.12.07

Les milliers de clandestins afghans, irakiens, pakistanais, bangladais, mais aussi africains (notamment somaliens et érythréens) font appel à des filières mais n'hésitent pas non plus à monter sur des embarcations de fortune, barques, canots pneumatiques pour enfants, pour franchir les quelques milles nautiques qui séparent la côte turque des multiples îles grecques de la mer Egée.

Le Figaro 23.06.08

Cet été, Sall effectuera «un voyage en pirogue». Une aventure à 700 € en bateau pneumatique. Ce Guinéen de 23 ans prendra «un gilet de sauvetage» pour conjurer la peur et le mauvais sort : en 2007, 184 personnes au moins se sont noyées en mer Egée en tentant d'atteindre les îles grecques, à seulement quelques milles nautiques des côtes turques.

Le Figaro 27.03.07

Chez beaucoup de sans-papiers, la rumeur veut que la naissance d'un enfant sur le territoire français les protège d'une expulsion. Une idée juridiquement fautive mais pas infondée dans la pratique. La moindre opération de reconduite concernant des enfants mineurs provoque

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généralement la colère des voisins et des parents d'élèves. L'émergence du Réseau éducation sans frontière (RESF) en 2005 et ses nombreux bras de fer victorieux avec le ministre de l'Intérieur le montrent.

Le Figaro 14.10.07a

Les étrangers « sans papiers » n'ont pas vocation à rester en France, mais à être raccompagnés dans leur pays d'origine, de manière volontaire ou contrainte.

Chapter 6: Representing Migrant (Il)legality

Le Figaro 02.11.07b

Trente clandestins indiens découverts dans une camionnette
IMMIGRATION. Trente passagers clandestins, âgés de 16 à 30 ans et de nationalité indienne, ont été découverts mercredi soir à Chamonix dans une camionnette circulant sur la rampe d'accès au tunnel du Mont-Blanc. La découverte des clandestins, dissimulés dans une cache de quelques mètres carrés, a eu lieu lors d'un contrôle routier dans le sens Italie-France. Les policiers ont entendu du bruit à l'arrière du véhicule, immatriculé en Italie et qui venait de Turin, et découvert les clandestins, dont sept mineurs de 16 et 17 ans, des hommes venant en majorité du Pendjab (nord de l'Inde).

Tous les occupants de la camionnette, y compris le chauffeur-passeur, indien également mais régulier en Italie, ont été placés en garde à vue. Une partie d'entre eux, dont les mineurs, ont été reconduits en Italie hier matin. Les clandestins ont dit qu'ils avaient payé chacun en moyenne 10 000 euros et qu'ils voyageaient en direction de la Belgique depuis Rome, où ils avaient atterri avec des passeports munis de faux visas, documents confisqués par la suite.

Le Monde 06.05.08b

GRÈCE

L'afflux de clandestins continue en mer Egée

Deux cent cinquante immigrés clandestins ont été interpellés, samedi 3 et dimanche 4 mai, dans les îles de la mer Egée. Face aux côtes turques, les garde-côtes de Samos ont arrêté deux groupes sur deux canots gonflables. Un voilier immatriculé dans le Delaware (Etats-Unis) a été saisi après avoir débarqué un autre groupe sur une plage de l'île d'Eubée, au nord-est d'Athènes.

Le Figaro 13.10.07

MARDI 9 OCTOBRE. Une poignée de secondes avant six heures du matin, au pied d'un petit immeuble triste et gris d'une rue déserte d'Ivry, une dizaine d'hommes enfilent en silence le brassard orange fluorescent de la police sous la direction d'une jeune femme blonde. Le capitaine Rachel J., 36 ans, s'appête à déclencher l'« Opération Manzy ». Au même moment, d'autres policiers font le siège de trois autres immeubles de la région parisienne prêts à intervenir dans des appartements en apparence ordinaires qui servent en réalité des centres de « stockage » de sans-papiers chinois en attente d'un passage en Grande-Bretagne.

