

Chapter 35. Migration and Security: Three Capitals and Three Terrorist Attacks as Reflected in the Press

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Introduction

On October 10, 2015 a rally named “Peace right now against War, Peace, Labour Democracy” was organized at one of the central squares of Ankara the Capital of Turkey. The gathering place for the rally was at the gate of Central Station. At 10:04 as the crowds gathered and passengers were getting out of the newly arrived train two suicide attacks occurred. The attack was described as the deadliest throughout the history of the Turkish Republic. 103 people lost their lives 246 injured. The attack was claimed by ISIS.

On November 12, 2015 Beirut was shaken by a twin suicide attacks. The terrorists targeted Bourj El-Barajneh, Hezbollah controlled predominantly Shiite city. 43 people lost their lives and more than 200 injured. ISIS claimed the attacks during which 3 of the terrorists died and the fourth terrorist was arrested.

On November 13, 2015 Friday night, terrorist attacks occurred in 6 different places of Paris, 130 people lost their lives. The deadliest attack was at the Bataclan Concert Hall during a rock concert. There, 87 young people lost their lives. ISIS claimed for the atrocity at the heart of Europe. State of Emergency was announced countrywide and the borders were closed in the wake of attacks.

The blasts in Ankara and Beirut can be considered as the implications of the Syrian civil war and instability of the region going on for five years. Open border policy is the common attitude of Lebanon and Turkey, which also facilitate the mobility of the terrorists. However the news about Ankara and Beirut bombings do not relate the atrocities to open border policies and free movement through the borders. On the other hand France does not employ open border policy for the refugees. On the contrary, France adopts strict border controls. However in our analysis we arrived to the conclusion that the terror attacks put the refugees on the agenda in France after the Paris attacks and numerous news are published about restricting migration policy.

The point of reference for the study was the fact that three terror attacks occurred in the capitals of three different countries, by the same terrorist organization and with the same strategy. Hence with this paper it is attempted to elaborate how these attacks are reflected on the newspapers of the respective countries and whether or not attacks are taken into account in parallel with migration in the news.

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Theoretical Framework

Developments of communication and transportation technologies accelerate the globalization and give impetus to human mobility. In the last couple decades, a prominent concept that is being discussed in relation to globalization and migration is security. When states encounter a crisis situation, their first reaction is to close the borders and to block mobility of people. However, individuals in order to reach security and struggle poverty and pressures feel the need to cross borders for better alternatives (Bach, 2003:227).

After the Cold War with the transformation of power relations, the phenomenon of migration and displacement gained impetus. This situation resulted in states' concern for security as stronger border controls are introduced and states become unwilling to accept displaced people into their borders. With this process strict border controls and deportation of irregular migrants become common practices by nation states (Bach, 2003:228).

In the first years of the European Project, the phenomenon of migration was not seen as a threat by the European countries. Rather it was regarded as a tool for restructuration of the European economies. The turning point for securitization of migration was the introduction of freedom of movement and decision on European Union in 1992. The free movement of people within the European borders attracted the attentions to the movement of people from the third countries. Therefore, two parallel processes developed as exclusion of security threats and Europeanization of security policies (Karyotis, 2007:3-4).

In the first quarter of 21st century the global society is facing the challenge to introduce a regime of re-establishing and redefining the link between security and mobility. A protection regime similar to refugee and asylum regime to encompass all displaced people cannot be accepted by the states, especially for long term migration originating from poverty, famine and structural inequalities. As Karyotis (2007:1) mentions, migration became politicized both at the national and the EU level. The increasing trend after 9/11 relate migrants with criminal activities and terrorist attacks and present migrants as a serious potential for security threat.

Especially after 9/11, international migration has come to be seen as a phenomenon that challenge and even "threaten" the social order and national identity. Accordingly, the securitization discourse gradually dominates both the public and private spheres when migration is concerned. As Securitization Theory suggests, a phenomenon becomes a threat to security when that particular phenomenon is presented as a threat by the political institutions and actors or the media (Huysmans, 1998: 479). Similarly, with irregularization of international migration, the efforts to regularize migration are accompanied by a discourse that securitizes migration. That is to say, for the attempts to regularize and control migration, the discourse adopted by the politicians and the media construct migration as a "problem" and even as a "threat" to the social order (Öner, 2012).

