AUDIENCE RESPONSES TO MIGRATION STORIES:

RESEARCH COMPONENT OF *VOICES OF AFRICAN MIGRANTS*



EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report was commissioned to examine the nature and quality of media stories produced by journalists supported by the *Voices of African Migrants* pilot programme (see http://migrantvoices.org/), managed by International Media Support (IMS), in four migration 'Hubs' in Africa, and explored how local audiences interpreted and responded to those stories. It used content analysis, interviews and focus group discussions.

The research findings show that most stories used human interest frames and foregrounded migrant experiences. The migrants' main contributions to the stories were to provide a human face to hardships and suffering. Meanwhile, NGOs were included to provide facts, statements of general causes of migrations, statistics, and a sense of scale. Government statements were used to provide a comment on policies and solutions. Most articles were supportive in their sentiments to the plight of migrants.

Participants in the focus groups (especially migrants themselves) recognised that migrant voices were missing from mainstream media reporting on migration, that reporting on migration tends to be negative, and that there are pressing issues relating to migration that need to be discussed in the public sphere.

Focus group participants generally responded with empathy and understanding in response to stories about the hardships migrants face. Some stories provoked a distancing or disruption to understanding, especially when an aspect of the story did not match their prior tacit or cultural knowledge about migration. A small number of stories deeply moved focus group participants.

The report unpacks how an emphasis on 'voice' in this context can inadvertently lead to an under-interrogation of systemic and structural issues by individualising, and in some cases, perpetuating a representation of migrants as helpless victims.

The best practices identified from the programme include:

- Use existing resources to help identify sensitive terminology for reporting about migration
- Respect audiences as knowledgeable and discerning.
- Avoid thinking in dichotomies (especially 'positive' and 'negative' stories). Instead, work towards nuances when exploring stories.
- Be aware of the consequences of individualising migrant voices and ignoring systemic and structural factors.
- Unpack the local context as much and as accurately as possible.
- Use accessible, sharable and in-depth media forms that people trust.
- Continue supporting local journalists to write informed stories about migration.

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Research team:
Dr Jessica Noske-Turner, University of Leicester (Primary Investigator)
Dr Mirjam Twigt, University of Leicester (Researcher, Niger & Zimbabwe)
Dr Zakaria Sajir, University of Leicester (Researcher, Niger & Morocco)

Advisory Group:
The research team would like to acknowledge the valued and insightful contributions of the Advisory Group. The Advisory Group includes: Prof. Thomas Tufte (University of Leicester), Ass. Prof. Leah Bassel (University of Leicester), Prof. Helen Wood (University of Leicester), Finn Rasmussen (International Media Support).

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The research findings in this report relate to the programme *Voices of African Migrants* managed by International Media Support (IMS), a non-profit organisation that works to support local media in countries affected by armed conflict, human insecurity and political transition.
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INTRODUCTION

Migration is one of the key global challenges of our time. The media's responses to these challenges are crucial to shaping and reflecting public discourses and understandings of migration and migrant experiences.

This report shares the findings from research associated with the *Voices of African Migrants* pilot programme, implemented by International Media Support (IMS) and funded by the Ford Foundation (see http://migrantvoices.org/). The programme trained and mentored journalists in four African migration 'Hubs' to report on migration issues in order that audiences in those regions would be better informed about migration issues and the experiences of migrants.

The research involved analysis of the media content produced by participating journalists, with attention to the contexts of their production. It also undertook audience research, in three of the four migration 'Hubs' that the *Voice of African Migrants* programme has engaged with (including Niger/West Africa, Zimbabwe/Southern Africa, and Morocco/North Africa). The research had the following aims:

1. To identify principles for achieving best practices in media coverage related to migration.
2. To contribute to IMS and its partners' understandings of its audiences, so that this can be used to inform future programming decisions.

These aims were achieved by bringing together a team with expertise in media, development, and migration. The research was driven by the following two research questions:

1. What are the practices of journalists participating in the *Voices of African Migrants* programme: including both the characteristics of their published media stories, and the social and political contexts they navigate as part of their practice?
2. How do audiences interpret and make meaning from media stories about migration and migrant experiences in the contexts of their communicative ecologies?

OVERVIEW OF *THE VOICES OF AFRICAN MIGRANTS* PROGRAMME

The *Voices of African Migrants* pilot programme explored how media development approaches (journalism training, mentoring, and networking) could be deployed to make a positive impact on the public debates relating to migration in local and regional centres in Africa, each of which has different migration patterns. Current reporting in the region tends to be negative and exclude migrant voices. The intended outcome of the training and mentoring for journalists is described as enabling professional journalists to "produce ethical, professional and in-depth reporting of migration issues integrating voices of migrants into journalistic stories" (see Appendix 1). The intended impact of the programme is that audiences in the four Hubs (including an East Africa Hub, which was not included in this study) that are exposed to media content produced through the programme are better informed on migration issues and the life and concerns of migrants.

This research component is intended to both support the achievement of that outcome and to support learning from the pilot. This research is not intended to be an evaluation of the pilot.

