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**Illegal Migration and Media Position**

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## **DEDICATION**

We dedicate this dissertation to:

Our parents, brothers and sisters.

Our teachers.

Our wives and children.

Our relatives and friends.

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## ABSTRACT

The present work looks at a crucial international issue that has dominated the world's scene for a long time, the Illegal Migration. It comprises two chapters, the first part examines the different hidden and explicit causes of illegal migration, its consequences and what efforts have been made at different local, national and international levels starting from the departure countries in Africa, through transit countries then, towards the host European ones. It provides some maps and figures that illustrate major migration routes, statistics on people smuggling and numbers about the causes of illegal displacement. The Second chapter discusses the role of the European and African media in covering the crisis. It highlights the various positions of European countries and how media shaped the official European opinions towards this issue. Media plays a significant role in shaping public perception, informing public discourse, and influencing policy debates on migration. However, the way media covers the issue can either contribute to a more nuanced understanding of the complexities of migration or perpetuate stereotypes and misinformation. Undeniably, the most striking thing is how the Western media have dealt with this problem.

The objective of the study was to shed lights on the superficial efforts that were taken by many African and International actors, which have not been fruitful. We also wanted to cover the duplicity of media in dealing with the African illegal migration and how it covered refugees coming from Ukraine as an example. Throughout our research, we tried to describe our findings thoroughly and compare between the views and the news and deduce sad realities ,which were shaping the political sphere and public opinions.

Timothy G. Hammond, Samuel Cogolati, Nele Verlinden and Pierre Schmitt are some researchers within a long list of those who have studied the illegal migration phenomenon from many sides and under different perspectives and objectives.

**Keywords:** illegal migration – biased media- conflicts – displacement- political agendas.



## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

- A.U : African Union
- E.U : The European Union.
- Frontex : (the European Border and Coastguard Agency)
- GDP : Gross Domestic Product.
- I.D.M.C: International Displacement Monitoring Center
- I.D.P : Internally Displaced Person.
- I.O.M : International Organization for Migration.
- I.S.I S : Islamic State in Iraq and Syria
- M.M. C : Mixed Migration Center.
- NGO : Non-Governmental Organization
  
- R.M. P : Regional Migration Program.
  
- U.K : United Kingdom.
  
- U.K.I. P : United Kingdom Independent Party.
  
- U.N.D. P: United Nation Development Program.
  
- U.N.D.E.S. A: United Nation Department of Economic and Social Affairs.
  
- U.N.H.C. R : United Nation High Commissioner for Refugees.
  
- U.N.O. : United Nations Organization.
  
- .-U.N.O.D.C : United Nation Office on Drugs and Crime.
  
- I.M. F : The International Monetary Fund
  
- F.A.T. F : Financial Action Task Force

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## INTRODUCTION

Illegal sub-Saharan migration in North Africa is a complex issue with many factors involved. Sub-Saharan migrants, mainly from West Africa, travel through North Africa in hopes of reaching Europe, where they hope to find better economic opportunities and living conditions. However, many of these migrants are subjected to exploitation, violence, and abuse during their journey.

North African countries, including Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria, and Libya, serve as transit points for these migrants. The journey is often dangerous and difficult, with migrants facing numerous obstacles such as harsh terrain, smugglers, and border controls. Additionally, many of these migrants are undocumented and lack the necessary documentation to cross borders legally.

### **Statement of the problem:**

The problem of illegal migration has been exacerbated by the lack of legal channels for migration to Europe, leaving many migrants with no other option but to undertake the perilous journey. Some North African countries have attempted to address the issue by cracking down on human trafficking and smuggling networks, as well as providing aid and assistance to migrants. European countries and African nations have been pointing fingers at each other, each claiming that the other is responsible for the rise in illegal migration. The situation has become increasingly tense, with both sides refusing to take responsibility for the issue. While European countries argue that African nations should do more to prevent their citizens from leaving, African countries accuse Europe of creating the conditions that force people to flee their homes.

Additionally, the use of mass media in propaganda and persuasion by many political actors and trends has outweighed other stabilizing cultural influences, such as family and community or any other related issues, led to what is known as the Direct Effects Model of media.

This model assumed that audiences passively accepted media messages and would exhibit predictable reactions in response to those messages. This is what hypnotized the audience be it the ordinary or the intellectual ones at all levels of society.

### **Significance of the Study:**

In this context, we explore the complex and often emotional debate surrounding illegal migration and examine the root causes of this global phenomenon, its positive and negative effects , also the possible solutions and potential efforts of the different direct and indirect actors of this issue . Overall, illegal sub-Saharan migration in North Africa is a complex issue that requires a comprehensive approach involving cooperation between North African countries, Europe, and international organizations. This includes addressing the root causes of migration such as poverty, conflicts, and lack of economic opportunities in sub-Saharan Africa, as well as providing legal channels for migration and protecting the human rights of migrants.

### **Aims and Objectives:**

The objective of the study was to shed lights on the superficial efforts that were taken by many Africa and International actors, and which have not been fruitful. We also wanted to cover the duplicity of media in dealing with the African illegal migration and how it covered refugees coming from Ukraine as an example. We wanted to highlight how media was politically biased and unprofessional.

## **Literature Review:**

Many researchers and scholars have attempted to study the Illegal Migration crisis from many perspectives, Samuel Cogolati, Nele Verlinden and Pierre Schmitt,( Migrants in the Mediterranean: Protecting human rights 2015) have tackled the problem from a humanistic point of view ,they stated in their research that the European Union has adopted a series of measures seeking to improve the protection of migrants trying to reach the borders of the EU by sea and to share responsibility among countries involved by increasing cooperation with transit countries.

Another incredible comment published in the Foreign Policy Journal, 2015, by Timothy G. Hammond who believes that the Mediterranean Sea has witnessed many consequences that arise when diverse empires, ethnicities, religions, and cultures interact. Historically, such interactions have at times led to conflict and warfare and at other times they have led to the sharing of ideas and technologies that progressed human kind forward, may be the writer here is referring to the Islamic conquests to southern Europe and the golden age that arose in this geographic area under the rule of the Muslim caliphs ; showing the positive roles of Muslim – migrant- conquests.

Among the researchers who have attempted to investigate the negative role of some European and north African governments was Omar Naji ,the vice-president of the AMDH, the Moroccan Association for Human Rights, when he witnessed a calamity that occurred in Melilia at the Spain- Morocco borders ,where migrants were left on the ground, injured, bleeding, for hours in the sun, without the necessary relief from the Moroccan or Spanish authorities. Omar Naji ( AMDH 2022), and this massacre is not weird, especially when we read official declaration from the Spanish government , when its prime minister says: “If there is one responsible for everything that has happened at the border, it is the mafia that is engaged in human trafficking”. Pedro Sánchez, Prime Minister of Spain.

In our work, we attempted rather on highlighting more on the role of media coverage to this crisis and how official governments and the political classes have shaped up public opinions , also how political agendas influenced the different private and public media channels which have portrayed illegal migrants.

### **Research Questions:**

The migration phenomenon is not a new issue, many researchers have dug deeper in this hot-debated topic, discussing its real causes that lie behind the scene; as well as its devastating effects on political, social, economic and cultural aspects of the exporting, transit and host countries.

This international problem has lasted for decades, with no real and effective solutions, and this will drive us to ask these questions:

What are the underlying factors that drive individuals to engage in illegal migration, and how can these factors be addressed to reduce the occurrence of this dilemma?

### **Research Methodology:**

Accordingly, a thorough understanding and depiction of this topic will lead us to identify the problems and set out possible solutions that can be achieved through mid to long term initiatives.

We used a descriptive approach as we thought is an important tool in describing and unveiling some truths about the phenomenon of illegal migration ; we also used comparison to see differences and similarities concerning the media coverage of the crisis .Besides,we aimed to compare between the views and the news and deduce sad realities ,which were shaping the political sphere and public opinions.

We combed different sources and resources, be it books, website resources or articles as a primary source as the research paper: “Shifting Borders Africa’s Displacement Crisis ad its Security Implications”, a project report entitled : The European “Migration Crisis and the Media Across European Press Content Analysis”.