According to the migration and security discussions it is assumed that migration is regarded as a threat to national identity and migrants "have been framed as people who are generating danger to our way of life" (Lazaridis, 2015: 112). Lazaridis (2015:109), with reference to Sommer and Warnecke (2008) identifies four "threat scenarios" related with migration:

- ▷ Irregular migration that burdens a nation's borders and economic structure
- ▷ Gap and imbalance between the immigrant and resident groups "which are often exaggerated to create an impression that migrants are taking unfair advantage of jobs and housing."
- ▷ Poor integration levels
- ▷ The fear of possible terrorist attacks (Lazaridis, 2015: 109).

In the discussion on securitization of migration Ibrahim (2005) presents the question "whose human security is to be first protected, the citizen or the migrant?" as he elaborates that migration is recently being regarded as a human security threat among other criminal activities and threats. According to Ibrahim (2005), the new securitization paradigm increases the victimization of the migrants who are already suffering persecution, violence and war.

Methodology

Within the theoretical framework of securitization, the main purpose of the study is to elaborate the three terrorist attacks in three different capitals, namely Ankara on 10 October 2015, Beirut on 12 November 2015 and Paris on 13 November 2015, how the terror attacks are reflected on the newspapers of the respective countries and to understand whether or not attacks are taken into account in parallel with migration in the news. So the main question can be put forward as "Is there an obvious link that media employs securitization discourse after the Paris, Ankara and Beirut attacks?"

For that purpose, discourse analysis is employed on the news published in the four newspapers:

Hürriyet from Turkey with circulation rate 345.382, Le Monde from France with circulation rate 292.054 and Daily Star from Lebanon with circulation rate 29.000 was selected. Daily Star from Lebanon was selected for practical reasons of online accessibility and English language. Le Figaro from France has a higher circulation rate from Le Monde however its online accessibility was limited so Le Monde was preferred for its accessibility. The reason for choosing The Telegraph from UK with circulation rate 472.033 was that it was the highest circulation rate among more reputable broadsheet papers.

For that purpose, the newspapers from three different countries where the attacks occurred are selected with the following criteria

- ▷ High circulation rates,
- ▷ Centre wing
- ▷ Reputability
- ▷ Online accessibility

Hürriyet, The Daily Star and Le Monde are analysed in order to understand how the attacks are presented on the media of the relevant countries. The Telegraph is reviewed for the purpose of elaborating how these attacks are reflected on the European press. In order to include highly significant developments and articles for the analysis, search period was decided to cover nine months from 10th of October to 20th of June.

Analysis and Main Findings: Newspapers' Approach to the Attacks

In order to illustrate whether or not migrants are associated with terror attacks in Ankara, Beirut and Paris, and whether or not migrants are considered as security threats in the press coverage, four mainstream newspapers have been undertaken to provide a range of perspectives.

As seen in Table 1, all four newspapers gave predominant space to news about Paris attacks, followed by Ankara and Beirut. What is striking from the table is that the newspapers that are published in Turkey and Beirut as Hurriyet and The Daily Star also give considerable smaller number of news about the attacks that took place in their own country.

Table 1: The number of news accessed on-line

Newspapers	Paris	Ankara	Beirut
Le Monde	2153	121	72
The Telegraph	1086	105	38
The Daily Star	722	19	9
Hurriyet	366	102	4

Paris

Le Monde

In a considerable number of news about Paris attacks in Le Monde, a critical evaluation of right-wing political parties' discourse against migrants and a cautious approach for the false linkage between terrorist attacks and the flux of refugees are prominent. The news published in the wake of the attacks discuss that France was the target especially for its social structure and the values it defends; the emphasis is given to the solidarity messages and protests, both from politicians and from societies around the world.

