

# Integration of Highly Qualified Sub-Saharan Immigrants in Prague

—Comparison with the Situation in Paris, London and Liege<sup>1</sup>

Andrea Gerstnerová

Charles University, Prague, Czech Republic.

Email: andrea\_gerstnerova@yahoo.fr

Received February 10<sup>st</sup>, 2011; revised February 18<sup>th</sup>, 2011; accepted March 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2011.

Successful integration of immigrants into the host society demands a creation of specific conditions that would facilitate immigrants their adaptation to a new sociocultural, economic and political environment. Therefore, the process of integration itself is not only a task for immigrants, but also for a majority. One of the key factors for a creation of truly cohesive society is the support of positive aspects of mutual inter-cultural relations. This could be reinforced by implementation of “adequate” integration programs adapted to the local context as well as sensible use of mass media. If the host society does not dispose of effective instruments to integrate its “own citizens”, it is generally difficult to create strategies for insertion of immigrants of different cultural backgrounds (such as Sub-Saharan Africans). Basic features of the integration process of Sub-Saharan Africans and political reactions of the major society were identified in Prague, Paris, London and Liege.

**Keywords:** Immigration; Sub-Saharan Africans; Integration Process; Host Society; Country of Origin; Remittances; Development; Diaspora; Social Cohesion.

## Introduction

*“Immigrant is first of all a human being longing for a life in a tolerant and helpful society. Existing barriers among different cultural communities, usually created artificially, are being reinforced by a variety of prejudices that are for each nation and each social group quite specific. The false notions about members of different cultural communities subsequently prevent the creation of a socially cohesive society in which each community would have its decent place”* (Mabaya, 2007).

The aim of the presented research named *Integration of Highly Qualified Sub-Saharan Immigrants in Prague; Comparison with the situation in Paris, London and Liege* is to analyse similarities and differences of the socio-economic integration of highly skilled Sub-Saharan immigrants residing on a long term basis in respective host societies.

The conducted research evaluated in what areas are usually highly skilled Sub-Saharan immigrants socially marginalized and in what areas are their personal or professional qualities – thanks to the implementation of adequate integration policies – optimally valorised. Nevertheless, the ambition of the research was not to provide an exhaustive analysis of the integration process of all Sub-Saharan communities living in Europe, but rather to give an insight of certain aspects of the integration reality of Sub-Saharan immigrants through examples of 68 respondents residing in selected European cities – *i.e.* Prague, Paris, London, Liege.

In order to execute a comparison of the integration process of Sub-Saharan Africans living in the Czech Republic and selected

European countries, it was necessary to choose a comparable sample of respondents. The analyzed sample of altogether 68 Sub-Saharan respondents comprises highly qualified men residing on a long-term basis in one of the selected European cities. Variables that could not have been taken into account during the execution of the qualitative research in aforementioned European countries were *the reason of emigration* and *the country of origin*. These variables vary from country to country owing to their specific historical circumstances and socioeconomic development.

Up until recently the major part of highly skilled Sub-Saharan immigrants living in the Czech Republic was constituted by students and interns from formerly “*ideologically related African countries*” (*i.e.* Angola, Ethiopia, and Guinea Conakry). As late as the globalization process was launched, the migration flows to the Czech Republic have been considerably polarized. On the contrary, the motivation of Sub-Saharan immigrants to enter France, Great Britain and Belgium is not that clear as in was the case of the Czech Republic. In the geographical perspective, a majority of African respondents originally came from the former French, British and Belgian colonies. The most respondents were from the Democratic Republic of Congo, Rwanda, Mali, and Cameroun.

## Target Group

As a primary target group of the realized research was chosen Sub-Saharan immigrants (originally from the East, West and the South part of the African continent) that had been residing in one of the aforementioned European countries for more than one year on a basis of acquired citizenship, long-term residence permit, short-term residence permit or submitted application for the international protection. The special atten-

<sup>1</sup>This article has been written in the frame of a postdoctoral project “Socio-economic Integration of Sub-Saharan Immigrants in Europe: Three-Dimensional Approach”, funded by the Czech Science Foundation (identification number of the project: P404/11/P289).

tion was paid to Sub-Saharan University graduates. Figure 1 shows the evolution of African immigration to the Czech Republic starting from 1994 until 2007.