Among the secondary sources that we based our work on were: A paper on “Media Effects on Attitudes Towards Migration and Mobility in the EU; where we explored some of the theories which have governed many media reporting. And the article “Assessing the Relative Contribution of Economic, Political and Environmental Factors on Past Conflicts and the Displacement of People in East Africa.” Also, a research paper: “Migration and Security in the Eastern Mediterranean”, and other facts and news collected from You tube documentaries.

Therefore, description and comparison were key tools in assessing out work and forming out conclusions.

In order to shed light on this persisting problem, we have attempted to unveil some mysteries and have divided this work is into two chapters, the first chapter covers up the causes and consequences of illegal migration and the different efforts conducted at the regional, national or international levels, and the second chapter discusses how did media cover this issues.

## **CHAPTER I**

### **INTRODUCTION**

This chapter consists of three parts. They are causes, consequences of illegal migration and the different national, regional and international efforts done to address this issue.

#### **I-Causes of Illegal Migration**

There are various factors that contribute to the illegal sub-Saharan migration:

##### **1. Poverty and Lack of Opportunities**

Many sub-Saharan countries suffer from high levels of poverty, unemployment, and lack of economic opportunities, which drive people to seek better economic prospects in other countries.

Illegal migration due to poverty and lack of opportunity happens when individuals migrate to another country in search of better economic opportunities. Poverty and lack of opportunity can result from a variety of factors such as unemployment, low wages, poor working conditions, lack of access to education and healthcare, and political instability.

Illegal migration can be risky and dangerous, as individuals may be subject to exploitation, abuse, and other forms of harm. However, many individuals feel that they have no other choice but to migrate illegally in order to improve their economic situation and provide for themselves and their families. Additionally, governments must work to establish fair and accessible immigration policies.

## **2. Conflicts and Political Instability**

Political instability, armed conflicts including religious clashes, and persecution in some sub-Saharan countries force people to flee their homes in search of safety and a better life elsewhere. There are 13 African countries facing major armed conflict, and they account for almost 90 percent of the 25 million people displaced by conflict and persecution on the continent. In recent years, Africa has hosted more than a third of the world's conflicts and around 35 percent of all persons displaced as a result. In some cases, it is a combination of the two. Rather than dissipating over time, long unresolved conflicts produce repeated waves of displacement.

## **3. Environmental Factors:**

Africa is one of the most vulnerable continents to the impacts of climate change. Environmental factors such as drought, famine, declining soil fertility and natural disasters caused by changing global climate patterns and land pressures can also contribute to illegal migration and amplify population dislocation as people seek better living conditions.

The above factors are key elements that affect directly the flow of people. They forcedly displace them to other regions which may lead to regional or cross border migration. Yearly, thousands of people flee hostile and rigid habitat and environmental circumstances.

Some of these natural disasters are expected to get worse and last longer. Weather extremes will not just repeatedly displace people in flood zones, but rising ocean levels will also make parts of the coast lines—where some of Africa's largest cities are located—permanently uninhabitable. Rising temperatures and longer droughts will affect not just water availability but also individual livelihoods and national economies.

The World Bank predicts that, without concrete climate and development action, by 2050 more than 85 million sub-Saharan Africans could be forced to leave their own homes to escape these impacts.

The effects on climate-sensitive activities like agriculture and fishing will translate into substantial losses in food production. Food insecurity related to degraded land for agriculture, shrinking pasture for livestock, and diminishing reserves of water, firewood, and other natural resources, will further contribute to displacement and permanent resettlement.

#### **4. Corruption and Weak Governance:**

Corruption, weak governance, and lack of rule of law in many sub-Saharan countries make it difficult for people to access basic services and opportunities, pushing them to migrate illegally.

The dictatorial regimes in place, which are powered and supported by western agendas and the so called democracies, nourish the spread of poor governance, chaos, and instability. Corrupt officials and polling systems create unfair political environment and strengthen the extension of corruption in all spheres. All these lead to mass migration of all constituents of the society. African migration to Europe is commonly seen as a tidal wave of desperate people fleeing poverty and warfare at home trying to enter the elusive European El Dorado. (Owain, E. L., & Maslin, M. A. (2018).

Indeed, increased corruption correlates directly with an increase in the levels of migration from a country. In particular, it plays a major role in driving highly-educated people away.

A number of recent studies have looked at the direct links between corruption and migration and whether differing levels of corruption actually affect levels of migration. These studies find a correlation between higher levels of corruption and increased motivation for migration.

Moreover, some studies find that corruption can play a direct role as an incentive for migration out of corrupt countries and into countries with lower levels of corruption (Poprawe 2015; Cooray & Schneider 2014).

Additionally, corruption has direct consequences on economic growth and on governance, which are both key to providing economic opportunities for citizens (Chetwynd, Chetwynd & Spector 2003).

Furthermore, corruption has been clearly linked to reducing security for citizens, and has been shown to exacerbate and prolong conflict and instability (O'Donnell 2006). Corruption undermines the legitimacy of state institutions, while at the same time weakening peace-building efforts (World Bank 2011).

#### **5. Family Reunification:**

Many migrants also migrate illegally to reunite with family members who have already migrated to other countries. This factor occurs when individuals migrate to a foreign country without the necessary legal documentation in order to reunite with family members who are already living there. This is often a result of restrictive immigration policies that make it difficult for families to reunite through legal channels.

Family reunification is a recognized human right, and many people feel compelled to migrate illegally because they are unable to obtain the necessary visas or permits to join their loved ones.

It's important for governments to establish fair and accessible family reunification policies that prioritize the well-being of families and protect the rights of migrants.

This can help reduce the need for illegal migration and ensure that families can be reunited in a safe and legal manner.

#### **6. Smuggling and Trafficking Networks:**

The existence of smuggling and trafficking networks that facilitate illegal migration by charging high fees for their services also contribute to the problem.

It is worth noting that these factors often interact with each other and are not mutually exclusive.

Needless to say that the smuggling of people business has prospered and that economic migrants who attempt to transit the Sahel-Saharan belt to the Mediterranean or from the horn of Africa to the Gulf States or South Africa face other security threats.

Unable to access safe, legal channels of travel, they are forced to take “irregular” paths that do not afford protection and cost up to \$5,000 per person. This demand for alternate means of passage has created a lucrative market in human smuggling in Africa loosely estimated at between \$550 million and \$1 billion.

**Human smuggling is causing a transfer of resources from vulnerable individuals to transnational criminal networks, militias, militant organizations, and terrorist groups. How should we morally assess those who make a business out of helping migrants reach their desired destination and those who pay smugglers to reach their destination?**

(Eamon Aloyo Eugenio Cusumano 2021).

In addition to individual entrepreneurs capitalizing on an opportunity to earn a living, a variety of transnational criminal networks emerged or adapted to fill this illicit market demand.

The lost human and economic potential is staggering. Estimates suggest that 20 percent of children in countries affected by conflict do not attend primary school—more than double the 8.9 percent global average. This risks perpetuating the human costs and security implications of displacement for a generation.

In sum, the surge in African displacement and irregular migration is multilayered and incurs significant human and security costs. Left unaddressed, the upward trend is not likely to end any time soon. Treating the symptoms of the crisis (funding refugee camps, securitizing border crossings, restricting policies for refugees, or increased security patrols on the Mediterranean) will not mitigate the causes behind this phenomenon.

If the African displacement crisis is to be reversed, it will be necessary to tackle the real drivers of the displacement in the first place.

**Statistics:** These statistics highlight and give some details about the causes of illegal migration mentioned above. The available data collected on all refugees, asylum seekers, conflict IDPs, and non-forcibly displaced migrants used in this report come from the United Nation’s High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre .

(IDMC), the Mixed Migration Centre (formerly the Regional Mixed Migration Secretariat (RMMS)), the International Organization for Migration (IOM), the European Border and Coast Guard Agency (Frontex), and the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs’ (UNDESA) Population Division.

Table 1. Forced Displacement Linked to Autocracy			
Country of Origin	Political Regime*	Term Limits Upheld?	Total Forcibly Displaced
South Sudan	Autocracy	No	4,151,728
DRC	Autocracy	No	3,937,043
Somalia	Semi-Authoritarian	No	3,514,080
Sudan	Autocracy	No	2,864,228
Ethiopia	Semi-Authoritarian	No	2,362,517
Nigeria	Democratizer	Yes	2,272,661
CAR	Semi-Authoritarian	No	1,235,373
Cameroon	Autocracy	No	847,196
Eritrea	Autocracy	No	585,874
Burundi	Autocracy	No	429,261
<b>Total</b>			<b>22,199,961</b>

Data sources: UNCHR, IDMC (Wendy Williams October 2019)

Leaders in all nine of these governments have avoided term limits by either changing their constitutions or otherwise not adhering to these limits, allowing them to remain in power.