Le Monde 17.06.08b

Il a "tout de suite pris les choses en main" et constitué les dossiers de régularisation, qu'il a lui-même été porter à la préfecture. "C'est dans l'intérêt de tout le monde. Leur démarche est légitime. Ils sont là depuis des années, travaillent, cotisent, payent des impôts et nous, nous sommes satisfaits d'eux. Les licenciés n'était pas la solution", dit-il, assurant être tombé des nues en découvrant leur situation.

Le Monde 03.05.08

"Aujourd'hui, je suis dans une autre vie, sourit Fodie Konté. Je ne me cache plus de la police. Je

marche comme tout le monde." Comme tout le monde ? Il a pourtant toujours payé des impôts, près de 1 000 euros par an, possède un compte à la Caisse d'épargne, une carte Vitale...

Le Figaro 25.05.08

Espagne: 68 clandestins aux Canaries

Deux immigrants clandestins originaires d'Afrique subsaharienne sont morts, sur un total de 68 recueillis au large de l'archipel espagnol des Canaries, a-t-on appris dimanche auprès des secours en mer.

Leur embarcation de fortune a été repérée vers 05H30 locales (04H30 GMT) non loin des côtes de l'île de Grande-Canarie. A son bord se trouvaient 68 hommes, dont deux morts.

Trois clandestins ont dû être hospitalisés car ils étaient "très faibles", a-t-on appris auprès des secours en mer. "Une quinzaine d'entre eux seraient mineurs", selon cette même source.

L'archipel des Canaries est une destination privilégiée par de nombreux candidats à l'immigration illégale, dont certains meurent pendant la périlleuse traversée. Le nombre d'arrivées aux Canaries a toutefois nettement diminué depuis l'an dernier après un record de 31.678 arrivées en 2006.

Cette baisse s'explique notamment par l'effet dissuasif du dispositif aérien et maritime de surveillance des côtes ouest-africaines de l'agence européenne Frontex et des accords de rapatriement signé entre le gouvernement espagnol et plusieurs pays africains.

Le Monde 14.06.07

Débordée par l'afflux de boat people, Malte reçoit une réponse mitigée à sa demande d'aide. Les Vingt-Sept examinent un système de « partage des responsabilités »

Les ministres européens chargés de l'immigration ont accepté, mardi 12 juin à Luxembourg, à la demande de Malte, d'examiner, à bref délai, un système de « partage des responsabilités » dans l'accueil des immigrants clandestins recueillis en mer au large des côtes européennes. Ils ont chargé leurs ambassadeurs d'y réfléchir, dès la semaine prochaine, pour aider Malte à faire face aux difficultés créées par l'afflux de migrants illégaux. Dans une déclaration commune, la présidence allemande et le commissaire Frattini « regrettent profondément » les tragédies qui se sont produites en Méditerranée et reconnaissent qu'il s'agit d'un « problème européen » qui appelle la « solidarité » de l'Union et « un partage équitable des responsabilités ».

Le Monde 15.04.08

La plupart de ces sans-papiers ont découvert à "la télé" qu'une grève peut conduire à une régularisation. "Pourquoi pas nous?", explique Issaga Traoré, 39 ans, cuisinier au restaurant Chez Papa. Ils ont donc décidé de rejoindre la CGT. A Massy, plus de 600 sans-papiers ont maintenant leur carte. Ils étaient 400 en février.

Le Monde 19.09.07

Nouakchott-Paris, huit ans d'attente

Sur la photo, Diarry et Mariam, 9 ans et 11 ans, posent fièrement en boubou de fête. Elles tiennent en souriant un téléphone portable à la main. "Pour nous, le téléphone, c'est vital, soupire Fatimata Lam. Quand j'ai laissé mes enfants derrière moi, Diarry avait 1 an, Mariam 3 et Kalidou 11. Cela fait huit ans et je ne les ai jamais revus. Aujourd'hui, tout ce que l'on peut faire, c'est s'envoyer des photos par la Poste et se parler de temps en temps au téléphone. J'essaie de leur dire qu'ils viendront un jour en France, qu'il faut être patient, mais c'est très dur. Cela fait des années que je n'ai plus que leur voix."