The discourse of war from the heads of the state is critically examined by Le monde in the news from the following days. "France facing the war" titled news, published on 16.11.2015, quotes from French sociologist Edgar Morin, "to win the war in France, it is necessary to win the peace in the Middle East", he states the difficulty to lead a frontal fight against a jihadist nomadism practised by a nihilistic youth, at the very moment when the classic war gives way to states of militarized panic, armed assaults intended to cause the chaos and in globalized police operations. The newspaper also criticizes security measures stated by Hollande, as the expansion of the state of emergency. From the news it can be interpreted that Le monde is sensitive to the negative effects of the state of emergency and aggravation of security measures, particularly considering the burden that these bring on the daily life of people with immigrant origins. Le Monde presents some examples of the abuse of state of the emergency by the security forces. A news titled *Muscular searches, inequitable arrests: the abuses of the state of emergency*, from 23.11.2015, gives the example of a 6-year-old girl, hurt in the neck, during a search on Thursday, in Nice. "At 4:30 am of the morning, the policemen push the door of the family apartment, stick the father on the ground. And the whole for nothing: the police made a mistake about door, it aimed in fact at the neighbour."

The fact that the victims of the high-level security measures are those who live in regions with predominant migrant population implies an indirect link between

migration and terror attacks and reflect the general perception of migrants or citizens with immigration origins as threats. According to the data of a poll presented in *Le monde*, the security measures executed by the State after the attacks are strongly supported by 95% of French society ("*French citizens approve massively the measures taken against the terrorism*" 22.11.2015.).

The discourse of war, abuse of security measures, violation of human rights suits to the politics of the right wing party, National Front. However, the latter group's proposals about security measures are more severe and untenable according to *Le Monde*. For instance, an article presents a critical assessment of Marine Le Pen on the proposals on security ("*Attacks of November 13th: 3 hardly bearable proposals of Marine Le Pen*" 17.11.2015). In an interview she had stated that the government should have implemented more ambitious measures: "We have to find our national borders and we have to stop migration". The link between immigration and radical Islam is a corner stone of the speech of Le Pen. The main proposal of the extreme right wing party, which is an element of their securitization discourse, is the withdrawal of nationality of those who participated in actions offending the security of the nation. First it was announced by the president Hollande three days after the attacks, however it became an instrument for the elections campaigns of right wing parties and divided profoundly the political groups and the civil society during that period. In a news, dated 4.12.2015, the case of Belgium is described as an example, a country who already put on the table a law that allows the withdrawal of nationality only for those who were not Belgium born, or who acquired the nationality by naturalization. In the news it is stated in addition to its inefficiency in the fight against terrorism, this kind of law would mean introducing a notion of citizenship of "second class" and would raise questions about equality and freedom (*Withdrawal of nationality: lessons from Belgium*, 04.12.2016).

However, the fact that National Front reaches 30,6 % of the votes in the first tour at the regional election, at the national level, shows that securitization discourse, evoking xenophobia and discrimination can construct political trust in the mind of electorates. In an article published on 07.12.2015, the success of the National Front is evaluated as "the French people placing at the head of the podium Marine le Pen and her obsession of the *bacterial immigration*." by Cécile Alduy, professor of literature in University of Stanford ("*A brutal negation of the critical mind*." 07.12.2015). Accordingly, the results show a return on the attitude of the French nation. Quoting from her: "During the first days after the attacks France revealed to the world quite a different face, proud and sad, and it had aroused condolence and admiration. Tolerant France, homeland of the ideal "freedom, equality, brotherhood" was celebrated by Barack Obama. But only a few weeks later France begins to draw from its fears the justification of the xenophobia and the assumed authoritarianism. Now we are facing double mourning, of our deaths and our values."

Another news entitled "Worries about the arrival of terrorist with migrants" on 16.11.2015 questions whether the attacks would affect the commitment of the French government to receiving 30.000 refugees in two years, within the framework of the European plan of distribution of the asylum seekers. "It is claimed that the government was aware of this risk of infiltration before the current situation and

that François Hollande underlined, that Europe should welcome in dignity those who have the right of asylum and there will be no inflection in the migratory politics (Migration policies: Hollande holds to his plan. 16.11.2015).

However two news on 25.11.2015, reveal that there might have been slight inflections from the welcoming attitude towards refugees by the heads of the French state. According to a news with a title “EU cannot accept anymore migrants,” after the attacks of Paris and Saint-Denis, French Prime Minister, met the journalists of several European media and explains that the control of the outside borders of the European Union is essential for the future of the EU and Europe has to find solutions so that the migrants are taken care in the nearby countries of Syria. François Hollande, also, supports this proposal and in another news dating from 25.11.2015, in a meeting with Merkel, he shared the idea of reducing the number of refugees who come to Europe.