The average tenure of African leaders without term limits is 18 years. This compares to just 4 years for countries with term limits. Countries lacking term limits in Africa also tend to be more unstable with a third of these countries experiencing major conflict.

A restrictive political environment is thus both a direct driver of forced displacement as well an indirect driver through the conflict that results.

Eritrea provides a good example of the direct links between authoritarian governance and displacement. Its citizens have long fled the brutal conditions in the country—the number of Eritreans who have crossed the Mediterranean to Europe since 2009 is upwards of 120,000 (out of a population of 6 million). There is no free press or political sphere for citizens to voice grievances.

A 2016 UN Commission of Inquiry report linked the mass displacement of Eritreans to the country's "gross human rights violations."

## **7.Economic Migrants :**

While the majority of dislocated Africans are forcibly displaced, economic factors are a key contributor to the flow of Africans trying to enter Europe, the Arabian Peninsula, and South Africa. This has created highly potent political dynamics in these countries of destination. Yet, it is important to recognize that the majority of Africa's economic migrants stay in Africa. An estimated 12.1 million economic African migrants live in a non-native African country.

This number does not include the numerous African migrants who relocate to neighboring countries for seasonal or other short-term labor (otherwise known as circular migration). In total, roughly 80 percent of Africa's economic migrants stay in Africa.

Interviews of individuals in transit along Africa's migratory routes show that economic migrants, by and large, come from countries that are not uniformly the poorest of the poor nor embroiled in intense, countrywide conflict. Rather, they are often responding to a combination of socioeconomic deprivations at home, a lack of governmental services for citizens, and perceived greater employment opportunities abroad.

Many young Africans make the decision to leave because they do not see a viable future for themselves in their home countries.

The existence of transnational family and community-support networks abroad can make the decision to emigrate, and to emigrate further afield, easier. Nonetheless, many economic migrants embark on their trek even without such family ties.

Along the Mediterranean routes, many have been willing to spend months to years working on a "pay as you go" system toward their destination. For many African migrants then, even the knowledge that the journey will be dangerous has not been a deterrent.

**Figure 1: Major Routes of Migration in Africa**



Sources: UNHCR, IOM, MMC

**Table 2**

**Ten African countries with the largest forced displacement are also some of the fastest growing**

Country of Origin	Total Forcibly Displaced	Population	Growth Rate (%)	Estimated 2050 Population
South Sudan	4,151,728	12,919,053	96	25,366,221
DRC	3,937,043	84,004,989	135	197,404,202
Somalia	3,514,080	15,181,925	136	35,851,792
Sudan	2,864,228	41,511,526	94	80,385,607
Ethiopia	2,362,517	107,534,882	77	190,869,632
Nigeria	2,272,661	195,875,237	110	410,637,868
CAR	1,235,373	4,737,423	87	8,850,780
Cameroon	847,196	24,678,234	102	49,817,390
Eritrea	585,874	5,187,948	85	9,606,664
Burundi	429,261	11,216,450	130	25,762,044

*Data sources: UNHCR, IDMC, UNDESA*

## **II- Consequences**

### **1-The Illegal Sub-Saharan Migration to North Africa and Europe Consequences**

Sub-Saharan illegal migration to North Africa and Europe has had a series of consequences, both positive and negative. These significant consequences have impacted on both the migrants and the countries they are trying to reach.

Here are some of the outcomes:

## **A-Negative Consequences:**

### **1. Human Trafficking, Exploitation and the Bolstering of Criminal Networks:**

Illegal migration routes are often controlled by criminal organizations involved in human trafficking. Many sub-Saharan migrants are vulnerable to trafficking and exploitation, subjecting them to violence and sexual abuse, as they often have limited resources and lack legal status. Traffickers may force them into labor, or hold them for ransom.

Furthermore, people traveling without proper documentation understand the threat of being deported by the authorities and therefore are less likely to seek assistance when in trouble. This opens the door to mistreatment—be it in the form of corrupt authorities demanding a bribe under threat of arrest or duplicitous human smugglers. Many of the passages that go through the Maghreb-Sahel region, for example, are pre-existing smuggling routes for arms and contraband—popular, precisely because they have little effective state oversight.

Having so much money floating along these routes attracts not just criminal elements but those who rely on the threat of violence to take control of a particular route, trade, or local community (see Figure 1). This has direct consequences for security in the affected country and region.

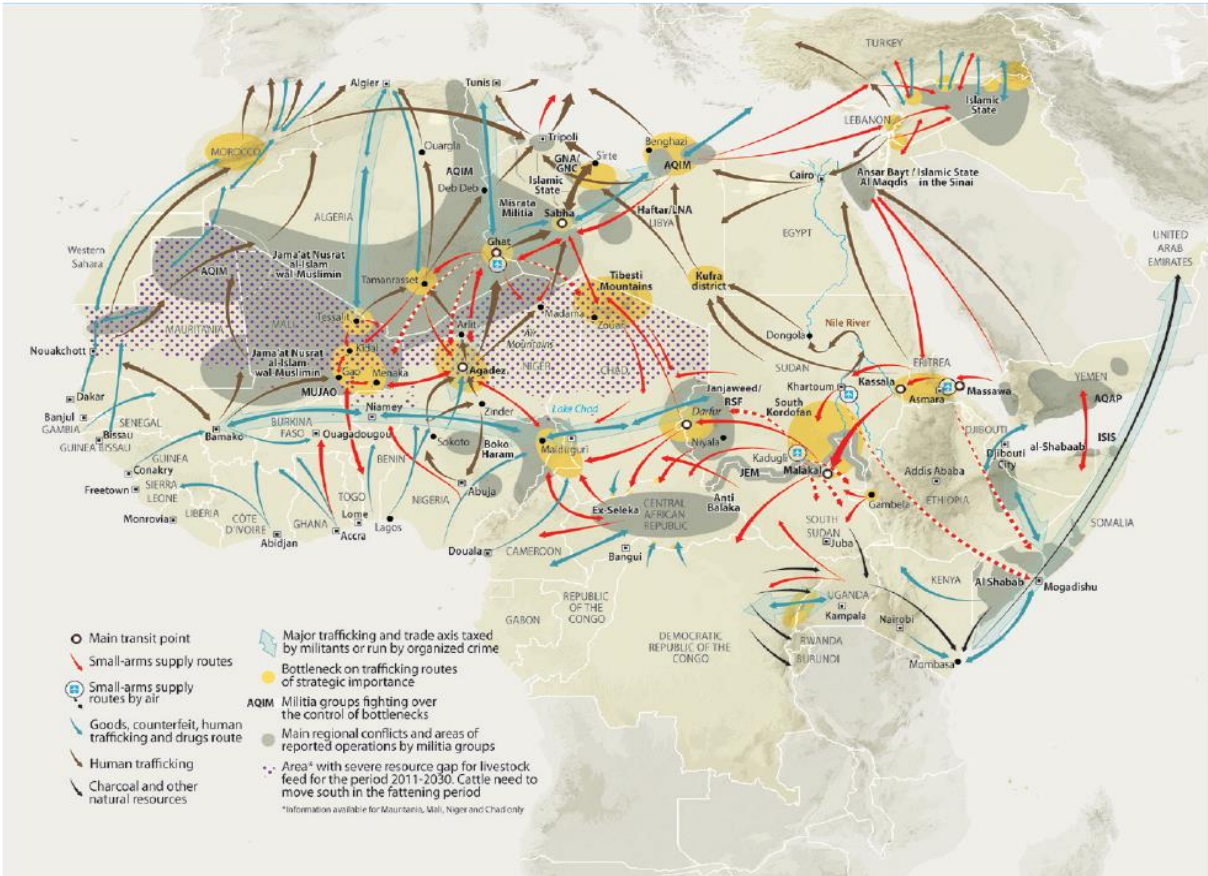
While the amount of illicit income generated from migration to Europe is inherently difficult to determine, estimates are that human smuggling along the Trans-Sahara route including Libya, alone, is worth up to \$765 million annually.