### Premises of Research

- 1) Number of Sub-Saharan immigrants residing in the capital city of Prague will increase in the future due to the fact that international migrants usually prefer to choose bigger towns and cities as their place of residence in the host country.
- 2) Direction of migrant flows is maintained through social networks established among communities living in the host country and the country of origin. The existence of “transnational” networks plays an important role not only in terms of the decision-taking process whether or not to emigrate, but also tends to affect the way how the integration process will subsequently proceed in the host society.
- 3) Identification of best practices of local (or regional) integration policies in France, Great Britain and Belgium, may serve as a valuable source of inspiration for an establishment of similar integration strategies in Czech cities and regions.
- 4) Selected strategy of local integration policy may have significant effects not only on the way the integration process of African immigrants is proceeded, but also on a way the African immigrants are appreciated in the eyes of a mainstream society.

Executed research enabled us to look into the everyday reality of 68 highly qualified Sub-Saharan immigrants living on a long term basis in France, Great Britain, Belgium and the Czech Republic. The research showed that Sub-Saharan Africans belong among the immigration groups, where the solidarity and the unity within the community play a particularly important role during their integrating process. The significance of their intercommunity bounds grows proportionally with the number of Sub-Saharan immigrants residing in relevant urban

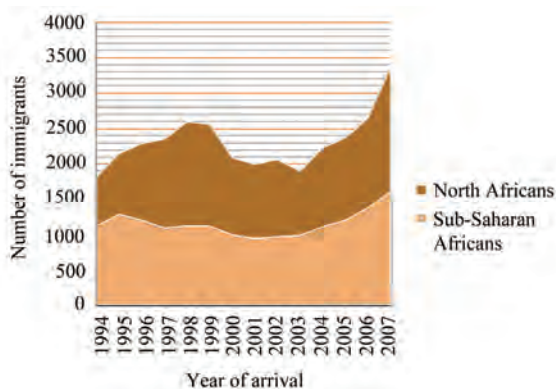


Figure 1. Sub-Saharan immigrants in the Czech Republic<sup>2</sup> in the period from 1994 to 2007.

<sup>2</sup>On the date 31<sup>st</sup> December 2007 altogether 392 315 foreigners were residing in the Czech Republic on a basis of either permanent, or long-term residence permit. African immigrants accounted for 3 372 people (1 610 out of 3 372 were immigrants of Sub-Saharan origin). Source: Czech Statistical Office, 2008.

areas. For example in the Czech Republic, where the Sub-Saharan diaspora<sup>3</sup> is quite small, the intercommunity solidarity does not have the same importance as in other selected European countries.

### Methodology

The core of the research constituted four empirical surveys evaluating the integration process of highly skilled Sub-Saharan immigrants living in Prague, Paris, London and Liege. The first empirical research<sup>4</sup> was conducted in the Czech Republic during a period – 1<sup>st</sup> September to 15<sup>th</sup> November 2006. Altogether 37 Sub-Saharan respondents were included in the research (with 30 respondents were carried out semi-structured interviews based on pre-prepared questionnaires and seven immigrants were offered the opportunity to fill in the questionnaire at home – usually those who were afraid of their residence status by declaring some details from their privacy). The questionnaire was made in three languages (Czech, English, and French) and counted altogether 72 questions. Subsequent empirical surveys analyzing the integration process of Sub-Saharan immigrants in Paris (France), London (Great Britain) and Liege (Belgium) were conducted during a period – 1<sup>st</sup> September to 30<sup>th</sup> November 2007. Altogether 31 Sub-Saharan respondents were included in the research. Given the limited possibilities the researcher had, West European empirical surveys were conducted almost exclusively by electronic way. This method of data collection was facilitated by the fact that the researcher disposed of a hundred e-mail addresses of suitable respondents which had been obtained during a number of stays in abroad (funded by the Grant Agency of Charles University, Grant Agency of the Academy of Sciences, French Community in Brussels, University exchange program Socrates-Erasmus, and an internship within the European Commission).