Le Figaro 30.06.07

Dans un français parfait, Abderrahim raconte son histoire. En 1989, il débarque de son Maroc natal pour étudier à la faculté de Strasbourg. En 1993, faute de bons résultats, son titre de séjour n'est pas renouvelé. Il se retrouve sans papiers. Il ne veut pas rentrer pour autant. Il a des fiches de

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paie, une carte de sécurité sociale, des avis d'impositions. En tant qu'étudiant, il avait accès au marché du travail à mi-temps.

Ses premiers employeurs, guère regardants, l'embauchent à temps complet. En 1998, il répond à une annonce du restaurant Au Vieux Mulhouse et est embauché comme commis de cuisine. Il présente ses anciens contrats, sa carte de sécu et fait bonne impression. Abderrahim promet qu'il apportera plus tard sa carte de séjour au patron qui la lui demande... Depuis, tout le monde a oublié qu'il est étranger, à commencer par Abderrahim lui-même.

Le Monde 16.03.07

Au niveau social, leur situation était parfaitement conforme : ils payaient les cotisations salariales, l'impôt sur le revenu. Avec leur paie - la même que celle des autres salariés de l'entreprise, assure leur patron -, chacun nourrissait la famille restée au pays.

Le Monde 31.05.08a

Même si elle n'est pas déclarée, Nadia n'a "jamais été exploitée". Elle est payée au smic . "Mon seul problème, c'est de ne pas être en situation régulière, dit-elle. Tout ce qu'on veut, c'est être des femmes libres."

Nadia, elle, est arrivée seule en France. D'autres sont venues rejoindre leur mari hors de la procédure du regroupement familial. "Elles viennent avec un simple visa de tourisme, mais sans que leur mari fasse le nécessaire pour une installation durable. Or, souvent, elles ne savent pas que c'est un moyen pour eux de renforcer leur domination sur elles. Parce qu'elles n'ont pas de papiers, elles se retrouvent ainsi sous l'emprise de leur conjoint", observe Anne Jonquet, avocate à Bobigny. Pour ces femmes, la régularisation est un moyen de sortir de cette "double peine" qu'elles subissent. C'est un moyen de sortir de l'ombre, et, insiste Ana Azaria, "de faire valoir leurs droits, de s'affranchir à l'égard de leur mari".

Le Monde 09.02.07b

Les quelque 400 clandestins africains et asiatiques bloqués au large de la Mauritanie sont "en bonne santé" et veulent "regagner la terre ferme", a indiqué jeudi soir le délégué local de l'Organisation internationale pour les migrations (OIM). "Nous pouvons dire qu'ils sont en bonne santé et sont régulièrement ravitaillés", a indiqué le responsable Michael Tschanz. "Nous leur avons parlé par radio, à distance, par souci de sécurité comme on nous l'a recommandé, et nous savons que leur souci premier est de regagner la terre ferme", a-t-il déclaré après une mission menée aux côtés de responsables de la Croix-Rouge espagnole et du Croissant-Rouge mauritanien. La mission a apporté aux clandestins cinq tonnes de produits alimentaires déchargés dans leur cargo par les grues du remorqueur espagnol qui les accompagne, a ajouté le responsable de l'OIM.

Le Monde 29.03.07a

"Tant que cela ne vous touche pas directement, on reste indifférent", confirme Karine Bonnet qui ne s'était jamais posé la question de l'immigration et des sans-papiers, jusqu'au jour où elle a appris qu'une famille kosovare qui vivait depuis deux ans dans sa commune de Chavagnes-en-Paillers (Vendée) était menacée d'expulsion. D'instinct, elle s'est dit qu'il fallait constituer une association pour les soutenir et leur permettre de rester. Et un véritable "élan de solidarité" est venu de gens "de toute tendance, de toute croyance", raconte-t-elle.

"Solidarité de proximité", "acte citoyen", c'est ainsi que tous qualifient leur engagement. La réaction des parents du 19^e arrondissement parisien qui se sont interposés pour empêcher l'interpellation d'un grand-père chinois n'était à leurs yeux rien d'autre que cela.

Le Figaro 20.07.07a

Italie : situation critique au centre de Lampedusa

Le centre d'accueil fermé de la petite île de Lampedusa (sud de la Sicile) explose sous le nombre d'immigrés hébergés dans des conditions précaires.