A significant share of these resources is making its way into the hands of criminals, insurgents, and violent extremist groups who operate in a region that includes Algeria, Libya, Chad, Sudan, Mali, Burkina Faso, and Niger.

For example, the resources of persons travelling irregularly to the Libyan coast are enriching the many Libyan tribal militias and local officials who have been implicated in the warehousing and exploitation of migrants for labor.

The annual revenue from the Libyan migrant market to all armed groups between 2016 and 2018 was estimated at between \$93 million to \$244 million. One Libyan militia commander sanctioned by the United Nations was the leader of a transnational trafficking network working directly with terror groups, including a longstanding relationship with the Islamic State (ISIS). ISIS, in turn, has a well-documented record of human smuggling and trafficking, abuse, exploitation, and murder of sub-Saharan Africans in Libya.

**Figure 2 Trans-Sahara Smuggling, Trafficking Routes and Militant-Controlled Areas**



Source: RHIPTO/Riccardo Pravettoni

## **2. Death and Injuries:**

The journey is perilous and often leads to loss of life or severe wounds. Many migrants pass away while attempting to cross the Mediterranean or Sahara desert.

## **3. Strain on Resources:**

The influx of migrants triggers pressure on resources such as food, water, and housing in the host countries, leading to resentment from the local population.

## **4. Social Tensions:**

The arrival of migrants, many of whom are from different cultures and religions, can cause social tensions and conflicts with the host communities.

## **5. Humanitarian crisis:**

Many sub-Saharan migrants are forced to make dangerous journeys across the Sahara and the Mediterranean Sea, which often leads to deaths from dehydration, starvation, and drowning. Those who do make it to their destination often face inhumane conditions in detention centers or camps.

## **6. The Human Costs of Displacement and Economic Impacts:**

Illegal migration can also have a negative impact on the economies of the host countries. Migrants often work for low wages in the informal economy, which can drive down wages for locals and results in a strain on public services.

Under threat from conflict, people flee with little to nothing of their possessions. Among the displaced are merchants and traders, their displacement severing the ties that connect these communities with regional markets, accelerating economic decline and inhibiting recovery. After conflict, investment tends to dry up for years and sometimes decades. A single year of civil war is estimated to reduce a country's economic growth by about 2 percent and its neighbors' by about 0.7 percent of their GDP. (Gross Domestic Product).

The vast majority of people escaping conflict, importantly, stay within their countries (IDPs). (Internally Displaced Person) Of those who leave their country (refugees), most flee to the nearest accessible border and stop their flight there. IDPs, refugees, and hosting authorities often anticipate that the displacement will only be temporary. However, failing the timely resolution of the political crisis that has caused the displacement, IDP and refugee populations tend to persist. The average duration of exile for refugees globally today stands at 10.3 years. For IDPs it can be as long as two decades.

7. **Political tensions:**

The flood of migrants can also lead to political tensions, as some citizens may view the migrants as an intimidation to their jobs, culture, or security. This can lead to the rise of anti-immigrant sentiments and political movements.

8. **Legal complications:**

Illegal migration also presents legal challenges for the countries involved. Governments must decide how to handle migrants who arrive without documentation or visas, and how to address the issues of asylum and refugee status.

**B-Positive Consequences:**

1. **Economic Contribution:**

Migrants often contribute positively to the economy of the host countries through many ways such as: labor, skills, and entrepreneurship.

2. **Cultural Exchange:**

Migration can pave the way to cultural exchange and enrichment, providing opportunities for intercultural dialogue and understanding.

### 3. **Humanitarian Responsibility:**

Host countries have a moral and legal obligation to provide protection and assistance to migrants, especially those fleeing conflicts and persecution.

To conclude, the outcomes of illegal sub-Saharan migration are complex and varied, highlighting the need for comprehensive policies that address the root causes of migration, provide safe and legal pathways for migration, and protect the rights of migrants.

#### **-Important Statistics to Remember**

Below are some statistics on the problem which can vary depending on the source and the time period analyzed. However, some statistics provide a general picture of the issue:

1. According to The International Organization for Migration (IOM), over 1700 migrants arrived in Europe by sea from North Africa in the first three months of 2021, and more than 500 people died attempting the journey.
2. The IOM estimates that around 10,000 migrants have died or gone missing in the Mediterranean since 2014.
3. According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), there were around 3.7 million refugees and asylum-seekers in sub-Saharan Africa in 2020, many of whom are displaced due to conflict, persecution, or human rights abuses.
4. The UNHCR also reports that over 1.3 million refugees and migrants arrived in Europe via the Mediterranean between 2015 and 2018, with the majority coming from sub-Saharan Africa.
5. The European Union (EU) has implemented various policies and programs to address illegal migration, including border control measures, cooperation with North African countries, and resettlement programs. However, the issue remains a major challenge for the EU and its member states.

All in all, illegal sub-Saharan migration to North Africa and Europe continues to be a complex and pressing issue, with significant human and economic costs for both the migrants themselves and the countries involved.

### **3-Insufficient Solutions:**

#### **3-1 The African Union: A History of Good Intentions but Inconsistent Implementation**

Since the wave of independence in the 1960s, the Organization of African Unity (OAU), now the AU, has envisaged the free movement of persons as essential to continental socioeconomic integration. However, the majority of AU member states have been slow to take concrete actions to make such integration a reality.

In 1991, the OAU passed the Treaty Establishing the African Economic Community, commonly known as the Abuja Treaty, which set up the framework for a continent-wide economic community including the free movement of persons. In 2006, in recognition that “well-managed migration may have a substantial positive impact for the development of countries of origin and yield significant benefits to destination States, [while] mismanaged or unmanaged migration can have serious negative consequences for States’ and migrants’ welfare, including potential destabilizing effect on national and regional security” .

#### **Current Strategies Are Insufficient**

For many African governments of migrant origin countries, the outflow of mostly young and able-bodied men who comprise the majority of economic migrants may appear to provide a release valve for potential political crises due to unemployment, urban overcrowding, and other socioeconomic concerns. Plus, those migrants who successfully find employment in another country send money home. World Bank data reveal that migrant remittances can be an important part of a country’s GDP.

However, as noted earlier, displacement contributes to a host of unforeseen security concerns, including for the country of origin. Moreover, certain countries are experiencing reoccurring waves of forced displacement due to ongoing conflict. In effect, those unresolved political crises are being externalized to their neighbors. These neighbors and international actors have used various methods to respond to the large influxes of vulnerable populations crossing their borders with mixed effect.

### **3-2-The United Nations Efforts in Dealing with Illegal Migration in North Africa**

Illegal migration is a multifaceted issue that requires a comprehensive approach involving a range of stakeholders, including governments, civil society, and international organizations such as the United Nations (UN). In North Africa, the UN has been working to address the root causes of illegal migration, as well as to improve the protection and assistance of migrants.

One of the main initiatives of the UN in North Africa is the Regional Migration Program (RMP), which is a joint program of the International Organization for Migration (IOM) and the UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC). The RMP aims to promote safe, orderly, and regular migration in the region, as well as to combat human trafficking and migrant smuggling.

The RMP focuses on four main areas: improving migration governance, enhancing protection and assistance for migrants, combating human trafficking and migrant smuggling, and promoting regional cooperation on migration. Some of the specific activities of the RMP include capacity-building for government officials, training for law enforcement officials on combating human trafficking and migrant smuggling, and providing direct assistance to migrants, including shelter, medical care, and legal aid.

In addition to the RMP, the UN has also been working to address the root causes of illegal migration in North Africa, such as poverty, conflict, and lack of economic opportunities.

For example, the UN Development Program (UNDP) has been working to promote economic growth and job creation in the region, while the UN Refugee Agency (UNHCR) has been providing assistance to refugees and other vulnerable populations.

To sum up , the UN's efforts in dealing with illegal migration in North Africa involve a range of initiatives aimed at addressing the root causes of migration, improving protection and assistance for migrants, and combating human trafficking and migrant smuggling.

### **3-3 International Efforts in Dealing with Illegal Migration in North Africa**

Illegal migration is an intricate issue that affects many regions of the world, including North Africa. Over the years, there have been various international efforts aimed at dealing with this problem in North Africa. Some of these efforts include:

The European Union's (EU) cooperation with North African countries: The EU has been working closely with North African countries such as Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia to combat illegal migration. This cooperation has included providing financial and technical assistance to these countries to improve their border security, and to better manage migration flows.