The data obtained by the semi-structured interviews and electronic surveys were subsequently evaluated by means of a factor analysis and analysis of main components by means of a computer program StatView (the general objective of these analyses is to replace a large number of input features by fewer components/factors without a significant loss of information). For the purpose of the research, variables that had showed a lower degree of variability than 0.440 were excluded from further interpretation). For an easier interpretation of qualitative (or quantitative) relations among variables, only those variables that had the highest load factor value than 0.440 have been further examined. The selected components/factors were analyzed on a confidence level  $\alpha < .05$  (i.e. 5% probability of error). Given a small number of respondents, research findings cannot be considered as fully representative. The aim of the analyses was to illustrate the reality of 68 Sub-Saharan immigrants living in the Czech Republic and selected European countries.

<sup>3</sup>The term “diaspora” refers to the movement of any population sharing common ethnic identity who were either forced to leave or voluntarily left their settled territory, and became residents in areas often far removed from the former. 5<sup>th</sup> January 2009. Wikipedia. <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Diaspora>.

<sup>4</sup>Source: Gerstnerová, 2007.





semi-structural interviews conducted in Prague, see Figure 3) while in case of France, Great Britain and Belgium an asylum system.

In general, asylum seekers and recognized refugees who are settled in the Czech Republic face the biggest problems during their integration process. By contrast, immigrants who came to the Czech Republic in late 60s and 70s (primarily from Angola and Ethiopia) on a basis of “*bilateral agreements on friendship and mutual assistance among socialist countries*” describe their integration process in very positive terms. In general, the successful economic integration of immigrants does not automatically lead them to satisfactory position in a mainstream society itself, although it may help them in this respect (Castles, 2008; Niessen, 2007). Their integration process of African immigrants (arrived during the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century) into the mainstream society has been usually facilitated by their Czech companions.

In the case of France, Great Britain and Belgium, the highest socioeconomic status (with respect to the position held in the labour market and the social prestige) were reached by those Sub-Saharan respondents who had been residing in the host society for more than five years on a basis of either permanent residence permit or acquired citizenship. On the contrary, the most disadvantaged groups of Sub-Saharan respondents residing in West European countries (with respect to the position held in the labour market and the social prestige) were those

provided with a temporary residence status. Figure 4 shows the most frequently occupied jobs by Sub-Saharan immigrants who have been residing in London and Paris no more than 5 years. Owing to the fact that among well-integrated Sub-Saharan immigrants usually do not belong newcomers under 25 years of age, we can deduce that the successful integration of immigrants requires a certain amount of time.

However, it would be wrong to believe that the situation of Sub-Saharan immigrants in selected West European countries is homogenous (see Table 1). To a large extent the socioeconomic situation of Sub-Saharan immigrants depends on: 1) applied concept of national (vs. local) integration policy (i.e. assimilative integration model, multicultural model, etc.); 2) type of approved residence status; 3) degree of openness of the labour market; 4) level of recognition of migrant’s formal qualification and his or her previous professional experience; 5) stage of economic cycle; 6) and place of residence (larger cities usually offer more possibilities of economic inclusion as well as socio-cultural activities than rural peripheries). As it has been declared on the basis of conducted factor analyses.

The successful integration of Sub-Saharan immigrants into the major socioeconomic structures depends to a large extent on their ability to assume a dual identity – African and European. “*Respecting European values*” (i.e. national law, common habits, etc.) helps usually immigrants to better integrate themselves into the social network of the mainstream society, and



Figure 3. Semi-structural interviews with Sub-Saharan immigrants in Prague. Photo: Andrea Gerstnerová; Note: Photos were taken in the office of a civic association Humanists on 24<sup>th</sup> January 2007.



Figure 4. Examples of frequently occupied jobs by Sub-Saharan immigrants in London and Paris (workers in cleaning services, shop assistants in supermarkets, servicemen). Photo: Andrea Gerstnerová; Note: Photos were taken in August 2007 in London’s district Camden and in September 2008 in the 19<sup>th</sup> Parisian arrondissement.

Table 1.

Results of factor analyses evaluating the integration process of Sub-Saharan immigrants settled in the Czech Republic and West European countries.