According the news from Le Monde, the debate took place also among politicians in the European Union countries and launched the tensions within the Union on the policy of reception of the migrants (“Some European politicians make the link between Paris attacks and the crisis of migrants” 14.11.2015). “Paris changed everything, and the time is passed for an uncontrolled immigration”, Markus Söder (from the conservative Bavarian Catholic Party-CSU-), criticized the policy of the chancellor Merkel towards the refugees. The newspaper also states that the new Polish minister of European Affairs, Konrad Szymanski, wrote on his website. “Poland will welcome refugees only if there are guarantees of security and the latter are questioned after the attacks of Paris.” This statement is also an affirmation of the fact that after a terrorist attacks state’s security is prior to the security of individuals.

To summarize, the situation of Europe in aftermath of 13 November, as presented in Le monde, shows that Europe facing two grave challenges being the insoluble crisis of migrants and a paroxysm of terror. However, in the article entitled “*End of a worrisome year in Europe*” on 29.11.2015, by Sylvie Kauffmann, the reason that the situation of refugees became a “crisis” is mostly related to Euro-scepticism. This shows an inclination of the newspaper to not represent refugees as the authors of the chaotic climate or as threat. It is stated that the migrant problem rising in two years in most European capitals was ignored by western society, because it resulted from the war in Syria and Libya, for whom nobody has solution. The article criticizes EU for not being institutionally equipped and having neither common immigration policy, nor common right of asylum.

A remarkable news entitled “The Syrian refugees are afraid of being twice victims of Daech”, on 25.11.2015 shows the impact of the debates around migration policies after the terror attacks on refugees, from their own perspectives. The news reports that Syrians and Iraqis refuse to leave this place of temporary reception. It is stated that the refugees consider that if they accept a permanent accommodation with other refugees, their wife and children who are left in Syria or in Turkey would not have the chance to join them. The news claims that the images of small Aylan Kurdi, Syrian toddler died in a wreck at the beginning of September at the Aegean Sea, seems from now on “buried under the images of attacks.”

Telegraph

The predominant attitude of The Telegraph towards the migrants as related to terrorist attacks can be considered to be criticism to views that relate migrants to terrorism, reports on how France take action to limit migration and increase border control in a critical fashion. Other than that The newspaper's coverage of the three terrorist attacks differs in the number of news, the way it reports the attacks and constructs its news.

In order to understand the newspaper's general point of view in terms of securitization discourse, refugees and terror, the columns and news focus on how refugee crisis provide a cover for terrorists. The Telegraph newspaper gives voice to the criticisms against those who link Paris attacks with migration crisis. For instance, in the article written by Matthew Holehouse on 22 November 2015 "Paris Attacks 'exploited' by immigration critics, claims Juncker". "However, writing in a Maltese newspaper, Mr Juncker said he did not accept any connection between the refugee crisis and the risk of terrorism. Gordon Ryner and Rory Mulholland's article on 19 November 2015 analyses the refugee crisis and how it provided as a cover for the ISIL (Islamic State of Iraq and Levant also referred as ISIS and Daech) terrorist Abdelhamid Abaaoud the organizer of the Paris attack. Also they mention that other two ISIL jihadists of Paris attacks posed as refugees while entering Europe. As the journalists mention "migrants and terrorists alike travel with ease every corner of Europe." Even though the newspaper has a general tendency of being cautious of not equalizing refugees and terrorists, in between the lines travel and entrance of migrants –not referred as refugees- is being problematized. The journalists also underline the fact that "where refugees make perilous journeys in dinghies piloted by human traffickers, Abaaoud's safe passage was secured and paid for by al-Jarba's network." This statement also reveals the fact that limiting the movement of refugees would not help limiting the movement of terrorists, as they are much better financed and escorted. Quoting from the article on 19 November 2015 by Matthew Holehouse and Henry Samuel "Every migrant and tourist to be screened as EU races to secure borders" is about the measure that will be taken by EU member states such as sharing of database for sharing names and travels of jihadists, sharing of criminal records, all migrants and refugees will be scanned. In the news it is also mentioned that the attacker entered Paris as a refugee from Syria using refugee route. However, the director of Europol also mentions that "it is early to claim any link between the attack and migration crisis".