#### **The Establishment of Frontex:**

Frontex is the EU's border control agency, which was established to coordinate and strengthen the management of the EU's external borders. The agency works closely with member states, as well as with non-EU countries such as those in North Africa, to prevent illegal migration.

## **4-Agreements and Compacts**

### **a-The Global Compact for Safe, Orderly, and Regular Migration:**

This is a non-binding agreement that was adopted by the United Nations in 2018. The compact aims to improve international cooperation on migration issues, and to promote safe and orderly migration. North African countries such as Morocco and Tunisia have signed on to the compact.

### **b-The International Organization for Migration (IOM):**

The IOM is a United Nations agency that works to promote safe and orderly migration. The agency has been working in North Africa to provide assistance to migrants, as well as to support efforts to prevent illegal migration.

### **c-Bilateral Agreements:**

Some countries have entered into bilateral agreements aimed at preventing illegal migration. For example, Italy has signed agreements with countries such as Libya and Tunisia to cooperate on border control and migration issues.

To recap, while all these regional and international efforts have had some success in reducing illegal migration, the problem remains a significant challenge in North Africa. More needs to be done to address the root causes of illegal migration, such as poverty, political instability, and conflicts. Additionally, efforts to prevent illegal migration must also take into account the human rights of migrants, and ensure that they are treated with dignity and respect.

## **Chapter II      Media position to Illegal Migration**

### **Introduction:**

The arrival of almost a million refugees and migrants to Europe in 2015 became a top media topic and a controversial issue in the continent's public debates. In fact, the European media played a critical role in framing the issue and in evaluating the causes and consequences of "the migration crisis".

We can clearly notice the great influence of many media theories on the way the European media companies have covered this problem, and how this later have shaped up people's mind in Europe and world widely. Among these theories, we can detect the Agenda-Setting Theory which states that mass media determine the issues that concern the public rather than the public's views. (Dearing, James and Everett Rogers, 1996), Under this theory, the issues that receive the most attention from media become the issues that the public discusses, debates, and demands action on and this is what exactly happened in covering the illegal migration topic. This means that the media is determining what issues and stories the public thinks about. Therefore, when the media fails to address a particular issue, it becomes marginalized in the minds of the public (Hanson and Ralph 2009).

Another media theory that influenced the portraying of illegal migration is the Spiral of Silence, which states that those who hold a minority opinion silence themselves to prevent social isolation, it explains the role of mass media in the formation and maintenance of dominant opinions.( Papacharissi 2016) .As minority opinions are silenced, so illegal migrants were those who were spoken about and spoken for , they were not the speakers of themselves, the last but not least theory employed in analyzing the crisis is the Cultivation Analysis theory that states that the heavy exposure to media causes individuals to develop an illusory perception of reality based on the most repetitive and consistent messages of a particular medium.

This is what occurred to the European audience mainly and to the international community where under this theory, who watches a great deal of television form a picture of reality that does not correspond to actual life. And this was completely untrue to what it was happening in reality. The European press systematically framed refugee and migrant arrivals to European shores as a “crisis for Europe”. While press coverage of “the crisis” is characterized by significant diversity, the “crisis” argument relied on a view of the newcomers as Others: as vulnerable Others or as dangerous Others.

The early months of 2015 saw no respite. In April alone more than 1,300 people drowned. This led to a large public outcry to increase rescue operations. Throughout this period, UNHCR and other humanitarian organizations, engaged in a series of large scale media advocacy exercises, aiming at convincing European countries to do more to help. It was a crucial work, setting the tone for the dramatic rise in attention to the refugee crisis that followed in the second half of 2015. But the media was far from united in its response. While some outlets joined the call for more assistance, others were unsympathetic, arguing against increasing rescue operations. To learn why, UNHCR commissioned a report by the Cardiff School of Journalism to explore what was driving media coverage in five different European countries: Spain, Italy, Germany, the UK and Sweden.

Researchers combed through thousands of articles written in 2014 and early 2015, revealing a number of important findings for future media advocacy campaigns. Most importantly, they found major differences between countries, in terms of the sources journalists used (domestic politicians, foreign politicians, citizens, or NGOs), the language they employed, the reasons they gave for the rise in refugee flows, and the solutions they suggested. Germany and Sweden, for example, overwhelmingly used the terms ‘refugee’ or ‘asylum seeker’, while Italy and the UK press preferred the word ‘migrant’. In Spain, the dominant term was ‘immigrant’. These terms had an important impact on the tenor of each country’s debate.

However, it is impossible to ignore the role of the mass media in influencing public and elite political attitudes towards asylum and migration. The mass media can set agendas and frame debates. They provide the information which citizens use to make sense of the world and their place within it.

Research in many countries has found that refugees and migrants have tended to be framed negatively as a problem, rather than a benefit to host societies as it is mentioned below:

## **I-The Migration Crisis in the European Countries:**

### **Official and Independent Media Reporting**

#### **1.The Wide Variations in Asylum and Immigration Reports in European Press.**

Sweden was the country where the press was most supportive of refugees and immigrants. Far-right Swedish Democrats were well-represented, NGO funding was low, but mostly humanitarian, refugees and migrants were rarely portrayed as threats, and more liberal and humanitarian asylum laws in the EU had strong support. immigration policy. By contrast, coverage in the UK was the most negative. Despite the existence of newspapers such as the Guardian and the Daily Mirror, both of which are sympathetic to refugees, the UK's right-wing media has expressed a peculiar hostility towards refugees and migrants. While newspapers everywhere advertised anti-refugee and anti-immigrant ideas, the UK's centre-right news outlets found that this segment was actively campaigning against refugees and immigrants. ( Mike Berry, Inaki Garcia-Blanco, Kerry Moore,2015).

## 2. Significant Variation Level Differences Among National Press Systems

In other words, in some countries, the media, whether on the left or right of the center, reported on asylum and immigration in much the same way, while in others they reported very differently. The most homogeneous press systems came from Spain, Italy and Sweden. Newspapers in these countries tended to use the same language, cover the same subjects, and publish the same explanations and answers.

In addition, although there were some differences due to differences in editorial policies and target readers, there was generally a tendency for differences between the two countries to be greater than those within Japan. For example, the content of El Pais was more reminiscent of ABC than other Italian or Swedish newspapers, even though one newspaper was left of center and the other right of center. The German press showed great differences, especially between the Die Welt and Süddeutsche Zeitung reports. But again, the British press was the clear outlier, with the most biased reporting. ( Mike Berry, Inaki Garcia-Blanco, Kerry Moore,2015).

Newspapers in continental Europe agreed that the crisis should be solved collectively, at the EU level, rather than by individual member states. Coverage frequently highlighted the national divisions within the EU and the different approaches to the crisis. As a result, the institution was often presented as slow, bureaucratic and divided. In Italy it was seen as unwilling to share the burden for search and rescue operations, and the reception of refugees and migrants. In Germany and Sweden, there was extensive criticism over the unwillingness of EU states to share the burden of refugee settlement. In Sweden, newspapers went so far as to directly blame the EU for the deaths in the Mediterranean.

### **3. How the Conflict was Described and What Visible Solutions**

Diversity of political opinions has led to a variation in positions; and this has made Germany and Sweden primarily viewed the crisis as stemming from migration flows driven by wars, human rights abuses, and repressive regimes, the second sample – particularly in the UK, Italy and Spain – focused much more on the chaos in Libya and the role of people smugglers. This meant that the solutions to the crisis, reflecting the debate within EU elites, were more focused on Fortress Europe approaches such as naval blockades, destruction of trafficking boats and military stabilization plans for Libya.

These militarized solutions to the crisis tended to be more prominently featured and endorsed by right of center publications such as the Daily Telegraph, ABC and the Daily Mail. ( Mike Berry, Inaki Garcia-Blanco, Kerry Moore,2015).

### **4. The Dearth of Articles Examining the Population Flows' Push Factors**

This could be seen in the very low proportion of stories which concentrated on migrant success stories. It could also be seen in the fact that few stories discussed the economic or cultural benefits that migration brings to host countries. The few occasions where such benefits were discussed tended to appear in the Swedish and German press only.