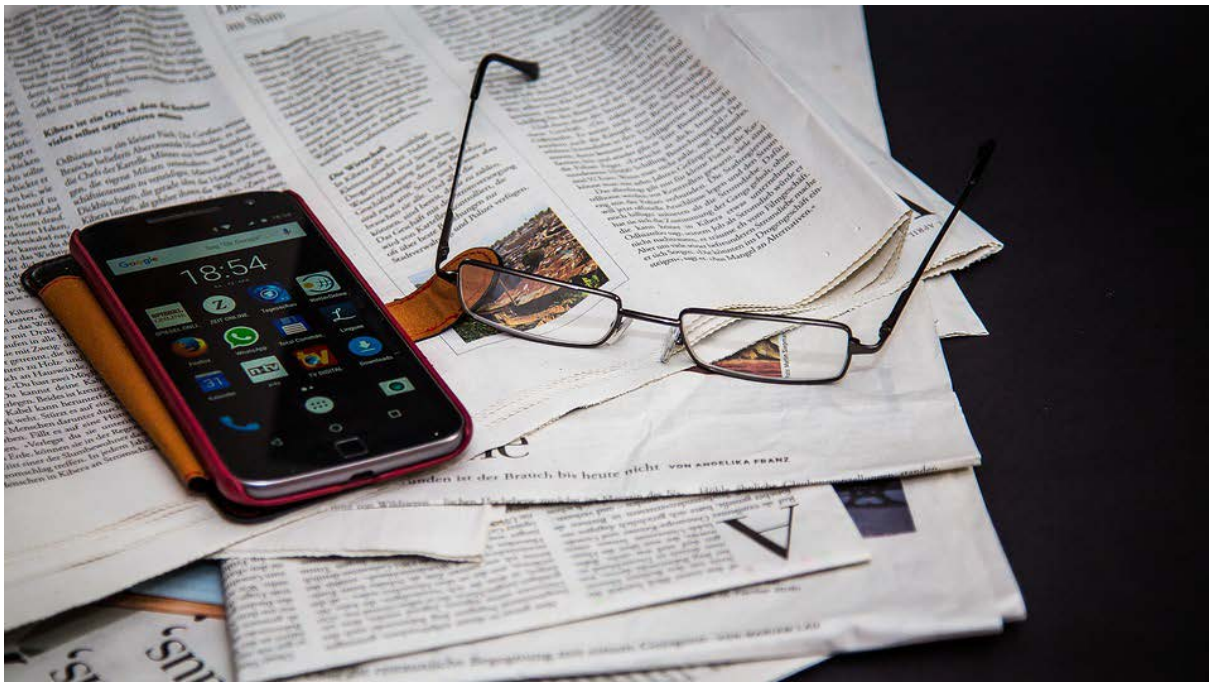
METHODOLOGY

The research methodology was informed by the 'ethnographic turn' in research on media and communication for social change[1]. To the extent possible within the focused scope of the project, the research combines an interest in not just what was produced, but also in the contexts in which these media stories are produced, circulated, received and interpreted. We paid attention not only to the media content, but also to the social, structural and political contexts in which journalists produce their work and journalistic texts are consumed by audiences. We not only examine the reception of content through focus groups (FGs) with potential audiences, but seek to understand how gender and age influence meaning-making processes. Finally, while the IMS programme targets general audiences, it was equally important and illuminating to understand how migrants themselves respond to and interpret representations of their own 'voices'.

METHODS

The research used content analysis methods to analyse the stories produced through the programme. We used a mix of inductive and deductive coding to analyse the journalistic frames used, the informational sources and their treatment in the stories, and the themes included in the narratives relating to experiences of migration, descriptions of migrants, and causes (see Appendix 2 for details).

[1] Hemer, O., & Tufte, T. (2016). Introduction: Why Voice and Matter Matter. Nordicom, University of Gothenburg.



To understand audience reception and media contexts, one week of fieldwork was undertaken in the Western Africa Hub (Niamey, Niger), the Northern Africa Hub (Casablanca, Morocco), and the Southern Africa Hub (Harare, Zimbabwe). During this time five focus group (FGs), with an intended average of six participants were conducted. The FGs covered: media practices, perspectives on migration, and responses to three media stories by journalists participating in the *Voices of African Migrants* programme. The five groups were: men only, women only, older people, younger people, and migrants (see Appendix 5 for the FG guide). During the week of fieldwork, in-depth, semi-structured interviews with an average of two participating journalists per Hub were undertaken. (Appendix 6 includes interview guide). Thematic analysis using Nvivo (qualitative data analysis software) was used to analyse the fieldwork data.

Finally, a findings and recommendations workshop took place at the IMS office in Copenhagen to engage with emerging findings, to inform continuing analysis, and co-create recommendations.

There are some limitations to acknowledge. Overall, the FG participants were skewed towards urban and educated people. This is predominantly due to the urban location of the FGs, but also relates to the project's need for literate participants who read the dominant language (so they could read newspaper/online stories). In Niger, for example, all media articles were published in the nation's official language of French, which only the educated elite speak. Some participants offered reflection upon what stories would be most suitable to reach broader audiences in their respective countries, and how the stories might be differently interpreted across class, urban/rural divisions, age and educational levels, which was useful to consider in the analysis.

In Morocco, there were more male participants (in the youth and older groups all participants were male), whereas in Zimbabwe there were more women. In Morocco this was a consequence of particular challenges with engaging a research assistant in Casablanca ahead of the visit, and therefore more limited time for participant recruitment, combined with a social context in which men are more able and willing participate in such activities.

In addition, time constraints also meant we recruited fewer participants overall in Morocco and Zimbabwe (two researchers travelled to Niger, just one to the other two Hubs). Some groups were smaller than hoped, but the discussions are no less rich for having fewer participants, where more in-depth discussions were enabled.

A detailed description of the FG participants is included in the sections on each Hub to assist with interpretation, and care should be taken when considering the generalisability of the findings. Further research targeting rural audiences would be valuable to complement this research.

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FINDINGS - THREE HUBS

A key finding of this research is that context matters. The media contexts, the migration contexts, and the social contexts of the field-site tend to shape the ways that FG participants responded to the media stories. For this reason, we present the findings within the contexts of the respective field-sites (Niger, Morocco, and Zimbabwe).

WESTERN AFRICA HUB – **NIGER,** MALI, BURKINA FASO

KEY INSIGHTS

- **The media articles foreground migrant experiences of hardship during journeys and while seeking to settle and integrate. 'Trafficking' (*traffic*) and `smuggler' (*passeur*) are the most frequently used terms associated with migration, which is likely influenced by the 2015 anti-smuggling legislation in Niger.**
- **Empathy towards Nigerien migrants' experiences intersects with gendered cultural norms and values.**
- **There is sense of disappointment in African unity. Some participants are optimistic about governmental migration policies, others are sceptical of Europe's involvement.**
- **The FG participants state that it is important that there is more widely accessible and available media reporting about migration issues in Niger, and that this reporting discusses causes and solutions, rather than that just focusing on the stereotypical portrayal of migrants' suffering.**

CONTEXT: MEDIA AND MIGRATION IN NIGER

NIGER'S REGIONAL MIGRATION CONTEXT

In 2017, the total population of Niger was estimated at 21.47 million people.[2] Approximately 1.1 million Nigeriens were living in the capital Niamey.[3] Since April 2011, the country has been ruled by a relatively stable elected government.

The three countries in this Hub are among the poorest countries worldwide. Niger is ranked second to last on the United Nations Human Development Index. Burkina Faso is ranked 185 out of 188 countries, and Mali is ranked 175 out of 188 countries.[4] Niger is troubled by chronic food insecurity and drought. Moreover, in some regions in Niger the situation has been volatile since the emergence of Boko Haram. With the financial support of the European Union, the G5 Sahel countries (Burkina Faso, Chad, Mali, Mauritania and Niger) have joined forces to combat terrorism in the region.[5] France, Italy, Germany and the US have troops deployed in Niger.

Niger, Mali and Burkina Faso are members of the regional economic union, called ECOWAS (Economic Community of West African States, in French referred to as CEDEAO). ECOWAS' protocol stipulates the rights of citizens of the 15 ECOWAS member states to reside and engage in economic activities in other member states.[6]

Niger is a transit country for migration. Of all African migrants arriving by boat in Italy in recent years, three-quarters would have travelled through Niger.[7]According to UNDP net migration from Niger is -0.3 suggesting that the outward migration by Nigerien nationals is relatively small, especially when contrasted with the net migration rate of Mali (-3.5) and Burkina Faso (-1.5).[8]

Population flow monitoring by the International Organization for Migration (IOM) however shows a relatively large outflow (but also inflow) of mostly Nigerien nationals into Libya and Algeria (and to a much lesser degree Malian, Guinean and Nigerian

[2]https://esa.un.org/unpd/wpp/Publications/Files/WPP2017_KeyFindings.pdf
[3] https://citypopulation.de/Niger.html
[4] http://hdr.undp.org/en/composite/HDI
[5]http://www.worldbank.org/en/country/niger/overview
[6] https://www.uneca.org/pages/ecowas-free-movement-persons
[7]https://www.newsdeeply.com/refugees/articles/2018/05/22/niger-europes-migration-laboratory?utm_source=Refugees+Deeply&utm_campaign=8abd1fd316-EMAIL_CAMPAIGN_2018_05_22&utm_medium=email&utm_term=0_8b056c90e2-8abd1fd316-117801165
[8]http://hdr.undp.org/en/indicators/110806

nationals).[9] Among Nigerien men, circular migration – also related to drought and limited opportunities for work – to Nigeria and Cote d'Ivoire has historically been common.[10]

Niger has been celebrated as 'model' in regards to its implementation of the EU Partnership on Migration, a plan that made development aid conditional to migration control.[11] In May 2015, law 36/2015 was passed making travelling north of the city Agadez by foreign nationals effectively illegal.[12] Whereas Niger is now the biggest recipient of EU aid in the world, projects supporting local communities negatively affected by law 36/2015 still need to prove their success.[13]

In April 2018, UNHCR had registered over 324,138 people, including displaced people from Nigeria, Mali and Libya, but also many internally displaced persons.[14]

A BRIEF OVERVIEW OF MEDIA USE IN NIGER

Issues around language, literacy and poverty are major hurdles with regards to access to and use of media in Niger.