Analysed factor	Averages of factorial scores within a group of Sub-Saharan respondents contacted in the Czech Republic (n = 37)	Averages of factorial scores within a group of Sub-Saharan respondents contacted in France, Great Britain, and Belgium (n = 31)
Intensity of intercommunity relations	-0.342	0.408
Residency permit stability	-0.301	0.419
Financial/material help to families in countries of origin	-0.601	0.717
Socioeconomic situation	-0.268	0.320
Concentration of Sub-Saharan diaspora	-0.762	0.909

Source: Gerstnerova, A. Empirical research, 1<sup>st</sup> September – 15<sup>th</sup> November 2006 (n = 37), 1<sup>st</sup> September – 30<sup>th</sup> November 2007 (n = 31).

“respecting African values” (i.e. original cultural identity background) may be a key prerequisite for a valorisation of immigrant’s experience in the democratization process of their country of origin.

In general terms, the most important prerequisite for a successful integration of Sub-Saharan immigrants into a host society (Prague, Paris, London, and Liege) is a stable residence status. The stable residence status (permanent residence status, acquired citizenship) – despite the fact that it is not a panacea for all problems related to the integration process of migrants – made it easier to Sub-Saharan immigrants to find an appropriate job and to improve their housing conditions. Moreover, the stable residence status of Sub-Saharan immigrants residing in West European countries tends to encourage their personal participation in development programs (related to their countries of origin) and to reinforce their intercommunity cohesion (by setting up ethno-cultural organizations). Although it might be supposed that a successful economic integration of Sub-Saharan migrants goes always against the development of Sub-Saharan intercommunity cohesion, however, in practice both factors could co-exist. In France, Great Britain and Belgium, highly qualified Sub-Saharan respondents, who are well-integrated in the labour market, do not lose their interests in supporting families residing in their countries of origin (in material and financial terms).

Results of factor analyses of the integration process of Sub-Saharan immigrants residing on a long-term basis in the Czech Republic (n = 37) and the West European countries (n = 31) are shown on a radar chart (see Figure 5).

The main purpose of the preceding radar chart<sup>7</sup>, prepared on the basis of the data received from 68 respondents, is to illustrate differences among the integration processes of Sub-Saharan immigrants living in selected West European countries on the one hand and in the Czech Republic on the other hand. Figure 5 shows that the integration process of Sub-Saharan respondents residing in Western Europe differs from the integration process of Sub-Saharan respondents living in the Czech Republic mainly in the lower level of importance of intercommunity solidarity as well as rather weak social ties among immigrants and their countries of origin. On the contrary, Sub-Saharan diaspora residing in Paris, London and Liege shows a great level of intra-community cohesion (see example Figure 6).

### The Role of Municipal Governments in the Process of Integration of Immigrants on Examples of West European Cities

The empirical research conducted with Sub-Saharan respondents in European countries was followed by semi-structured

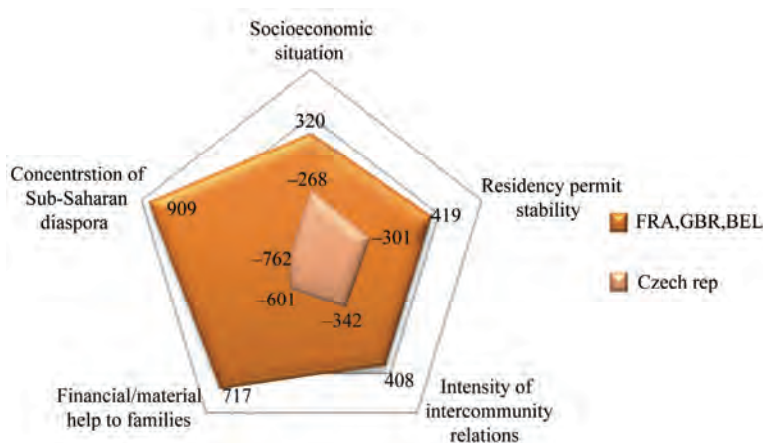


Figure 5. Comparison of the integration process of Sub-Saharan immigrants living in Western European countries (n = 31) and the Czech Republic (n = 37).

<sup>7</sup>The radar chart shows averages of factorial scores with respect to five identified factors on examples of Sub-Saharan respondents living in Western Europe and the Czech Republic. These values were multiplied by 1000 for reasons of their easier illustration. Explanation of abbreviations: FRA = France, GBR = United Kingdom, BEL = Belgium. Source: Gerstnerova, A. Empirical research, 2006 (n = 37), 2007 (n = 31).