Despite the fact that the crisis was primarily explained as one created by conflict, human rights abuses, and to a lesser degree economic inequality, the need to address these issues was relatively rarely addressed in coverage. While we found some articles which talked vaguely about the need for more aid or assistance, only 3.1% of articles mentioned the need to address these push factors directly via conflict resolution strategies. ‘Negative migrant stereotypes are a result, at least in part, of negative press coverage’, although they also saw ‘The potential to reverse the trend and create a more positive view of migrants and their contribution to society through a more accurate, unbiased and realistic portrayal of migrants’ (European Commission, 2011: 9).

## **II- Illegal Migration from the African Media Point of View**

From the African media angle, illegal migration can be seen as a complex issue with multiple causes and consequences. Some African media channels have highlighted the economic, political, and social factors that drove people to leave their home countries and embark on dangerous journeys to other parts of the world. They have also reported on the challenges and risks that migrants face during their journeys, including exploitation, abuse, and discrimination.

Several newspapers and news outlets have covered the issue of illegal migration in North Africa. Here are some notable ones that have reported on this topic:

Africanews ,a pan-African news outlet, Al Ahram ,a prominent Egyptian newspaper,Algeria Times which often reported on migration crises in different African countries, including North Africa .All these media sources have provided insights into the migration situation within the Sahel and North Africa in particular and its impact on the region. They have also discussed the duplicity issues and how the Western governments , and their media sources have tackled the illegal migration issue.

Additionally, African media have focused on the positive contributions that migrants can make to their host countries, such as contributing to the economy and cultural diversity. Overall, African media coverage of illegal migration tends to be more nuanced and balanced than some Western media means, reflecting the complex realities of the issue.

### **III-The Official European View to the Migration Crisis**

#### **-The Double Standards in Dealing with Illegal Migration**

It is difficult to make broad generalizations about the European response to illegal migration, as each country has its own unique policies and approach to the issue. However, there have been some instances where double standards have been present.

One example is the differing treatment of refugees and migrants who come from different regions of the world. For example, European countries tend to be more welcoming to refugees fleeing war-torn countries like Ukraine, while being less receptive to migrants from Africa or the Middle East seeking economic opportunities. This has led to accusations of double standards, with critics pointing out that economic factors can also be a driving force for migration and that all individuals have the right to seek a better life.

These reports and testimonies best describe and portray the issue of treating people differently. According to a recently released 'Save the Children' report, European nations handle refugees who enter the continent through the Mediterranean Sea differently than those who enter through Ukraine.

According to the "Safe for Some" report, one in fifty refugees die or go missing while making the perilous trek across the Mediterranean to Europe. Twenty percent of those who arrived safely by water were young people.

The organization compared how those permitted admission from Ukraine—about 8 million individuals, 40% of whom were children—were treated with those entering via the Mediterranean. According to Save the Children, those fleeing turmoil in Ukraine "have not faced violence, pushbacks, or had to rely on smugglers."

In accordance with the EU's Temporary Protection Directive, the study highlighted measures made by European countries to assist Ukrainian refugees in accessing housing, education, and healthcare. According to the group, this contrasts with the "pushing back" of Syrian migrants who come by boat, with "almost twice as many refugees from Ukraine having claimed protection under the directive as those who applied for asylum in 2015 and 2016" during the European migration crisis.

The report's author, Daniel Gorevan of 'Save the Children 'Senior Advocacy, said: "The reaction to that crisis was dysfunctional at best and brutal at worst.( Arab News Feb-2023).

Another example is the varying levels of enforcement and punishment for individuals involved in facilitating illegal migration. While smugglers who bring migrants into Europe are often targeted and punished, there are also cases where European employers who exploit undocumented migrants for cheap labor are not held accountable.

This can be seen as a double standard, as both the smugglers and the employers are benefiting from illegal migration, but only one group is being punished.

Additionally, some European countries have been criticized for their handling of refugees and migrants who arrive on their shores. For example, countries like Greece and Italy have been accused of failing to provide adequate support and resources to refugees and migrants, while also forcibly returning individuals to countries where they may face persecution or violence. This has led to accusations of double standards, as European countries are often quick to criticize other nations for their human rights records, yet fail to provide the same level of protection and support to refugees and migrants within their own borders.

Overall, while there may be instances of double standards in the European response to illegal migration, it is important to recognize that the issue is complex and there is no easy solution.

This raises questions about the double standards in human rights towards illegal migrants from many parts from the world. On one hand, European countries claim to uphold human rights and democracy as fundamental values. However, when it comes to illegal migrants from the stated places, these values seem to be ignored.

Many of these migrants are subjected to harsh living conditions, lack of access to healthcare and education, and even detention centers where they are treated inhumanely. Furthermore, they often face discrimination and racism from the local population, making their integration into society difficult.

On the other hand, when it comes to illegal migrants from other regions such as Syria or Ukraine, European countries as Germany and Sweden tend to show more empathy and support. These migrants are often granted asylum and provided with basic necessities such as food, shelter, and healthcare. They are also given the opportunity to integrate into society through language courses and job training programs.

This double standard in human rights towards illegal migrants from Sahel region and some other parts is not only unfair, but also counterproductive. By denying these individuals' basic human rights, European countries are perpetuating the cycle of poverty and conflict in the Sahel region. Moreover, they are missing out on the potential contributions that these migrants could make to their societies if given the opportunity to thrive.

Therefore, it is crucial for European countries to reassess their policies towards illegal migrants and uphold their commitment to human rights and democracy. This can be done by providing them with access to basic necessities such as healthcare, education, and job opportunities. It is also important to address the root causes of migration such as poverty and conflicts, through sustainable development initiatives and conflict resolution efforts.

In conclusion, the double standards in human rights towards illegal migrants are a reflection of the systemic racism and discrimination that exists in many European societies.

## **Conclusion**

To end up, the Western media paid little and scattered attention to the context of refugee and migrant plight. There was little connection between stories on migration and war reporting or between stories on refugee plight and news stories from their countries of origin. In addition, little and scattered information was made available to the public about migrants' and refugees' individual stories and their cultures; thus, information about who these people actually are, was absent or marginal in much of the press coverage in most European countries.

The narratives of the coverage changed dramatically across Europe during 2015. The sympathetic and empathetic response of a large proportion of the European press in the summer of 2015 and especially in early autumn of the same year was replaced by suspicion and, in some cases, hostility towards refugees and migrants, following the November terror attacks in Paris.

Refugees and migrants were given limited opportunities to speak directly of their experiences. Most of them were spoken about and represented in images as silent actors and victims. There were some significant exceptions, but these were time and place specific. European citizens' voices were similarly marginal in the coverage of "the crisis" with European national and transnational institutional players having a dominant voice in the press coverage.

As the migration "crisis" is entering a new phase, media continue to face significant challenges in safeguarding the values of independent, fair and ethical journalism: protecting freedom of speech, giving voice to all parties involved and respecting newcomers' rights as well as of citizens' rights.

Media represent a key domain for Europe to encounter refugees and new migrants. The analysis of media representations is critical to understanding the responsibilities and consequences of cross-border mobility, settlement and protection.

Mainstream media's informational role remains paramount and is still regarded as crucial and trusted resources for officials and publics to make sense of and take action upon ongoing events (Downing and Husband 2005).

A report conducted by the Ethical Journalism Network based on journalists' accounts in 17 countries around the Mediterranean on behalf of the International Centre for Migration Policy Development (2017) provided an insight on the media coverage of "the crisis". The report shows that journalists are often poorly informed about the complex nature of migration; newsrooms are also vulnerable to pressure and manipulation by voices of hate, whether from political elites or social networks. The study also provides a series of detailed recommendations and calls for training, better funding of media action and other activities to support and foster more balanced and fact-based journalism on immigration, emigration, integration, asylum and other migration-related challenges.

All in all, it is important for media professionals to adhere to ethical standards, prioritize accurate and responsible reporting, and promote diverse voices and perspectives when covering migration. Additionally, collaboration between media organizations, civil society, and policy makers can help ensure a comprehensive and balanced understanding of migration issues and contribute to informed and evidence-based policy decisions. Journalists, and media organizations, had to respond fast and cover fast developing stories in the context of tragedy, loss of life, and changing national and European policies. In addition, in some parts of Europe especially, media and journalists had to cover news relating to unfamiliar phenomena and people. European mainstream media had to respond to these developments swiftly, with reporting that at times lacked good understanding of context and background.