As an example to the news on the call for solidarity and how people are united against terrorism in Paris, 14 November 2015 the newspaper comment entitled "the West must not live in fear of fanatics" claim that the terror attacks was against the good way of life the West represents and Britons especially should unite around their way of life against terrorism by mentioning the symbolic importance of France and Paris. The article focuses on West and considers terrorism as a Western problem disregarding its global context. A similar article by Anne-Elisabeth Moutet on 21 November 2015 with a sentimental language states that the terrorists attacked the spirit of Paris, the solidarity of people, and attacks was against the fun, loving people enjoying their lives. However, she criticises the views that analyse the factors and structures that led to the attack. This attitude cannot be generalised to the general standing of the newspaper however it is also important as it shows the tendency that

considers terrorism as West vs the Rest. However, as Bach mentions “The new global war on terrorism will undoubtedly reinforce a focus on state security and defence of borders, and efforts to gain control over global mobility will be deeply involved in the defence of states against non-state belligerents.” (Bach, 2003).

The news on the terrorist hunt in Saint-Denis and how the mastermind of the massacre was killed raise the question that how the most wanted terrorist in Europe can travel to and from Syria and mastermind the attacks from a flat in Paris. The ease with which Abaaoud appears to have been able to travel unnoticed through Europe will increase fears that ISIL terrorists are exploiting Europe’s migrant crisis to travel unimpeded along routes being used by refugees is the explanation proposed by Gordon Ryner, Henry Samuel and Steven Swinford on 18 November 2015 in the article entitled How did Europe's most wanted terrorist slip into France from Syria unnoticed? “According to Raziye Akkoç and Barney Henderson’s news on 15 November 2015 “May: Syrian refugees in UK screened properly twice” give space to Theresa May’s statements that there are two levels of screening take place before UK accepts Syrian refugees first one by UNHCR and second by UK Home Office and she adds that only the Syrians from refugee camps who are believed to be most vulnerable are taken to UK. From this news two points can be inferred, first one reveals how reality fits with the political discourse that targets migration and refugees as the main cause of terrorist attacks. As the European countries seriously monitor the newcomer refugees and most of the terrorists turn out to be already citizens of the target countries. Secondly, the political authorities feel it necessary to explain what is obvious that serious screening process takes place while accepting the refugees reveals the fact that there is a common tendency in the public that the refugee movement is strictly linked to the terrorist attacks.

A similar tendency can be seen in the article by Matthew Lynn on 25 November 2015, who emphasize the importance of defence and security sector with the title “After the Paris terror attacks, the City turns to its 'forgotten' sector” and states that UK should focus on and concentrate its investments on defence and surveillance industry. He continues listing four major areas to focus on for combating terrorism. However, from his list it can be inferred that the journalist puts increased border controls like locking the borders anytime it is “needed” prior to investments on and innovations of technologies that would enable cyber warfare and cut the monetary and information flow to terrorist organizations and development of other means for fighting with these organizations. Furthermore, at the beginning of his article quoting from Lynn “Suicide bombers blowing up people in Paris. Brussels in lockdown over the weekend as police and Special Forces search for terrorists. A mass migration of refugees fleeing failed states and civil wars in the Middle East.” These statements introduce a link between suicide bombers and the mass migration of refugees as the parts of same problem.

However, there are some anti-migration voices in the newspaper also and taking securitization discourse. For instance, Dan Hannan on 16 November 2015 in his comment entitled “Eurocrats are in tragic denial about the Paris attacks” criticizes EU politicians who put the preservation of Schengen area as the priority over all other issues and concerns and who are blind to the European governments’ and public’s concerns. He finalizes his Euroscepticism with these words “We agreed to

open our borders to the EU. The EU has now clearly opened its borders to the entire world. That was never the deal.” Douglas Murray on 14 November 2015 blames the migration and failed integration for terrorist attacks with the words “Europe must confront failed integration” from the tone of the article the anti-immigration tendency and Islamophobia is quite clear as the writer not only blames the radical Islamist terrorists but all Muslim immigrants in Europe by claiming that all of the Muslim immigrants are sympathetic with the radical Islamic terrorism. Also blames French and German leaders as being so optimistic about the integration of Muslim immigrants and free movement in the Schengen region by claiming that the security of the continent must be above all other concerns. Also linking the security of the continent to all immigration and Muslim rather than terrorism itself. Quoting from him: “Where those mass immigration are advocates this morning? Where are the people who pretend that an immigrant from a Muslim background and an immigrant of Christian background are equally likely to integrate into France?”