Figure 6.  
Community life in the dormitory ADOMA for foreign workers from Africa. Photo: Andrea Gerstnerová; Note: Photos were taken in the 19<sup>th</sup> Parisian arrondissement on 26<sup>th</sup> September 2007.

interviews and workshops realized with representatives of local governments in Paris, London and Liege (see Figure 7). The main purpose of these interviews and workshops was to identify the best integration measures. Information acquired from the semi-structured interviews conducted with employees of local governments was subsequently integrated into ranking tables summarizing integration activities in Paris, London and Liege. Afterwards interviews with members of a target group provided us with a necessary feedback of a real effectiveness of implemented measures from the perspective of their recipients. The choice of indicators evaluating the integration policies of aforementioned cities is based on premises that every local government try to reach the model of “intercultural city” predefined by Israeli researcher Michael Alexander (Alexander, 2007; Wood & Landry, 2007, pp. 296-297). According to Alexander’s opinion, regular evaluation of implemented programs via a number of selected indicators could help to prevent the apparition of negative consequences of “well-meant” integration measures and to record the progress of integration policies through time.

According to Alexander, what should not be forgotten when

establishing local integration strategies is a participation of immigrants themselves in a policy-making process (Wood & Landry, 2007, pp. 296-297). Alexander believes that the integration policy based on a prerequisite “for them without them”<sup>8</sup>, is no longer sustainable, and in principle it is not even effective. Both types of surveys conducted in Paris, London and Liege revealed a clear tendency towards an active integration process of immigrants in which the immigrants have their irrevocable roles.

While shaping the strategy of the intercultural city it is also necessary to take into account the transnational dimension of the phenomenon of international migration. Figure 8 shows the general practices of Sub-Saharan immigrants residing in Paris when reaching family relatives and business partners back in Africa. Nowadays, they prefer to use special tariffs offered by telecommunication companies rather than initially popular call centres run by migrants.

Due to the existence of intensive socioeconomic ties between immigrants residing in host societies and their countries of origin, the members of local governments should now promote not only a common coordinated approach within the European



Figure 7.  
The first multicultural symposium in Brussels’ district Matonge. Photo: Andrea Gerstnerová; Note: Photos were taken in the cultural centre Flagey, municipality Ixelles, on 12<sup>th</sup> May 2007 during the multicultural symposium called “Premier colloque multiculturel sur les enjeux et le dynamisme du quartier Matonge” organised by a nongovernmental organization “Interface culture”.

<sup>8</sup>i.e. conceptualisation and implementation of integration programs without the participation of a specific target group.





Figure 8.  
*Connection with Africa, dormitory ADOMA, 19<sup>th</sup> arrondissement in Paris. Photo: Andrea Gerstnerová; Note: Photos were taken in the 19<sup>th</sup> Parisian arrondissement on 26<sup>th</sup> September 2007.*

Union, but also support transnational networks with countries of origin for a mutual benefit of all participants (Manço, 2008).

Generally speaking, highly qualified sub-Saharan immigrants consider their integration process as successful after the implementation of the following measures:

- 1) First, the host society should seek to fortify a residence status of long-settled immigrants (i.e. immigrants that have been staying in the host society more than 1 year).
- 2) Local integration strategy should promote the implementation of tangible measures (with regards to employment and housing conditions) based on a positive-active approach (i.e. active protection from the discrimination while looking for a job, accommodation, etc.) and not on a passive-negative approach (i.e. implementation of repressive measures such as interdiction to speak their native languages; elimination of ethnic media; rise in taxes on satellite dishes, etc.).
- 3) Local integration strategy should not apply only anti-communitarist policy measures that tend to erase cultural identity of immigrants. Such an approach would sooner or later provoke social unrests.
- 4) Local integration strategies should comprise not only measures for an effective integration of immigrants in the labour market, but also valorise the existence of a cultural diversity in the host society.
- 5) Local integration policies should seek to link the logic of communitarism with a new concept of citizenship. This strategy would enable long-settled immigrants to become involved more extensively in a decision-making process (i.e. participation in local referenda and other important activities of the municipality), while maintaining some aspects of their cultural identity.