Many of the media organizations and journalists who had to report “the crisis” were unprepared to cover such events. Furthermore, there is little evidence of European media initiating systematic training for their staff on how to engage with the events, or advancing awareness about the implications of decontextualized and negative reporting. Such training opportunities have been scattered and exceptional.

Media coverage of “the crisis” was also and inevitably interacting with political decision-making and public opinion. Thus, it largely reflected the mainstream political narratives, which were fully informed by the framework of humanitarian security as described earlier, sometimes promoting hostility and sometimes solidarity towards newcomers. By the same token, the inclusion of diverse voices was highly regulated with elite versions being largely dominant, while citizen or migrant voices consistently remained marginal or fully silenced. However, questioning political decision-making, engaging critically with the narratives of “the crisis” and ensuring pluralism of voice, which is a responsibility associated with independent journalism, were very unevenly applied in coverage across Europe.

We observed nonetheless that in countries where hate speech is not always tackled systematically (e.g. Hungary), hostility and dehumanization of refugees in the media was more widespread.

In most countries, press regulation is mostly enacted in the form of self regulation, with varying outcomes.

Those countries have press self monitoring bodies responsible for overseeing standards and addressing issues associated with hate speech and discriminatory reporting. However, in a number of countries (e.g. Hungary, the UK) these bodies have little influence upon media practice. Also, media cultures and acceptable language in the media vary significantly across Europe. For example, there is a significant difference in media environments between some countries that have long history of independent and powerful public service media (e.g. Germany; UK) and others with weak or marginal public media (e.g. Greece; Hungary).

In many countries of East and West (e.g. France; Hungary), the level or effectiveness in prosecution of hate speech and of discrimination against minorities and groups on the basis of race, ethnicity and religion does not correspond to existing European legislation against hate speech and protection of minorities.

In addition, discriminatory reporting sometimes relates to limited knowledge and understanding among media professionals of groups and phenomena they cover.

Media and dominant policy discourses convey an apocalyptic image of an increasingly massive exodus of desperate Africans fleeing poverty and war at home trying to enter the elusive European “El Dorado” crammed in long-worn ships barely staying afloat (Pastore et al., 2006).

The migrants themselves are commonly depicted as victims recruited by “merciless” and “unscrupulous” traffickers and smugglers. Hence, the perceived policy solutions—which invariably boil down to curbing migration—focus on “fighting” or “combating” illegal migration through intensifying border controls and cracking down trafficking and smuggling-related crime. Another metaphor present in popular media coverage of immigration, particularly visual images of immigrants. The metaphor of “immigrant as pollutant” present in news media discourse on immigration can have serious consequences for societal treatment of immigrants as well as the policies designed to respond to immigration (J. David Cisneros, 2008).

Although there has been an incontestable increase in regular and irregular West African migration to Europe over the past decade, available empirical evidence dispels most of these assumptions.

## **The General Conclusion**

Certainly, the phenomenon of illegal migration is a complex and multifaceted issue that has implications for both individuals and society as a whole. While it is important to recognize the need for secure borders and the enforcement of immigration laws, it is equally important to ensure that the human rights of all individuals are respected and protected. Illegal migration often arises from a range of factors, including poverty, conflict, and persecution. These individuals often face significant risks and challenges, including exploitation, abuse, and violence.

As such, it is crucial that governments and societies work together to address the root causes of migration and provide support and protection for those who are forced to flee their homes.

At the same time, it is important to recognize that the issue of illegal migration cannot be solved through enforcement alone. Rather, a comprehensive approach is needed that takes into account the social, economic, and political factors that contribute to migration. This includes investing in education and job training programs, promoting economic development, and addressing political instability and conflict.

Ultimately, the issue of illegal migration is a human rights issue that demands a concerted effort from all members of society. By working together to address the root causes of migration, protect the rights of all individuals, and promote social and economic development, we can create a more just and equitable world for all.

Unless exceptional circumstance arises , it is therefore likely that migration from Africa to the Maghreb and Europe will continue. This explains why increasing border controls have rather led to the swift diversion of migration routes and an increase in the risks, costs, and suffering of the migrants involved rather than a decline in migration.

As long as no more legal channels for immigration are created to match the real demand for labour, and as long as large informal economies will exist, it is likely that a substantial proportion of this migration will remain irregular.

To conclude, this work has highlighted the multitiered nature of the population displacement crisis in Africa and the vast majority of this displacement is a symptom of serious governance dysfunctions (some of which have evolved into armed conflict). If these governance weaknesses could be remedied or constrained, it would significantly reduce the scale of the displacement challenges on the continent and by extension the strains faced by the international community.

Deep-seated economic, demographic, and environmental factors are further contributing to the pressure on African households. This is fostering increased economic migration, most evident in the surge of migrants heading toward the African coast of the Mediterranean since the mid-2010s.

Given the multifaceted nature of the challenge, a multilayered series of diplomatic, security, migrant protection, and development policies is needed. Significant reductions in levels of displacement are possible in the near term with more assertive policy initiatives in the leading African countries of origin. Longer-term strategies will be needed to address the underlying structural drivers of migration. While often presented as an African problem, large-scale population movements are a transcontinental challenge. Corrective action will be needed in countries of origin, transit, and destination if the effects are to be mitigated. International actors will have vital roles to play at each juncture.

These are some of the urgent measures that should be implemented collaboratively between all concerned countries with this problem be it, exporting, transit or host countries.

## 1-Assertive Diplomacy

**Protracted conflicts are the key driver of displacement in Africa and require intensified regional and international engagement to bring them to closure.**

African and international actors intent on reversing the displacement crisis in Africa must recognize that conflict is the principal driver of human dislocation on the continent. Unless these external actors exert serious effort into ending conflict, much time, effort, and money will be misdirected to temporary solutions. The fact that all armed conflicts on the continent are internal points to the important role that governance and the lack of power-sharing play in Africa's displacement crisis. Reducing conflict as a driver of displacement, therefore, will require greater diplomatic engagement to incentivize negotiation and upholding political resolutions.

The African Union's Peace and Security Council (PSC) is an institutional mechanism for early warning and preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, and recommending interventions where necessary to promote peace, security, and stability. The AU, however, has failed to act decisively on past PSC recommendations, especially when the perpetrators of abuses include sitting governments. The failure of the AU and Regional Economic Communities to call out and enforce an end to the repressive tactics being employed has encouraged further intransigence. When political will exists, African states have shown commendable commitment to supporting peacekeeping missions.

There are about 74,000 African peacekeepers serving in AU and UN peacekeeping missions in 12 African states. This roughly doubles the levels seen in 2010 and reflects a growing commitment of African political leaders to these collective security processes. These deployments are widely seen as having mitigated further deterioration of security in the countries in which they are deployed.

## **2-Penalize Repressive Regimes.**

Governmental intimidation of citizens is another driver of displacement in Africa. Nine of the top 10 countries causing forced displacement in Africa are authoritarian.

Economic migrants, furthermore, are indirectly affected by repressive governance and corruption through push factors such as the inability to find work, earn an education, or open their own businesses. Such population displacements, in effect, reflect citizens seeking refuge from their governments. Left unchecked, the repression, disenfranchisement, and state-sanctioned political violence by these governments will continue to generate further displacement. This creates real economic, social, and political costs on transit and receiving countries. Effectively, these repressive governments are “exporting” the burden of their poor governance onto their neighbors and the international community.

## **3-Security Initiatives**

**Minimize violent extremist groups’ access to financial flows generated by irregular migrants.**

Migrant smuggling and trafficking in the Sahel-Saharan belt has added another fount of income for non-statutory militias and violent extremist organizations. These revenues need to be brought into the security equation in order to address the escalating violence and acts of terrorism. Greater sustained intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance investments can help detect and disrupt these groups’ control and taxation of trade and smuggling routes.

Continued effort is also needed to prevent cash from flowing internationally into the coffers of illicit actors and violent extremists. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the Financial Action Task Force (FATF) as well as bilateral initiatives have been involved in monitoring and engaging African countries in identifying areas of risk and countering money laundering and terrorist financing, including through informal funds transfer systems.