Jeudi, 303 clandestins sont arrivés, dont 259 par leurs propres moyens. Un groupe de 39 clandestins originaires d'Érythrée, d'Éthiopie et du Soudan, qui avait pris le contrôle d'un bateau de pêche dans le canal de Sicile, a été reconduit en Tunisie.

La veille, plus de 400 clandestins avaient été secourus et transférés à Lampedusa, tandis que le naufrage de deux embarcations faisait quatre morts et 12 disparus.

Ces arrivées ont aggravé les conditions d'hébergement dans le centre d'une capacité de 190 places, et qui accueillait jeudi plus de 800 personnes, selon le Haut Comité pour les réfugiés de l'ONU (HCR) en Italie.

Le Monde 24.11.07

Le flot des migrants persiste

La fermeture du centre d'accueil de réfugiés de Sangatte (Pas-de-Calais), en décembre 2002, devait mettre fin à l'afflux des clandestins. Cinq ans après, les réfugiés venus du Kurdistan irakien, d'Afghanistan et désormais aussi d'Afrique continuent d'affluer dans la région dans l'espoir d'atteindre l'hypothétique eldorado britannique.

Rien n'interrompt le flux : ni les arrestations musclées, ni la destruction des abris, ni le marquage à l'encre indélébile au dos de leurs mains.

Le Monde 04.06.07a

Dimanche matin, les naufragés, en provenance du Niger, du Nigeria, du Ghana, du Cameroun, du Soudan et du Togo, ont été conduits dans un centre d'accueil sur l'île de Lampedusa, au sud de la Sicile.

Le Figaro 18.06.08

Tous sont en "bonne santé", selon la même source. Leur nationalité n'est pas encore connue.

Le Figaro 18.06.08

74 clandestins secourus à Lampedusa

Soixante-douze hommes et deux femmes ont été secourus au large de l'île italienne de Lampedusa par un navire de la marine militaire dans la nuit, a annoncé un responsable des gardes-côtes.

Le Figaro 23.06.07

Avec la saison chaude, le flux migratoire se renforce, jetant sur des rafiots prêts à couler des grappes de clandestins.

Le Figaro 03.11.07

Le « cheptel » humain découvert au pied du Mont-Blanc, composé en majorité d'hommes de 20 à 30 ans, voyageait confiné depuis plusieurs heures comme du bétail.

Le Figaro 07.01.08

Cette scène se répète presque quotidiennement dans trois îles des Cyclades, Samos, Chios et Mytilène, les plus proches de la Turquie. Chaque nuit, les patrouilles de la police, équipées de caméras thermiques et de radars, sillonnent les côtes et traquent les clandestins.

Le Figaro 02.08.07a

Cent vingt sans-papiers, installés dans le parc de la bourse du travail de Lille depuis le 25 juillet, ont été interpellés par la police hier matin. Une soixantaine menait une grève de la faim, pour certains depuis le 15 juin, afin d'obtenir une régularisation. Ces immigrants sont principalement des Algériens et des Guinéens.

XIV *Appendix II. French versions of used quotations*

Le Monde 16.08.07

Mais M. Canepa refuse aujourd'hui de faire appel à un médiateur et reproche au CSP59 de manipuler les grévistes. Il dit aussi soupçonner l'existence de filières d'immigration clandestine qui dirigerait de nombreux migrants vers Lille et a demandé une enquête à la police.