French is the government's official language, but is only spoken by the educated, urban elite. Less than 15 per cent in Niger speak French. Major local languages are Hausa (60 per cent), Djerma (23 per cent), Tamasheq (10 per cent), and Peul (10 per cent).[15] The state broadcaster ORTN (Office of Radio and TV Niger) broadcasts daily news bulletin in 8 languages, but a lot of other broadcasting is in French. In 2015, the adult literacy rate was 19 per cent.[16]

Newspapers are an important forum for Niger's urban, educated elite to discuss and form opinions, but most of Niger's population rely on radio, TV and word of mouth. The only daily newspaper is the government-owned Le Sahel. All private newspapers are published weekly, fortnightly or monthly.

Radio is a popular source of news and information. In 2008, 67 per cent of adults listened to the radio at least once a week. In 2012 there were over 20 private radio stations and more than 100 community radio stations, alongside the ORTN's Voix du Sahel. There are also several foreign broadcasters (broadcasting in French and Hausa) such as BBC World service, Radio France Internationale, Voice of America (VOA) and Radio Deutsche Welle.

In Niger, community radios are often used by aid agencies to communicate with rural communities. Humanitarian organsations also often buy airtime on popular commercial radio stations.[17]

In 2008, 17 per cent of Niger's population watched TV on a weekly basis. Amongst the urban elite, TV5 and France 24 are very popular. In 2000, Niger's first and most popular private TV channel was launched. News programs, foreign films and soap operas and religious programs are most popular.

In July 2016, around 45 per cent of the people in Niger had a mobile phone subscription.[18] In 2008, nine per cent of the adults listened to radio via their mobile phones. Network coverage is good in the more populated areas in the south and west, but more sparse in the north.[19] Two out of four network providers offer money transfer services.[20]

In 2016 4.3 per cent of the country's population had access to Internet.[21] According to Internet World Statistics there were 440,000 Facebook users in Niger in December 2017.[22]

[9]https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/IOM%20Niger%20-%20Migration%20Response%20-%20Flow%20Monitoring%20Report%20-%20October%202017%20-%20EN.pdf
[10]https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/niger_media_guide%20070312.pdf, p.9
[11]Ibid; see also https://www.clingendael.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/irregular_migration_and_human_smuggling_networks_in_niger_0.pdf
[12]https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/may/12/niger-passes-law-to-fight-people-smuggling
[13]https://www.newsdeeply.com/refugees/articles/2018/05/22/niger-europes-migration-laboratory?utm_source=Refugees+Deeply&utm_campaign=8abd1fd316-EMAIL_CAMPAIGN_2018_05_22&utm_medium=email&utm_term=0_8b056c90e2-8abd1fd316-117801165; https://reliefweb.int/report/niger/un-migration-agency-launches-community-stabilization-activities-northern-niger
[14]http://reporting.unhcr.org/sites/default/files/UNHCR%20Niger%20Operational%20Update%20-%20April%202018.pdf
[15]https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/niger_media_guide%20070312.pdf, p. 10
[16] http://hdr.undp.org/en/indicators/101406
[17]Ibid, p. 18
[18]https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ng.html
[19]https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/niger_media_guide%20070312.pdf, p. 87
[20]https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/niger_media_guide%20070312.pdf, p. 87
[21]https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ng.html
[22] https://www.internetworldstats.com/africa.htm

ANALYSIS OF MEDIA STORIES

OVERVIEW

The media stories included for analysis from the West African Hub are: five text articles, one audio story and a one video stories (see Appendix 2 for a full list).[23]

COMMUNICATIVE FRAMES

All stories analysed from the West African Hub employed a human interest frame (see Appendix 2), as each story focused on the human experiences and individual accounts of migration. Most stories compared several migrant stories presenting migrants' voice directly through quotes or indirectly through paraphrasing (with the exception being an article that focuses on one single case). The most common communicative frame (see Appendix 2) deployed in the stories was `reportage', as journalists sought to provide more understanding around migration issues, by giving voice to migrants who present the difficulties of their journeys and sometimes the reasons behind their decision to migrate. One of the stories analysed used the `campaign' frame as the journalist clearly attempts to use the article to fight against the stereotypes of Nigerian migrants living in Burkina Faso. The different individual accounts of the Nigerian migrants and native inhabitants are used to show how successful integration processes have been, by showing their economic activity, by highlighting their contribution to the economy of the country, or showing their support to the life of local people.

DESCRIPTIONS OF MIGRANTS

Different terms were used in the stories analysed to qualify migrants and describe their migration process. As shown in the table (at right), the most frequently used terms are 'trafficking' (*traffic)* and `smuggler' (*passeur*). This is most likely related to the law against the smuggling of migrants implemented in 2015. Other terms found in the stories analysed relate to the way migrants entered the country of destination as well as their legal status (e.g. `clandestine' and `regular').

Term used	Number of articles using the term at least once
'illégal' (migrant) [illegal]	1
'sans papiers' (migrant) [undocumented	0
'irrégulière' (en situation; migration; immigration)	1
'Non règlementaire' (migration) [irregular]	0
Trafic [trafficking]	3
Passeur [smuggler]	2
'régulière' (en situation) [regular]	2
Clandestin (migrant) [clandestine]	2
Travailleur (migrant) [labour]	1
Réfugié [refugee]	0

VOICES

The media stories analysed include information and quotes sourced mainly from irregular migrants. Other sources used are represented by citizens in the home country, regular migrants, NGO spokespeople and policy makers (see Appendix 4 for a table showing sources included and their contributions to the narrative).

The information provided by migrants, notably irregular migrants, is primarily used to provide individual accounts of the conditions of hardship encountered in their journeys (i.e. victims of hunger, thirst, death, bribery and physical and psychological violence) and the challenges found in the country of transit and destination (i.e. hunger, unemployment, violence, and imprisonment).