Establishing sustainable government control across key transit areas also requires rebuilding trust with peripheral communities.

Greater security and reliability for these routes will generate an economic boost on its own, facilitating job creation. Moreover, expanding opportunities for these communities to earn a living from licit goods and services will create ongoing incentives for government-community cooperation. Simply cutting off illicit activity without promoting alternatives will be of limited value to communities vulnerable to poverty, high unemployment, and recruitment by militant groups.

#### **4-Institutionalize Regularized Migration**

In certain cases, migration can address fluctuating labor shortages. This informal daily and seasonal migration already happens in many places throughout Africa without incident. For longer-term migrants, something as simple as having a basic identification card from their country of origin would provide a modicum of legal status and thus protection.

By engaging key stakeholders (e.g., private sector, diaspora groups, civil society, and development partners) a more systematic process can be put in place to create regularized migration corridors for longer-term laborers travelling between destination and origin countries.

A model is the system pursued by the Philippines government on behalf of its citizens working in Hong Kong and Macau. The result has been an instrumental step in the protection of Filipino migrant workers' rights and ensuring a positive economic relationship between the countries. Creating regularized means for migration will help shrink the illicit economy and make it easier for the security sector to focus on trafficking networks and violent extremists.

#### **5-Expansion of Employment Opportunities**

##### **Invest in creating job opportunities in economic migrants' countries of origin**

With Africa's population set to double by 2050, investments will be required to improve the productive capacity of African economies so they are capable of absorbing and benefiting from a growing workforce, expected to reach more than 1.1 billion by then.

This will require strengthening public goods such as the quality of educational systems, power grids, roads, and communications capabilities that will enhance productivity as well as Africa's global competitiveness in export-oriented manufacturing and agricultural production. Expanding employment options will require strategic investments in economic migrants' countries of origin (especially in West and North Africa) as well as African destination countries (such as South Africa, Nigeria, and parts of North Africa).

By investing in development strategies that expand employment opportunities in these countries, international actors can better direct their limited assistance resources from treating the symptom to changing the conditions that are displacing so many Africans and causing them to migrate further afield in the first place.

With much of Africa's growth occurring in urban areas, greater attention to basic urban infrastructure like water, sanitation, and transportation will be vital to forestalling restiveness borne out of the despair of ever-expanding urban shantytowns. Investing in girls will be especially important. Educated girls foster better development outcomes for entire communities.

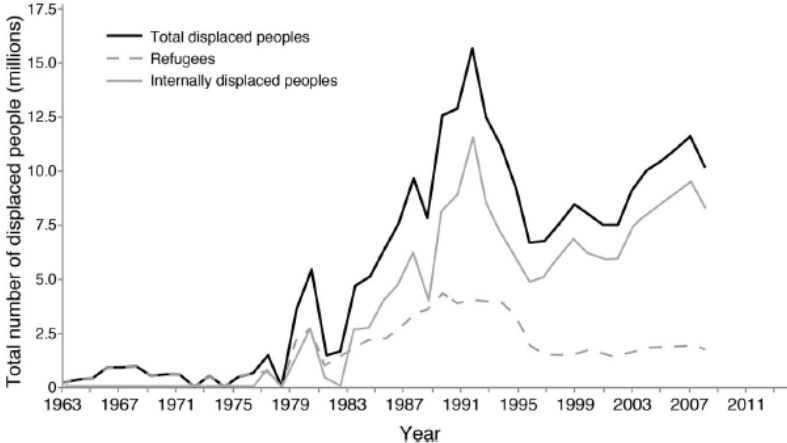
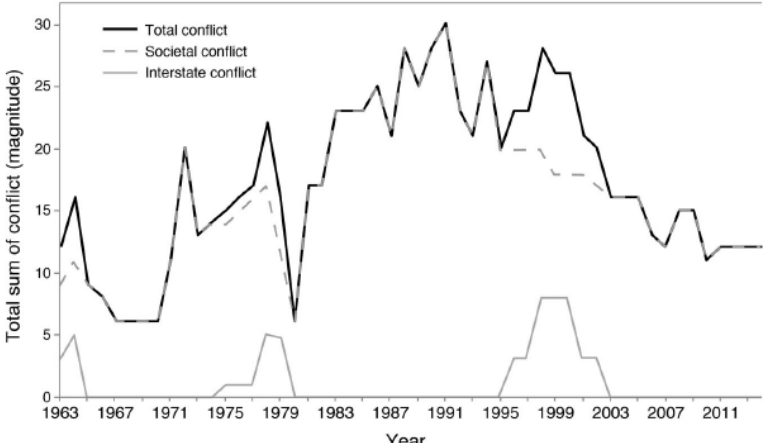
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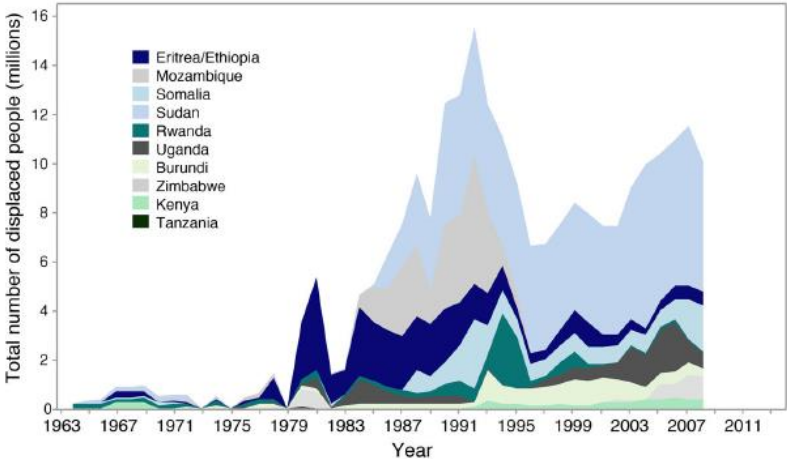
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# Appendices



**Fig. 2 Conflict and displaced people data from East Africa since 1963**



**Fig. 3 Conflict and displaced people data from East Africa broken down by country since 1963.**

## المخلص

يعالج هذا البحث قضية عالمية مهمة هيمنت على الساحة الدولية لفترة طويلة، وهي الهجرة غير القانونية. وهو يتألف من فصلين، يتناول الجزء الأول مختلف الأسباب المخفية والظاهرة للهجرة غير القانونية، وعواقبها، والجهود التي بُذلت في مختلف المستويات المحلية والوطنية والدولية بدءاً من البلدان في أفريقيا، مروراً ببلدان العبور، وصولاً إلى البلدان الأوروبية المستقبلية. ويقدم هذا العمل بعض الخرائط والأرقام التي توضح طرق الهجرة الرئيسية، والإحصاءات المتعلقة بتهرب الأشخاص، والأعداد المتعلقة بأسباب التشريد غير المشروع. ويناقش الفصل الثاني دور وسائط الإعلام الأوروبية والأفريقية في تغطية الأزمة. ويسلط الضوء على مختلف مواقف البلدان الأوروبية وكذا كيفية تشكيل وسائط الإعلام للآراء الأوروبية الرسمية إزاء هذه المسألة. إن دور وسائط الإعلام في التعامل مع الهجرة غير المشروعة إلى أوروبا دور متعدد الأوجه ويمكن أن تكون له آثار إيجابية وسلبية على حد سواء. وتؤدي وسائط الإعلام دوراً هاماً في تشكيل الرأي العام، وتوعية الخطاب العام للشعوب، والتأثير على المناقشات المتعلقة بالسياسات العامة بشأن الهجرة. غير أن الطريقة التي تغطي بها وسائط الإعلام هذه المسألة يمكن أن تسهم إما في فهم أدق لتعقيدات الهجرة أو في إدامة القوالب النمطية والتضليل. ومما لا شك فيه أن الشيء الأكثر لفتاً للنظر هو كيف تعاملت وسائل الإعلام الغربية مع هذه المشكلة وسنكشف الفجوة التي كانت تزداد في معالجة هذه الأزمة من جانب الاتحاد الأوروبي الذي يعتبر طرفاً فاعلاً رئيسياً في هذه المعضلة.

الكلمات الرئيسية : الهجرة غير قانونية - الاعلام المتحيز- التهجير- وسائل الإعلام - الصراعات - الاجندات السياسية