Appendix III. Analytical nodes

Node	Description	Nickname in NVivo
Representations of space		
<i>Abstract</i>		Space_abstract
<i>Closed space</i>		Space_closed
<i>Detention centers</i>		Space_detention
<i>Leaking space</i>		Space_leaking
<i>Receiving countries</i>		Space_receiving
<i>Sending countries</i>		Space_sending
<i>Small space</i>		Space_small
<i>Transit countries</i>		Space_transit
Lexicalization		
Clandestin	Terms used to refer to the migrants Occurrence of the words 'clandestin', 'illegal' or 'en situation irrégulière'	Lexical_clandestin
Expulsion	Words used to refer to deportation	Lexical_expulsion
Immigration familiale	Words used to refer to family reunification	Lexical_familial
Lack of illegal word		Lexical_noillegal
Legal	Occurrence of the word 'legal'	Lexical_legal
Sans-papiers	Occurrence of the word 'sans-papiers'	Lexical_sanspapiers
Associations		
Family reunification & DNA		Assoc_fam_dna
Family reunification & limit		Assoc_fam_limit
Family reunification & obligations		Assoc_fam_oblig
Illegality & detention		Assoc_il_detention
Illegality & expulsion		Assoc_il_expulsion
Illegality & fight	Or discourage	Assoc_il_fight
Illegality & work		Assoc_il_work
Legality & organize		Assoc_leg_organize

Legality & promote		Assoc_leg_promote
Sans-papiers & detention		Assoc_sp_detention
Sans-papiers & expulsion		Assoc_sp_expulsion
Sans-papiers & family		Assoc_sp_family
Sans-papiers & regularization		Assoc_sp_regularization
Sans-papiers & strike		Assoc_sp_strike
Sans-papiers & work		Assoc_sp_work
Fortune seekers		
<i>Eldorado</i>	Use of the word 'Eldorado' in representing Europe	Fortune_eldorado
<i>Emotionality</i>	Use of the emotional register when reporting on migrants' reason for going to Europe	Fortune_emotion
<i>Irrationality</i>	References to the risks involved without saying how migrants negotiate and rationalize these risks	Fortune_irrational
<i>Odyssey</i>	Presenting the migration as an adventure	Fortune_odyssey
<i>Fortune</i>	References to 'bateaux de fortune'	Fortune_fortune
Narrative mode		
Descriptions	Focus on facts, on who (victims) and where and how (circumstances). No or little regard for 'why'.	Mode_description
Narrations proper	Factual reporting replaced by elements of fictional storytelling.	Mode_narration
Expositions	The narrative incorporates a point of view or moral judgment vis-à-vis the news story.	Mode_exposition
Contextualization		
Logic of linked appearances	A story's circumstance is limited to its immediate context and effects	Context_appearance
Logic of problems	The text constructs an issue as a problem. What is being framed as a problem?	Context_problem
Logic of politics	A story is placed in its full context (historicization, politicization). Presence of politics (disagreement, debate)	Context_politics

Humanization of migrants		
<i>Name</i>	Migrants are referred to by their name	Hum_name
<i>Voice</i>	Migrants are given voice / quoted	Hum_voice
<i>Active</i>	Migrants are represented as active	Hum_active
<i>Life story</i>	Migrants' life stories are narrated (how they came to France, family relations, feelings etc.)	Hum_life story
<i>Contributions</i>	References to migrants' economic contributions	Hum_contribute
<i>Rights</i>	References to migrants' rights	Hum_rights
<i>Advocates</i>	Presence of people helping the migrants	Hum_advocates
Dehumanization of migrants		
<i>Numbers (aggregation)</i>	Migrants are referred to in terms of numbers	Dehum_number
<i>Natural disaster</i>	Migrants are referred to using metaphors such as 'flow', 'wave' etc	Dehum_natdis
<i>Origin</i>	Migrants are referred to in terms of their origins	Dehum_origin
<i>Gender</i>	References to women	Dehum_gender
<i>Objectification</i>	Migrants referred to as objects	Dehum_object
<i>Nature</i>	Migrants represented as animals	Dehum_nature
<i>Criminalization</i>	Migrants are referred to as criminals or linked with criminal activity (e.g. networks of smuggling)	Dehum_criminal
<i>Militarization</i>	The presence of military actors in the text or the use of military metaphors	Dehum_military
<i>Listing</i>	Several topics listed after each other. Leads to transfer of attributes from one to another	Dehum_listing
Free nodes		
<i>Humanitarianism</i>	The use of humanitarian arguments	
<i>Victimization</i>	Migrants represented as victims	
<i>Welfare (ab)use</i>	Migrants represented as (ab)using the welfare state	
<i>Solidarity</i>	References to solidarity	
<i>Economic need</i>		
<i>Integration</i>	References to integration	