> *"The living conditions are difficult in these ghettos. They lack the essentials (water, food, a stable living environment)."*
>
> *('Situation des migrants en transit au Niger')*
>
> *"People have no consideration for the Africans who do not speak Arabic or Hausa, as if we were not in the same Africa."*
>
> *('Ces etres humains en quête d'un bien-etre')*

However, in contrast to other sources, migrant voices are rarely used to present discussions about the solutions to the phenomenon of migration. The voices of migrants (regular and irregular) are more

[23] All media stories were in French.

commonly used to discuss their individual cause of migration. For example:

> *"I am a qualified welder but despite my qualification, in my country I could not find a job, and I could not open my own business. I am the eldest in a poor family. The only solution that I had was to try my luck, and since I do not have any money to get a visa or a flight ticket, I decided to go through Libya and try to reach the western coasts."*
>
> *('Situation des migrants en transit au Niger')*

The information and quotes sourced from NGOs or activist group spokespeople, and policy makers was mainly used to set the background, supporting the individual accounts of hardship, and presenting discussions about the solutions. These solutions often focused on the new anti-smuggling law.[24]

> *"For many years there have been deaths in the Nigerien desert, and it is impossible to put an end to this because Niger did not have an adequate legislation to prevent and suppress the smuggling of migrants. Does this law allow managing the migration flow? Yes, because the State has the final say in in the field of the smuggling of migrants."*
>
> *('Migrer pour survivre: cas des femmes de Kantché')*

FOCUS GROUP PARTICIPANTS

DESCRIPTION OF PARTICIPANTS AND PROCESS

Four FGs with different groups of Nigerien audiences (youth, male only, female only, elderly), and one FG with (former) migrants, were undertaken in a communal space in Hotel Terminus in Niamey, the capital of Niger. The local implementing partner, Maison de la Presse, helped us to find a research assistant, provided access to the media products, and a gave important background information to the programme.

The participants of the youth FG were all university students. This can be explained because the research assistant also works as assistant professor at a local university. All participants lived in Niger's capital Niamey.

FG	Breakdown participants
1 – Youth	4 female Nigerien students, 4 male Nigerien students.
2 – (Former) migrants	3 male Malian nationals, 1 female Malian national. Two former female migrants from Niger.
3 – Women only	6 female Nigerien nationals. Some of the women mentioned they had attended university.
4 – Men only	8 male Nigerien nationals.
5 – Elderly	4 elderly men.

Of the 32 participants, 25 mentioned they regularly watched TV to access news, and 15 regularly listened to the radio (RFI, BBC World and Voice of America were mentioned). Eighteen participants mentioned using Internet, including all of the elderly group. Internet use consisted of browsing, using search engines like Google and Yahoo, and the use of social networks such as Facebook and WhatsApp. There were only two men (one young man and one elderly man) who read local newspapers frequently.

A selection of the following texts were discussed in the FGs.

- ***Migrer pour survivre: cas des femmes de Kantché*,** a radio show about female outward migration from a rural town in Niger for radio channel Studio Kalangou.
- ***Rêve brisé,*** a TV show about migrants who have returned to Mali, for the private TV channel Dounia.
- ***Migrant Ouest Africains - Ces êtres humains en quête d'un bien-être,*** a newspaper article published in *l'Evenement* about migrants living in transit in Niamey, Niger.

PARTICIPANTS' PERCEPTIONS ABOUT MIGRATION AND THEIR MEDIA CONTEXTS

Across all FGs, a distinction was mentioned regarding the reporting about migration by international TV and radio broadcasters, national broadcasters, and news and information they obtained online. There was much critique about international broadcasters' emphasis on what the participants commonly referred to as the 'negative' dimension of migration. This focus on 'negativity' was often attributed to the interest of the EU and its aim to discourage onward migration:

[24] The new anti-smuggling law is Loi 2015-36 relative au traffic illicit de migrants: https://www.unodc.org/res/cld/document/ner/2015/loi_relative_au_trafic_illicite_de_migrants_html/Loi_N2015-36_relative_au_trafic_illicite_de_migrants.pdf

> *"Western television uses every means necessary to discourage migrants from going to the other side. (…) Showing dead people. That's shocking - we cannot stand to see people dying like fish."*
>
> Man, men-only FG

France24 is mentioned specifically as the broadcast channel that tends to portray migrants as:

> *"parasites in search of an Eldorado that is Europe, seeking help. And here they try by all means to block them."*
>
> Youth FG

In this way, the reported stereotypical portrayal of migrants and migration is shocking and degrading. According to the FG participants it also seems to fail in regard to it being an effective deterrence policy. FG participants were very aware of the suffering of migrants travelling to Europe, but this was negated by their knowledge of the positive aspects on migration, often shared by social media, and therefore international broadcasting lost its credibility.

Participants noted that discussions about the causes of migration (warfare, drought), the historical dimensions of migration, and about sustainable solutions were missing in mainstream media. They also critiqued that through its usual focus on (often illegalised) journeys towards western countries, other types of migration, such as migration within Africa or rural-urban migration, were neglected.

Local and national media were said to generally follow the reporting of international (predominantly Western) media; or as one young male participant termed it, functioning as "*relayeurs*" (relay runners). There are political and logistical reasons for this. First, the technological skills, professional expertise and the finances to cover issues occurring in the northern and rural parts of Niger are limited, making local media reliant on the footage and scoops of international press. Second, local media are understood to largely follow state policy and therefore withhold critique. A story that was covered widely and nationally – and mentioned by many FG participants – was the treatment of African migrants in Libya, but this was also used as justification for the controversial law 2015/36 which will be discussed further in the next section. One Nigerien former migrant woman made mention of censorship and limited press freedom.

Internet was considered by most FG participants as an important and reliable source of information about migration, and it was also where migrant voices were mostly heard:

> *"Social networks give the voice to migrants because the government does not control social networks. They are discrediting the image that the government wants to present internationally. This is the idea that we have of these social networks. The true image of migrants on social networks serves as a kind of denunciation. It proves the government's inability to retain its population, to give a job to every citizen to keep him in his country."*
>
> Man, men-only FG

PERSONAL OPINIONS ABOUT MIGRATION

At the start of the FGs almost all participants considered migration as a "*necessary evil*" (Nigerien man, men-only FG) caused by the country's poverty and unemployment. The phenomenon caused contradictory feelings: there were concerns about the dangers of the journey, of what will happen to the country and with those (women, elderly, and children) who stay behind. There were also concerns about those who once they leave "*forget the house*" (FG Women only) and their responsibilities for families. Migration was however also considered as a social act, and one that is necessary if there a no opportunities in place.

> "*Migration is not to be banned because those people who have gone to search, they are not there for themselves but for their families too. It is to ensure the needs of their families.*"
>
> Woman, women-only FG

Other participants mentioned the long-established circular migration within West-Africa, and migration was considered a duty, and a matter of honour and necessity. It is important to note here that most participants were in fact referring to migration of men. As will become clear in the Key Findings, the migration of women was a different matter.

One young student emphasised how migration was part of human nature and drew upon the example of the United States in his argument that migration enriches culture. Other participants also made mention of the 'positive' impact migration can have, for instance in regards to cultural exchange and the exchange of goods and (formerly unknown) services and remittances.

Two men (one elderly man, one participant in the FG men only) problematised the definition of migration, and who decides what migration is. They referred to Niger's colonial past, as they argued how movement

of humans is measured differently. One former migrant – a Nigerien woman – mentioned how migration was "*normal, because we are neighbours*" referring to a sense of pan-African identity.

There were hardly any concerns about migrants residing in Niger: as Niger was a transit country, there seemed a firm belief that migrants would not stay because of the limited opportunities: "*In Niger there is nothing*" (FG Women only).