Data obtained during empirical surveys (conducted with members of local governments and the target group) were in a later phase of the research enriched by an analysis of press

coverage in France, Great Britain, Belgium as well as Prague.

### Analysis of Press Coverage

The main aim of the analysis of the Czech and foreign press was to evaluate the frequency and emotive colouring of published articles referring to Africa. The idea of the research lied in an assumption that mass media had a fundamental impact on forming individual opinion on different subjects (Kaderka; Karhanová, 2002). The analysis of the Czech press took place in the period from 1<sup>st</sup> August 2006 to 30<sup>th</sup> September 2006 and of the European press in the period from 1<sup>st</sup> September 2007 to 30<sup>th</sup> October 2007.

The selection of the Czech and the European newspapers was based on the following criteria:

- 1) Number of readers (the research took into account widely read newspapers within the given area)
- 2) Level of expertise of published articles (the research took into account newspapers recognised for their scientific analyses); and also
- 3) Affordability for a wide public (the research took into account newspapers offered free of charge).

In the Czech Republic were on a basis of the first criterion selected following newspapers: MF Dnes and Lidové noviny. The second criterion was fulfilled by a weekly paper Týden, and finally, the third criterion was matched by a daily paper 24 hodin offered free of charge to underground passengers. In case of foreign periodicals (i.e. French, British and Belgian), the first criterion was met by following newspapers: Le Figaro (Paris), The Sun (London) and La Meuse (Liege). The second criterion was fulfilled by: Le Monde (French daily paper), The Guardian (British daily paper) and Le Vif (Belgian weekly paper). Finally, the third criterion was matched by Metro that was available for free to passengers in the public transport.

Selected Czech and foreign newspapers were evaluated dur-

ing the two-month period on a basis of two types of analyses: quantitative and qualitative. Quantitative analysis evaluated the frequency and the thematic focus of published articles regarding Africa (*i.e.* identified articles were regrouped according to the subject treated in up to 22 thematic categories<sup>9</sup>), while the qualitative analysis assessed a content of the selected articles according to what image of Africa they are giving (1), whether they tend to enhance xenophobic attitudes within the majority and if so, to what extent (2), and whether they promote intercultural understanding among communities and if so, to what extent (3):

1) *What image of Africa they are presenting*

Point (-1) obtained an article presenting negative image of Africa (*i.e.* articles dealing with poverty, civil and ethnic conflicts or distress of illegal immigrants heading Europe). 1 point obtained an article presenting positive image of Africa (articles dealing with the richness of African culture, its natural beauty, and hospitality of African inhabitants). 2 points obtained an article that enriched the positive aspect of Africa by its further dimension regarding the importance of intercultural dialogue (*i.e.* articles described the atmosphere of various socio-cultural events attended by representatives of the African diaspora and the mainstream society). Finally, when it was not possible to determine whether the article describe Africa in a negative or positive way, it received 0.

2) *Does the article tend to enhance xenophobic attitudes within the majority?*

0 obtained an article, in which it was not possible to clearly determine an eventual effect on the increase of xenophobic attitudes against immigrants within a major society. By contrast, 1 point obtained an article that expressed concerns of the Czech/British/French/Belgian population against immigrants (for example that African immigrants could transmit contagious diseases or could be a threat for nationals on the local labour market).

3) *Does the article promote intercultural understanding among communities?*

0 was awarded to an article dealing with Africa but disregarding the importance of intercultural dialogue among various communities. 1 point obtained an article which indirectly supported the intercultural understanding (for example by quoting experience of African immigrants living in the host society). And the maximum number of points (2 points) received an article that strengthened the importance of intercultural activities between African diaspora and a major society.

Each article of the selected newspaper obtained relevant number of points (on a basis of the analysis of the three aforementioned criteria), which became the basic input for the calculation of the average value for each criterion (with the help of a computer program StatView). Calculation of the average value for each of the selected criterion facilitated the interpretation of the effects of published articles (in selected French, British, Belgian, and Czech newspapers) regarding Africa on readers.

<sup>9</sup>1) Culture, 2) Society, 3) Religion, 4) History, 5) Discoveries, 6) Travelling, 7) Sport, 8) Nature, 9) Economy, 10) Demography, 11) Politics, 12) Development and humanitarian aid, 13) Immigration, 14) Infringement of human rights and democratic values, 15) Armed conflicts, 16) Terrorism, 17) Defamation of African continent, 18) Deceases, 19) Accidents and natural disasters, 20) Discrimination, 21) Global warming, and 22) Delinquency of immigrants in a host society.