Hürriyet

On 16 November 2015 Nilufer Göle in her interview with Ruşen Çakır evaluates the Paris attacks as not blind shot. According to her, ISIS targeted the urban way of life, urban culture. She continues mentioning that French people are desperate about their future. According to the interview, the common target of Ankara, Beirut and Paris attacks is the city and the city culture and their agenda is war against civilization.

In another column on 15.11.2015, columnist Cengiz Çandar evaluates Paris and other attacks. He asks if there will be a second post 9/11 as Hollande states that Daech claims war against him. According to Çandar’s article, Poland after the nationalist right wing party come to the power announced that they will not take any Syrians. He also states that Beirut bombings did not invoke same reactions as Paris because blasts are very common for Beirut and the attacks target sectarian war. However, Paris attacks target more universal values and attack first league players in the world politics. So Çandar claims it is normal that the attacks in Paris take greater attention worldwide than other terrorist attacks.

The most important difference of Paris attacks from Beirut and Ankara lies in the measures taken right after the attacks such as announcement of state of emergency, closing of borders introducing further controls to limit immigration. None such measures were taken after Beirut and Ankara bombings. One of the measures is on the reception of refugees. Similar to Le Monde Hürriyet also gives news on 26 December 2015 that “France does not keep its promise to accept 30 thousand refugees in two years.”

The Paris attacks aftermath is reflected on Hürriyet with the news about how France unofficially stopped accepting refugees as PM Valls mentions, “under the circumstances Europe cannot take any more refugee” and Hollande suspended Schengen System. Another significant number of news are on the fact that the solidarity and sensitivity for Paris was not expressed for Beirut and Ankara.

Daily Star

The news published on Daily Star predominantly gives information about the terrorist attacks, the scene, the responses of the political leaders and the terrorist hunt.

As for the news that take the terrorist attacks with refugee issue and migration “Bavarian allies pressure Merkel to reverse refugee policy” on 15 November 2015 can be given as an example. Without any comments the article expresses the debates at the government level between Merkel and the ministers on her welcoming policy towards refugees. According to the news after the Paris attacks Bavarian cabinet members criticize the welcoming attitude of Merkel to the refugees while the Interior Minister of Germany warns against making hasty links between the assault and the refugee debate. The hundreds of news are as seen in the presented examples are predominantly informative about the attacks, the aftermath and the political reactions at the global scale.

Ankara

Le Monde

The majority of the news published after the attack show that Le Monde considers the Ankara blasts as an interior local problem of Turkey and evaluates the implications with regard to coming elections and Turkey’s home affairs. There is not any attempt to link the attacks to the insecurity of the borders between Turkey and Syria and the growing threat of ISIS on the region. For instance, on 10 October 2015, in news entitled “Ankara Blasts overshadows the elections” the above-mentioned views are reflected. The news predominantly stresses out the chaotic environment in Turkey by reminding the sequence of explosions throughout summer of 2015.

Le Monde also underlines the political clash between the government party and pro-Kurdish party HDP, as HDP blames the government for not taking necessary precautions for the security of the rally (The Turkish government suspect ISIS for the attack of Ankara, 12 .10.2015). Besides Le Monde also criticizes Turkish government’s Syria policy for not prioritizing to fight against ISIS.

The only news about the security of borders of EU in relation to Ankara blasts is about Merkel’s visit on 18 October 2015 to negotiate with Turkey the refugee crisis (“Angela Merkel negotiates with Turkey for reinforcement of European borders”, 19.10.2015). This is highly significant, since after Paris attacks in France debates were on the questions of stopping the refugee movement whereas few days after a similar attack in Turkey the debate turns around Turkey to accept more refugees back from Europe accompanied with financial aid from EU.