RESPONSES TO MEDIA STORIES

KEY FINDING 1 – MIGRANT STORIES ARE INTERPRETED THROUGH PRIOR KNOWLEDGE

The interpretation of the media stories discussed during the FGs did not occur in isolation: it is filtered through what people have previously experienced, been taught, seen, interpreted, and (believe to) know about migration. The information obtained was also often partial and this further influenced particular readings.

This was for instance the case in regard to the video story, '*Rêve brisé',* which discusses the experiences of Malian nationals who have returned from Libya. Several participants reacted strongly to the story of one of the protagonists, who had spent 5 million CFA (10,000 USD) on travelling to Russia, where he then spent three years in jail. The understanding that migration is a "necessary evil" became rather normative as it does not match with the context in which this man made the decision to leave: he was not poor when he migrated, and therefore some participants felt that he should have invested his money into the development of his country. This participant reacts enthusiastically as she is learning something new about migration:

> *"I thought that it was only the poor who go outside to fetch money, but some migrants have money, up to 5 million. I was surprised!"*
>
> Woman, women-only FG

Other FG participants had different interpretations, saying that it is very sad people are taken advantage. For one young man it only confirmed his idea: "*that migration only causes suffering and desolation."* Returning emptyhanded is an additional source of shame, also since in Niger's context migration is a social endeavour:

> *"But you know, it's a matter of dignity, your parents, they sell everything so that you go looking for something to take care of them now you go and halfway you were robbed of your dignity, everything you have."*
>
> Man, elderly FG

This further explains why the FG participants were positive about the existence of programs for returnees, but their optimism was cautious as there seems to be scepticism than an organisation like IOM can provide enough jobs or other sustainable solutions to counter the need that especially poorer Nigerien people might feel for migration.

KEY FINDING 2 – GENDERING MIGRANT VOICES

The radio story, '*Migrer pour survivre: cas des femmes de Kanthce*', discusses the plight of a rural female migrant from the south-east of Niger. The story evoked strong responses, especially among young women. This can perhaps partly be explained by their surprise about this phenomenon. For some of the young women it was the first time they heard about women travelling by themselves.

A young woman judged the behaviour of the female migrant protagonist in the radio story as shameful:

> *"She does not even measure the degree of risk she takes on the way before arriving there. There are rapes, she can be made to prostitute herself […] and even if she does not do it, when she comes back, she will be frowned upon."*
>
> Young woman, youth FG

The vulnerabilities of migrants seem intersect here with what is deemed as culturally appropriate gendered behaviour. Participants in the men-only FG contrasted their perceptions of Niger's cultural practices with customs in the neighbouring country of Burkina Faso. They explained that in contrast to Burkina Faso, in Niger it would be custom for a woman to be dependent of her male kin for as long as she lives.

> *"I speak of Niger… I can find no reason why I can justify a Nigerien woman going on migration. Because there's always family to help."*
>
> Man, men-only FG

For this reason, this male participant was convinced that the female protagonist was embellishing the truth, because according to his ideas of Nigerien culture she would have received support. The man justified her behaviour, as he stated that "*in front of camera*" a person who migrates would feel inclined to emphasise immediate vulnerabilities.

Most FG participants did recognise that, like men, women can be trapped by structural poverty, and that women might be more vulnerable to particular forms of violence than men are. Across all FGs, there was consensus that Nigerien community needs to respond in solidarity and should offer solutions and alternatives that counter especially female Nigerien outward migration. The article, '*Migrant Ouest Africains - Ces êtres humains en quête d'un bien-être*', conveys the journey of a woman from Cote d'Ivoire, but her gender was not a matter that was discussed.

KEY FINDING 3 – HOPES AND HARSH REALITIES OF AFRICAN UNITY

Participants expressed feelings of rage, sadness and shame when they – in 2017 – had learned about how people were maltreated in Libya. This subject is discussed in the video story, '*Rêve brisé',* and connected to the importance of African unity. This link resonated with many FG participants:

> *"What hurts is that all these countries are African countries, and that their governments do nothing to prevent these practices with regard to migrants."*
>
> Woman, women-only FG

The division of "*two Africas"* (young man, FG young people), according to former migrants who draw upon their own experiences, cuts across racial lines:

> *"In Maghreb Africa, people who are black are not good."*
>
> Former Nigerien female migrant, (former) migrants FG

Two women expressed their ideas that unwelcoming, racist or even violent practices towards migrants in Arabic-speaking parts of Africa contrasts with what would be the welcoming practices of their home country:

> *"No, there is not that here, Niger is a Muslim country. Maybe you do not have the chance to succeed but there is no one who will torture you to get money."*
>
> Woman, women-only FG

She found this idea of Niger as a "*welcoming country"* confirmed in her reading of the newspaper article, '*Migrant Ouest Africains - Ces êtres humains en quête d'un bien-être'*. She stated that unlike in other countries, in Niger the female protagonist was not disturbed by local authorities or by bandits.

The radio show, *'Migrer pour survivre: cas des femmes de Kanthce',* situates the story of a female Nigerien migrant around a discussion on the implementation of law 36/2015. This law is aimed to counter cross-border movement and criminalises corruption. Some participants welcomed these measures:

> *"I feel a sense of joy at what I have just listened to because I know that our country is doing its best to stop the process of migration."*
>
> Woman, women-only FG

Others were more sceptical or even angry, as they mention that the law contradicts the free movement of people that was established not only in national legislation but also through ECOWAS, or that funds might be 'hijacked' by their state. Moreover, it is considered as being imposed by the EU:

> *"There is a huge amount of money that has been granted to our states to fight against migration, the application of this law has been very fast. We have not put in place a mechanism, a strategy, or any projects to be able to take care of the migrants, to train them, to give them equipment, or funds to start a revenue-generating activity once they return home. In addition, the law is not to fight against migration in the Sahelo-Saharan space or ECOWAS. The ultimate goal is to prevent migration to Europe, this is the real goal."*
>
> Man, men-only FG

The (former) migrants were hopeful that law 36/2015 would contribute to greater protection of migrants.

KEY FINDING 4 – THE IMPORTANCE OF LESS 'NEGATIVITY' AND MORE ACCESSIBILITY

The limited reporting in mainstream media on migration was, across all FGs, critiqued for its negativity. Some participants also critiqued the media texts, produced for this programme and discussed during the FG, as being the 'same' in its focus on the negative aspects of migration in and from Niger. This critique does not mean that the participants necessarily wanted more 'success' stories, but that media stories tended to be skewed towards deterrence.

> *"Sure, the negative side is heavier, the positive side is less. Maybe only 15 per cent succeed. Gain something, send money back. Even if it is a small percentage, we have to talk about it. If we do not talk about it, it*

means that there is a policy there to discourage"

Man, FG man only

Many participants emphasised the importance of awareness-raising, which they see as distinct from only showing the suffering of migrants, but that rather also discusses causes and potential solutions for those who feel forced – because of economic reasons – to leave, but also for those who return.