## Analysis of the Czech and European Newspapers – Comparison of Research Results

The most of the Africa-related articles (of all examined European newspapers) were published in the Belgian newspaper Metro (Belgian Metro published 146 articles/2 months), then in the French newspaper Le Monde (French Le Monde published 122 articles/2 months) and in the British paper The Guardian (The Guardian published 86 articles/2 months). The Belgian Metro published almost the same number of Africa-related articles as it had been published in the four Czech papers altogether within a period of two months (as a whole four Czech newspapers published 163 Africa-related articles within 2 months). Figure 9 shows the number of published articles about Africa in selected European newspapers over the two months period.

In general, the European newspapers tend to present negative rather than positive image of Africa (this fact was revealed by the analysis of the first criterion, see Table 2). The most negative image of Africa during the two month's press analysis was imposed by French newspapers (see Table 2). Selected French newspapers were primarily discussing a dismal political situation of the former French colonies situated in Sub-Saharan Africa. On the other hand, the most positive image of Africa was provided during the two months period by the Czech newspapers (especially due to a very low number of published articles in comparison with other analysed European newspapers). Mostly discussed Africa-related topic in selected newspapers (MF Dnes, Lidové noviny, Týden, 24 hodin; Le Figaro, Le Monde, Metro France; The Sun, The Guardian, Metro Great Britain; La Meuse, Le Vif, Metro Belgium) was an African immigration to Europe, development issues as well as humanitarian assistance in Africa. French/British/Belgian newspapers – on the contrary to the Czech newspapers – did not hesitate to publish articles on topics that remain taboo in the Czech Republic (*i.e.* articles on global warming and the development of the Sub-Saharan countries). The articles related to global warming were quite frequently discussed in British newspapers while articles referring to the development of the Sub-Saharan countries were mostly discussed in French newspapers. Moreover, West European periodicals dealt more intensively with a socioeconomic discrimination of Sub-Saharan immigrants in a host society than did the Czech newspapers. Such a visibility of the problematic aspects related to the integration process of African communities in West European newspapers was probably provoked by the fact that the number of Sub-Saharan Africans residing in Britain, France and Belgium is much higher than it is the case in the Czech Republic.

Xenophobic sentiments towards Sub-Saharan Africans (this fact was revealed by the analysis of the second criterion, see Table 2) were mainly supported by the British newspaper – The Sun. The Sun, while describing economic or violent crimes, did not hesitate to reveal the whole identity of accused but not yet convicted individuals (in most cases of immigrants of African and Jamaican origin). Analysis of other selected newspapers was from this point of view statistically insignificant (see Table 2). A reader could find only solitary articles that might have had xenophobic effects on members of mainstream society. One of the most outrageous xenophobic statements addressing Sub-Saharan Africans was published by the French newspaper



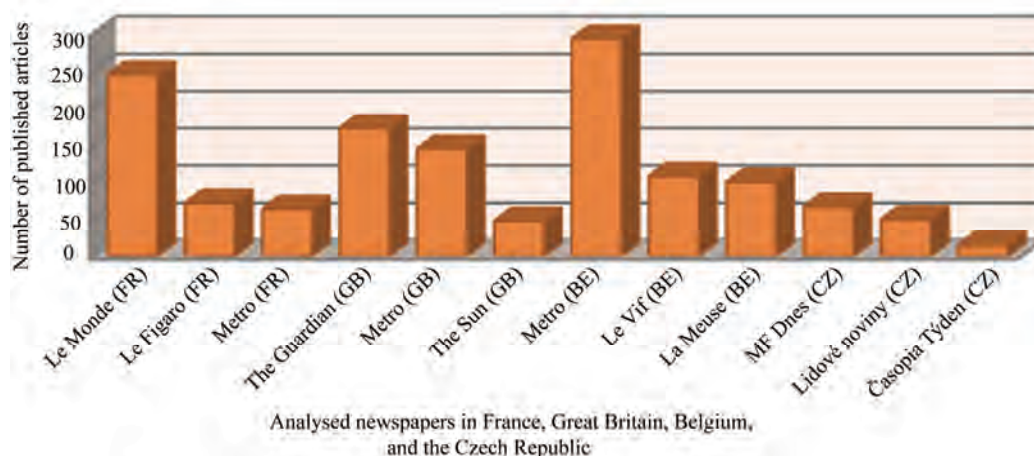


Figure 9.  
Distribution of Africa-related articles published by European newspapers within a period of two months ( $n = 1407$ ). Source: Gerstnerova, A. *Media research 2006-2007*.