The Telegraph

As for Ankara the news can be grouped as Turkey’s involvement in Middle East Crisis and criticism to government politics, the reports from the scene and analysis of Kurdish problem. Almost none of the news relate Ankara blast to migration and security problem. Also the newspaper doesn’t give space to the security concerns of the people and the politicians as well as a call for solidarity to stand with Turkish people against terror attacks. There are analytical articles to politicians’ and government’s response to the attacks.

Hürriyet

Predominantly the news give breaking news with limited contents with the titles of “Testimonies from the Scene”, “Declaration from the Ministry of Health”. Other group of news consist of reactions from chambers, unions, civil society organisations and their mourning. Additionally, news published criticising security

gap and weakness of the intelligence service. In *Hürriyet* newspaper the researchers did not encounter any findings that relate migration and security issues. Only terror and security are discussed in the news articles on *Hürriyet*.

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Another significant number of news are on the fact that the solidarity for Paris was not expressed for Beirut and Ankara. For instance, on 23 March 2016, news entitled “Striking article on Independent: The sensitivity shown for Brussels was not shown for Ankara” asks “Why after the atrocity Downing Street hang Turkish flag?”

Daily Star

The news contents are about the rally of the people, the deepening division between the Turkish political leaders; how the Turkish President of the Republic politicizes the terrorist attacks. In none of the news there is any attempt to link the refugee issue and flexibility of the border with the terror attacks. To list the news:

Turkey sees ISIS hand in Ankara bombing on October 11 2015

Thousands rally against Erdogan as Turkey mourns deadliest attack October 11, 2015

Lebanese politicians deplore Ankara bombings October 12, 2015

Turkey attack deepens split among its leaders October 13, 2015

Erdogan party frantic ahead of Turkey vote October 25, 2015

Turkey election a high-stakes gamble for Erdogan October 30, 2015

Out of the 9 news three of them articles analysing the then coming elections and mention the impact of the Ankara terrorist attacks on voting patterns with a sentence.

Beirut

Le Monde

A dozen of the news are directly related to Beirut suicide attack and evaluates the attack analytically. In the majority of the news the bombing was presented as a strategic attack to Hezbollah Shiite centre as a response of ISIS to Lebanon’s intervention to Syria. On the date of the attack ISIS lost its control over an airport of Lebanon and Iranian coalition (*Lebanon: National mourn after the deadliest attack since 1990 in Beirut* 12.11.2015).

As an example to news articles that emphasize the globalization of terrorism, an article on 13 November, in the wake of Paris attacks, by evaluating the international press about the three attacks puts forward the assumption that ISIS terror attacks are becoming global with new strategy of chain attacks. The news on the following days of the attack, after the 20th of November, give information about the investigation and some analysis about the strategies of ISIS and how to combat the organization. On the other hand, *Daily Star* does not refer to the refugee and immigration issues on their news about the terrorist attacks in Beirut.

The Telegraph

When searched the first three most relevant news on Beirut attacks are “ISIL claims responsibility in deadliest attack in Beirut since end of civil war kills dozens”

on 12 November 2015; “Germany captain Bastian Schweinsteiger sends 'sincerest condolences' to victims of Paris and Beirut attacks” on 15 November 2015; “Cristiano Ronaldo meets Beirut bombings orphan” on 18 December 2015. The researchers did not encounter any political analysis, news and visuals of the humanitarian aspect and victim’s stories, sentimental articles as in the case of Paris attacks. The limited number of news mention the Beirut attacks in one sentence with the attacks in Ankara and Baghdad.

As for instance to the majority of the news on Beirut attacks that mention in only one sentence:

“Paris terror attacks should mean bolder thinking about security” news entitled on 16 November 2015 mention Beirut in this sentence: “This blandness is striking given that barely hours before the meeting convened, terrorism claimed scores of lives in Paris, Beirut and Baghdad. Those murders were committed in the name of Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant. Yet world leaders had next to nothing to say about what should be done to put an end to ISIL’s crimes, many of which are orchestrated from the territory it holds in Syria.”

'As a French Muslim woman in a hijab, I can feel people's fear' on 18 November 2015 by Radhika Sanghani mention the Beirut attacks within a sentence in the context of rising Islamophobia and concerns of Muslim young student about the reactions with this sentence: “Several French Muslim people died in the Paris attacks. And, days before, a suicide attack in Beirut killed 43, many of whom were Sunni Muslims.”