There is a great divide between the urban Francophone elite and Niger's rural population. The urban literate FG participants were conscious of their own positioning. In the concluding discussion about what media text (out of the three) discussed they preferred, preferences went beyond being personally touched by emotive stories or having being informed by what they saw as 'good journalism'. Instead participants' main focus was on accessibility and availability outside of Niamey. Some participants believed TV was the best medium since viewers with lower language and literacy skills can still understand the message, and because the visual input make the message more effective and affective: *"The face often reflects reality."*

Others questioned the availability of TV in more remote areas and therefore argued that radio was the most suitable medium to reach a broader audience.

"In rural areas people listen to the radio. And also, it is a cheaper communication tool. And it is in the [local] language that people understand. It is a means of awareness (…) It is true that poverty is everywhere, but we must give ourselves information."

Male migrant from Mali, (Former) Migrant FG

NORTHERN AFRICA HUB – **MOROCCO,** LIBYA, ALGERIA, TUNISIA

KEY INSIGHTS

- **Most media stories focus on the struggle, conveying the determination of migrants in the face of great suffering and danger.**
- **FG participants had different interpretations of the same stories drawing on their individual and collective biographies.**
- **Detailed stories of the struggle in the migration process and successful integration in the country of destination evoke empathetic reactions across all FG participants.**

CONTEXT: MEDIA AND MIGRATION IN MOROCCO

MOROCCO'S MIGRATION CONTEXT

Morocco is a migrant-sending country, but since the 1990s it has also become a transit and migrant-receiving country.

The phenomenon of emigration from Morocco has been historically mainly directly to Western Europe, notably to France, Belgium, the Netherlands, and to a lesser extent to Germany. A more recent wave of emigration has been directed since the late 1980s to Spain and Italy. Outside Europe, the United States and Canada have been the favourite destinations of tertiary-educated students and highly-skilled workers, whilst rich-oil Gulf States have been the destination elected by a number of seasonal migrants.[25] As a result of these different waves of emigration, it is estimated that today 4.5 million people currently live outside the country, which equates to approximately a tenth of all Moroccans.[26]

Although Morocco remains prevalently an emigration country, since the mid-1990s, Morocco has also been a transit and receiving country for migrants and refugees from sub-Saharan Africa, and to some

[25] Mohamed Berriane, Hein de Haas & Katharina Natter. (2015). Introduction: revisiting Moroccan migrations, *The Journal of North African Studies*, 20:4, 503-521, DOI: 10.1080/13629387.2015.1065036

[26] Cherti and Grant. (2013). Le mythe du transit, Institute for Public Policy Research https://www.ccme.org.ma/fr/publications/52645

extent Syrian refugees, Chinese traders, and migrants from crisis-hit Europe.[27]

Morocco's proximity to Europe has pushed over the years increasing numbers of migrants and refugees to the country. These changes in Morocco's migration context have led the country to play a key intermediate role linking African and Mediterranean migration systems.[28] This is visible in the close partnership that has been created between Morocco and the European Union on mobility and security issues.[29] The main priorities of the EU-Morocco cooperation in this space are firstly the return and reintegration of Moroccans in Morocco and of Third Country Nationals[30] to their countries of origin; secondly, the mobilisation of Moroccan skills abroad.[31]

The majority of the immigrants residing in Morocco are from African countries such as Senegal, Mali, Nigeria, Democratic Republic of Congo, Sierra Leone, Cameron and Ivory Coast.[32] It is difficult to gain a precise idea of the size of this immigrant-origin population in Morocco, because statistics and official data are far from complete and a significant component of the immigration flow directed into Morocco is irregular. For example, during the regularisation campaign launched between December 2014 and February 2015, about 27,332 applications were submitted.

Since 2008 a significant flow of Syrian refugees was directed to Morocco. According to the UNHCR, in 2016 Morocco was home to about 3,242 refugees from Syria. Another significant trend in Morocco's migration context is the flow of European migrants, notably French and Spanish, who settled in cities like Marrakesh, Tangier, Fez, and Essaouira, as workers, entrepreneurs, or retirees.[33]

A BRIEF OVERVIEW OF MEDIA USE IN MOROCCO

Between December 2000 and December 2017, the number of Internet users has increased from approximately 100,000 to about 22,600,000, which equates to a penetration rate of 62 per cent.[34] The most successful digital media platform is Facebook. In December 2017, the number of Facebook subscribers was about 41 per cent of the population in Morocco.[35]

Based on a study conducted by Morocco's Telecommunications Regulatory National Agency (ANRT) in 2016, from 2010 to 2016, the proportion of households with a landline phone fell from 39 per cent to 22 per cent. In the same period of time the use of mobile phones has increased from 83 per cent of the population to about 94 per cent. Interestingly there are no differences between the rural and urban regions of the country.[36]

A significant number of people use messaging and Voice-over Internet Protocol (VoIP) services offered by applications like Viber, Tango, Messenger, and notably WhatsApp and Skype. In January 2016, the popularity of these applications pushed ANRT to impose a ban on VoIP calls, on the grounds of `unfair competition'.[37] Following online protests and a boycott of all three major telecommunication operators (iMaroc Telecom, Meditel, and Inwi), the ban was lifted in November 2016.[38] Interestingly, the ban engendered protest not only of local consumers in Morocco but also of the Moroccan communities residing abroad, who make use of these Internet services to stay in contact with their families and friends in Morocco.

[27] De Bel-Air (2016). Migration Profile: Morocco http://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/41124/MPC_PB_2016_05.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y
[28] Mohamed Berriane, Hein de Haas & Katharina Natter (2015) Introduction: revisiting Moroccan migrations, *The Journal of North African Studies*, 20:4, 503-521, DOI: 10.1080/13629387.2015.1065036
[29] European Union External Action (2016). https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-Homepage/4347/morocco-and-eu_en
[30] The term 'third country nationals' is used in the EU lexicon to refer to the migrants coming from countries outside the EU and not holding the citizenship of any EU member state.
[31] De Bel-Air (2016). Migration Profile: Morocco http://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/41124/MPC_PB_2016_05.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y
[32] Lahlou (2015). http://www.iai.it/sites/default/files/iaiwp1530.pdf
[33] Lahlou (2015). Terrazzoni (2015). http://books.openedition.org/cjb/874?lang=fr ; de Haas (2014) https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/morocco-setting-stage-becoming-migration-transition-country
[34] The Internet Penetration Rate of a country indicates the percentage of the total population that uses the Internet. The IWS defines an Internet user as anyone currently in capacity to use the Internet: (1) The person must have available access to an Internet connection point, and (2) The person must have the basic knowledge required to use web technology.
[35] IWS (2018). https://www.internetworldstats.com/africa.htm#ma
[36] ANRT (2016). https://www.anrt.ma/sites/default/files/publications/enquete_tic_2015_fr.pdf
[37] Guerraoui 2016. http://www.middleeasteye.net/columns/boycotts-appeals-petitions-restore-blocked-voip-calls-morocco-1520817507
[38] Reuters (2016). https://af.reuters.com/article/idAFL8N1D558J

MOROCCO'S MEDIA LANDSCAPE IN RELATION TO MOROCCO'S MIGRATION CONTEXT

A study conducted by the Ethical Journalism Network (EJN) in 2017 shows how since the early 2000 Morocco's media coverage of migration has evolved alongside the events in the political context.[39] In the early 2000s most Moroccan media coverage of immigration issues oscillated between sensationalism and compassion, and often used provocative and racist language. From mid 2000s the quality of media production on immigration issues has progressively increased following four major factors: a) Morocco's implementation of a new security policy to manage immigration flows; b) the development of networks to defend the rights of irregular migrants; c) the EU's pressure on Morocco to strengthen the role of civil society stakeholders working on immigration issues; and d) direct investment in media coverage and its strategic use by the Interior Ministry.