Table 2.  
Analysis of the European press on the basis of three criteria ( $n = 1407$ ).

Analysed city	I. Criterion	II. Criterion	III. Criterion
	Image of Africa in European newspapers (on a dotted diagram beginning with -1 to 2)	Increase of xenophobic attitudes within the mainstream society (on a dotted diagram beginning with 0 to 1)	Promotion of intercultural understanding (on a dotted diagram beginning with 0 to 2)
Prague	0.270	0.300	0.310
Liege	-0.290	0.370	0.560
London	-0.360	0.420	0.400
Paris	-0.430	0.130	0.400

Note: Table 2 shows average values of all analysed articles in the Czech Republic, Belgium, Great Britain and France with regards to the three selected criteria. Source: Gerstnerova, A. *Media research 2007-2008*.

Le Monde. It quoted a speech of Nobel Prize holder for medicine – James Watson: “It would be wonderful if we were all equal. Nevertheless, people who have something to do with black employees find this is not true. National social policies stem from the fact that their intelligence is the same as ours - whereas research findings show the opposite.” According to the Senegal newspaper *Le Populaire* distributed in Paris, James Watson obtained by this statement another Nobel Prize, this time for racism.

Intercultural understanding between Sub-Saharan immigrants and members of the major society (this matter was analysed by means of the third criterion, see Table 2) was reinforced mainly by Belgian periodicals – especially due to the fact that Belgian newspapers are subject to a rather strict, but voluntary professional Code of Ethics which seeks to strengthen the positive aspects of intercultural interactions among different communities and minimize the criticism of members of minority groups. And it was the Czech press that happened to be the worst with respect to the third criterion (see Table 2). This meant that the Czech press (out of all selected European newspapers – French, British, and Belgian) published the lowest number of articles that might strengthen intercultural understanding – equally considered as a prerequisite for creation of a socially cohesive multicultural society.

## Conclusions and Recommendations

The integration of immigrants into the host society is not only a question of immigrants themselves who have to take a proactive approach in the process of adaptation to the new environment, but also a question of a mainstream society. Due to the fact, that the situation in each urban area is different, it is not possible to create one all embracing template of an integration strategy of immigrants that would be transferrable from one European country to another. Certain characteristics of a successful integration policy could be, however, identified. Selected instruments of local integration policies should be based on the respect for diversity and non-discrimination. The policies should also meet needs of all parties involved and should be compatible with programs that have already been implemented. Applied integration policies should not remain in any case static because requirements of immigrants and the mainstream society may vary considerably in different stages of the integration process (Jarab, 2007).

However, any integration policy will not bring in automatically an inclusive society in which minorities would not be marginalized. It is also necessary to identify causes of interpersonal inequalities which appear to be the main source of negative prejudices against migrants.

In order to eliminate the identified deficiencies of the Czech newspapers, the Czech Republic should derive some inspiration from the Belgian journalistic Code of Ethics. Possible creation of the Czech code of ethics may urge a greater caution in a selection of themes and forms of expressions while interpreting the events related to Africa and African diaspora long-settled in Europe. In compliance with the Belgian Code of Ethics, the adherence to the Czech future one may be supervised by a professional committee consisting of journalists and experienced professionals. The main task of such a committee would be to process annual reports on selected topics (i.e. their verbal treatment and visual demonstration), and to offer recommendations on possible improvements to the media coverage with the aim to reinforce the sense of social belonging by an increase of objective reporting on minorities.

The truly cohesive society, based on mutual respect and intercultural tolerance, derives from the well-implemented integration strategy as well as promotion of positive aspects of intercultural coexistence that would help to create intercultural cities. Only free of prejudice we will be able to work successfully with members of diverse cultural communities on our common future.

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