Young Muslim girl at top private school abused by 'bigoted idiots' on 9 December 2015 by Javier Espinoza give space to the words of Richard Cairns the headmaster of Brighton College at which a young girl, student of the college was abused. Quoting from the article: He wrote: “I was struck that dreadful weekend by the reaction of our pupils and staff. All weekend, I received e-mails from them, asking that we observe a minute’s silence, provide a place of reflection, fly the tricolour at half mast, hold a special chapel service and much more. I found their concern and their desire to do something – anything – profoundly moving. I was proud of them. And yet, as I came into school on Monday morning, I also asked myself why it was that no one had contacted me about the bomb in Baghdad, the killing of 43 people in a market place in Beirut, the murder of 227 holidaymakers on their way home to St Petersburg. Not one e-mail did I receive. No ‘phone call. Nothing. He said it was “shaming” that “not until people like us die, do we really take notice or truly care”.

Hürriyet

On Hürriyet newspaper only four news are encountered about Beirut attacks, two of them columns and two of them informative news reports. The columns analyse the three attacks not only focused on Beirut.

On 13 November 2015 “Twin Suicide Attacks in Beirut” gives detailed information about the attack. On 16. November 2015 “The Hero of Beirut” mentions that the suicide bombings was stopped by a man who jumped over the terrorist. Also the news highlights the fact that the incidents and stories of the attacks did not take the place on the media as it deserved. When in Paris the stories of the

victims are largely presented but there is no mention of such stories when it comes to Beirut.

Daily Star

On Daily Star news with the key words Beirut bombings and Beirut blasts the researchers encountered nine news. With Beirut suicide attacks, Beirut attacks no results were reached. It is striking that in a twin suicide terrorist attack at the heart of the capital city there are only seven news to find in the Lebanon publish of the newspaper. Most of the news are informative reports like “Lebanon declares day of national mourning Friday after south Beirut bombings” on 12 November 2015 and “French President Hollande expresses horror over despicable Beirut blasts” as from Hollande’s statements "The French share in the national mourning of the Lebanese. France is more than ever committed to peace, unity and stability in Lebanon," and “Catholic bishops, patriarchs of Lebanon condemn Beirut attacks” on 16 November 2015. There are only two columns as analysis of the attacks “Lessons from ISIS attacks in Beirut” on 14 November 2015 and “Timing of Beirut and Paris attacks: no coincidence” on 14 November 2015. The remaining seven news are informative articles about the arrest and court processes of the terrorists.

From the research even though there is a considerable number of refugees and ISIS as Syrian and Iraq based terrorist organization in none of the news there is any mention of the international mobility of the terrorists, the humanitarian aspect of the tragedy, call for solidarity and deep international political analysis.

Conclusion

For concluding remarks, it could be asserted that all four newspapers give predominant space to Paris attacks and not give that much space to Lebanon and Ankara attacks. What is striking that the newspapers of Turkey and Lebanon did not give as much space as Paris attacks. *Hürriyet*, *Le Monde* and *The Telegraph* predominantly focuses Paris attacks as attacks to the good way of life and western life style. Furthermore, Ankara and Beirut attacks are not considered as attacks to values and good way of life rather the attacks in Ankara and Beirut are considered as implications of interior problems of these countries.

The number of Syrian refugees in Turkey is almost three million, in Lebanon is over one million within a six million population whereas France the number of Syrians only above eleven thousand. Contrary to the huge gap between the numbers of Syrians in Turkey-Lebanon and France, there is not a considerable debate about possible infiltration of terrorists among refugee influx when it comes to analysis of the terrorist attacks in Turkey and Lebanon.

Turkey and Lebanon after the attacks did not develop policies that would limit and stop migration. However as reflected on the news, Turkey and Lebanon has been experiencing increasing number of terrorist attacks especially after 2015. This can be considered as the mobility of terror and violence from Syria to Turkey and Lebanon. Turkey exercised open border policy to the victims of war and during the massive influx terrorists posing as refugees were able to infiltrate without any difficulty. Within this context we can assert that there is also “migration of insecurity”. As a consequence, the desire of the states to protect its borders, land and citizens is understandable. However, while protecting its borders, excluding

refugees who are seriously in need of protection and leaving them outside in despair cannot be considered as an efficient solution.

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