In 2013, under the instruction of King Mohammed VI, the government announced a massive campaign of regularisation that was later launched in December 2014. In the same year, the government also adopted a reform in the field of immigration and asylum that also had repercussions on the media landscape. This marked a turning point because migration stopped being a security question and has since become a public policy issue. In 2013-2014 migration had become a "trendy" topic in the media.

From 2015, migration issues started receiving only limited coverage by newspaper or online media outlets. Migration becomes an "invisible" and "institutional" topic. A survey (conducted by the freelance journalist, and local partner of this programme, Salaheddine Lemaizi) showed that out of the 400 articles considered, only ten of these drew on statements of migrants.[40] As he notes, the migrant voice is lost and replaced by spokespeople, like NGOs and international organisations, who speak for the migrant.

At the same time, the report by EJN shows that a large number of social media users were free to publish comments and posts that were racists or xenophobic towards the sub-Saharan population in Morocco.

Interestingly, in the FGs conducted in Casablanca participants pointed to the tension existing between the information obtained from traditional or heritage sources of media, and the information published on social media outlets. A number of participants have highlighted how social media like Facebook and WhatsApp have played in important role in counterbalancing the silence of heritage (newspapers, TV, radio etc.) sources of information on these issues, by providing a different perspective and easy access to relevant current events.

ANALYSIS OF MEDIA STORIES

OVERVIEW

The media stories included for analysis from the Northern Africa/Moroccan Hub are: six text articles



aujourd'hui 9

Les vestiges des cahutes bâties à base de branchages, de tôle et de plastique témoignent d'une agression violente. Des chaussures usées, des bidons éventrés et des ustensiles jonchent les allées poussiéreuses et défoncées des lieux. Reportage.

Les migrants s'accrochent à l'espoir de rester sur le territoire algérien ou de pouvoir rejoindre l'Occident

MAGHNIA Sur les rives maudites de l'oued Jorgi

«ON ARRÊTERA DE MIGRER QUAND L'OCCIDENT CESSERA DE DÉCIDER POUR NOUS ! »

«NOUS DEVONS VIVRE ENSEMBLE COMME DES FRÈRES, SINON NOUS ALLONS MOURIR COMME DES IDIOTS» (MARTIN LUTHER KING)

Dibena Kouam Jacques-Alain : de Paris à oued Jorgi de Maghnia

Figure 1 Maghnia : Sur les rives maudites de l'oued Jorgi: https://www.algeria-watch.org/fr/article/pol/migration/rives_oued_jorgi.htm

[39] Lemaizi (2017). https://ethicaljournalismnetwork.org/resources/publications/media-mediterranean-migration/morocco
[40] https://ethicaljournalismnetwork.org/resources/publications/media-mediterranean-migration/morocco

(three in French, three in Arabic), one audio story and one video story (see Appendix 2 for a full list).[41]

COMMUNICATIVE FRAMES

All stories analysed from the Northern African Hub used a human interest frame (see Appendix 2), seeking to show a human experience of migration as the focus of the story. Some stories, in fact, were entirely structured around one or more migrant stories using quotes and paraphrasing almost exclusively. The most common communicative frame (see Appendix 2) deployed was `reportage' (six stories), as journalists attempt to deepen the understanding and insight into the migration issues, by using personal testimonies and providing detailed accounts of the events. One story used the `campaign' frame as journalists advocate a clear (supportive) position and seeks to gather support around the conditions of migrants in Morocco. One story used the `investigation/exposé' frame, using a narrative style, as the journalist set out to uncover information and practices that would not otherwise be known to the general public.

DESCRIPTIONS OF MIGRANTS

The stories analysed use different terms to describe migrants, their current situation, and their process of migration to the country of destination.[42] Most of the terms in the stories analysed relate to their condition as refugees in the country of residence. The second most commonly used qualifier in the stories is `worker' (*travailleur*) for migrants. When using ` migrant worker', it is sometimes not possible for readers to identify the legal status of the migrants, unless relevant contextual clues are included elsewhere.

Term used	Number of articles using the term at least once
'sans papiers' (migrant)	1
'irrégulière' (en situation ; migration ; immigration)	2
'Non règlementaire' (migration)	1
Trafic	1
Passeur	1
'régulière' (en situation)	1
Clandestin (migrant)	1
Travailleur (migrant)	2
Refugié	2

VOICES

All the media products considered in this analysis include information or quotes sourced from regular or irregular migrants. Some of the stories analysed also include NGOs and a political spokesperson, and/or citizens in the home country. (See Appendix 4 for a table providing a quantification of each source against the types of contribution provided).

The information sourced from migrants is in almost all cases used to portray hardships, and tends to convey a determination and resilience in spite of those hardships. In particular, quotes and information sourced from irregular or migrants are used to present their experiences of sexual assault, separation from family and friends, deaths of family members while attempting to migrate, their daily struggles to earn enough money to survive, and the challenges endured to save money for the continuation of the trip. For example:

> *"The beginning was not easy because I arrived here without money. I didn't have anything and I lived from the help of my friends, who supported me in finding a job. But I realise that not everyone has this chance."*
>
> (*De la migration à l'entrepreneuriat: Parcours de femmes au Maroc)*

In the articles published in Arabic (in news outlets in Tunisia and Algeria), migrant voices also detail the long and dangerous journeys, and routes attempted or taken.

Across all articles, the individual voices of migrants are used to present the causes behind the personal decision to migrate and settle in the Maghreb or the decision not to stop in the Maghreb but continue their migration project towards Europe. For example:

> *"Entered in Tunisia in 2006 to continue his university studies, this 30 year old man could not secure a position in his field of studies after many years of work and sacrifices."*
>
> (*Travailleurs migrants en Tunisie: Plutôt qu'un fardeau, un stimulant pour l'économie.)*

NGO or activist group spokespeople or quotes from overall organisations, when used, are there to zoom out from the individual condition of the single biography and provide the general background. This

[41] The Arabic articles were crudely translated so that could be included in some of the discussions about frames and sources, but these articles are excluded from analysis of language and terminology. See Appendix 2.
[42] The articles in Arabic were not included in this part of the analysis, since the accuracy of the translations could not be verified.

serves simultaneously to provide a sense of scale of the conditions of hardship of the migrant and refugee groups, to provide credibility to the claims of hardship, and to sometimes suggest solutions. For example:

> *"The Ligue algérienne pour la défense des droits de l'homme* [Algerian league for the defence of human rights] *estimated that at least '2000 expulsions from the national territory since the beginning of the year', and `the migrants expelled sometime have a regular status'."*
>
> *(MAGHNIA Sur les rives maudites de l'oued Jorgi)*

FOCUS GROUP PARTICIPANTS

DESCRIPTION OF PARTICIPANTS AND PROCESS

Five focus groups (FGs) were held in the offices of Le Desk in Casablanca, to discuss with local and migrant audiences a selection of media products that were part of this programme.[43]

FG	Breakdown participants
1 – Women	5 women, age range between approximately mid 20s and early 50s. One participant was unemployed but stopped looking for a job and one retired. Two other participants were employed. One participant was a university student.
2 – People directly affected by migration	5 people, 3 men and 2 women ranging from early 20s to early 40s. 4 out 5 members of this group were engaged militants in pro-migrants associations. The group of women was composed of a young mother in mid-30s employed in a part-time job, and a university student. Beyond their activity of militants all 3 men had a job.
3 – Young people	4 men in their early 20s. All members of this group were students in university.
4 – Men	3 men, age range between late 30s and early 40s. All members were high school teachers with university degrees.
5 – Elderly people	3 men, age approximately over 60. One member of this group was a freelance journalist, the second a retired journalist, and the third a retired manager who worked for many years in German speaking Switzerland.

As shown in the table below, each FG was composed of five different group (in the order in which they were conducted): women only, people personally affected by migration, young people, men only, and elderly people). As mentioned in the limitations, we had particular difficulties engaging a local research assistant in a timely way ahead of the field-visit, and this affected the diversity of participants we were able to recruit.

Using the criteria outlined in Appendix 2, the following stories were selected for use in FG discussions:

- A fragment of the video, ***'De la migration à l'entrepreneuriat: Parcours de femmes au Maroc'***, in which three migrant women (two migrants from Ivory Coast and Togo and a refugee from Ivory Coast) living in the city capital of Rabat talk about their positive integration experiences as entrepreneurs in the Moroccan job market.
- A fragment of a radio reportage story broadcast on Atlantic Radio, where a young Congolese woman discussed her migration to Morocco through Algeria.
- The online article, ***`Frère, laisse-moi te conter mon calvaire!,*** published on *Libération*, in which the experience of a young African waiting in the Bolingo Forest in the North of Morocco to cross the barriers to enter Europe is told in the form of a letter sent to his brother.

PARTICIPANTS' PERCEPTIONS ABOUT MIGRATION AND THEIR MEDIA CONTEXTS

The FGs show that participants have contrasting perceptions about the information on migration issues circulating on heritage media forms like newspapers, television and radio shows, on one hand, and the coverage on online platforms like Facebook, WhatsApp, and YouTube.

The coverage of migration issues in newspapers, television and radio shows was considered more trustworthy because it is possible to know exactly which organisation or person is behind a specific piece of news.

At the same time, the coverage on migration through these media platforms is perceived to be very often biased towards the interests of the state. According to some participants, the state has the power to

[43] LeDesk.ma is an online news outlet founded in 2015 by Ali Amar, Christophe Guguen, Omar Radi, Fatima-Zahra Lqadiri, and Aziz Aouadi. Le Desk is not a partner of the IMS, however the General Director of Pulse Media, the publishing company of Le Desk, kindly offered their working space to conduct all our focus groups.

influence media companies (private and public) in portraying a positive image of the country in the management of the migration issue, and leaving aside controversial aspects.

> *"On the social networks we can see all the problems whilst on official media we can't see them. So, on official media we see a good image of Morocco. All official media are the same. It's the same with BBC, France 24 in France, and England, and in the United States."*
>
> Moroccan man, man-only FG

Conversely, the reporting on online outlets like Facebook, WhatsApp, and YouTube is perceived, (notably by the younger participants) as an easier way to access information without the need of, for example, a subscription. In addition, these online tools are perceived as more appropriate to access information on migration issues since it is not controlled directly or indirectly by the state.

> *"I trust Facebook more. Often they have also videos. Because there are always contradictions. On France 24 they don't show us all the truth. On Facebook, when something happens, people immediately react and the information circulates. When you want to obtain more details on a topic you can see the page of the person who shared the information and get in touch with that person to get more details. It is a platform where everyone is connected and we can discuss. If something happens, France 24 will show just what they want."*
>
> Congolese woman, migrant FG

Although more accessible and less biased towards the state's interests, FGs participants also pointed out the difficulty of not knowing who is publishing a certain piece of news. According to the some participants, notably the members of the elderly group[44], 'fake news' circulating on these platforms is responsible for the increased confusion in the public opinion on migration.

> *"On Facebook there are people that publish things that are not correct, just to gain money"*
>
> Moroccan man, men-only FG

PERSONAL OPINIONS ABOUT MIGRATION

In all FGs, participants focused mainly on the inward migration from Saharan African countries. Discussions on the outward migration from Morocco was focused mainly on the migrants coming from other African countries that reside temporarily in Morocco to continue their migration projects towards other destinations in Europe.

Interestingly, although Morocco is still a major emigration country, discussions about the migration phenomenon were not focused migrants with Moroccan nationalities.

Only in a few occasions was reference made to Moroccan migrants to convey principally two different messages. Firstly, that the migration process has changed today with respect to the past waves of migrants: from low skilled to highly skilled migration directed principally towards North America, rather than Europe. Secondly, when migrants with Moroccan nationality are discussed, their migration experiences are dissociated from those of the migrants entering Morocco.

> *"The Africans who migrate to Morocco are another story"*
>
> Moroccan man, men-only FG

In the FGs, the phenomenon of migration was generally not segmented into irregular and regular. Only in a few instances did the discussion turn to the distinction between irregular migration and regular migration. This was to point out the additional vulnerabilities of irregular migrants, or to express concern towards inward, irregular migration. In the first case, irregular migration is seen negatively because it places people in a vulnerable position in the country of destination, which they saw as ultimately affecting their process of integration. In the second (concerns about inward irregular migration), which was more common across the different FGs, irregular migration is perceived in a negative way and is framed as a matter of national security, with a sense that the migration flow entering Morocco is out of control.

> *"The migration through legal migration agencies is fine, but when it's through informal intermediaries it's not going anywhere. The person is going to find him/herself on the street begging."*
>
> Moroccan woman, women-only FG

[44] Of which two were current or former journalists

"The problem of Ouald Ziane[45] is a problem caused by the State. The State opens the borders without a plan, without a health policy and an accommodation policy."

Moroccan man, men-only FG

RESPONSES TO MEDIA STORIES

KEY FINDING 1 – DIFFERENT AUDIENCES, DIFFERENT INTERPRETATIONS OF THE SAME STORIES.

The main focus of discussion and interpretations in response to the video fragment from '*De la migration à l'entrepreneuriat : Parcours de femmes au Maroc',* about women entrepreneurs living in Morocco (Figure 2), varied across the different FGs. There were particularly notable difference between the migrant FG, and the men and (male only) elderly FG.

In all groups except the migrant FG the video was seen a positive example of integrating into the economic and social life of Morocco, and expressed feelings of pride for the stories of the three migrant women presented in the video.

"They fight for their life. And it's legitimate!"

Moroccan man, elderly FG

"Three female warriors! They have many problems but they have managed to build something"

Moroccan man, man-only FG

Within the women-only FG, all participants felt pride about what has been achieved by the three migrant women in Morocco, and expressed sentiments of empathy towards them. According to the participants, the migrants' voices of these three women symbolise the struggle that all women must cope with in the world.

Feelings of anger and sadness were expressed in relation to the sexual violence experienced in Morocco that one person in the video (a young refugee from Ivory Coast) briefly mentioned.

"It is wrong to treat the subject of sexual violence in passing like this"

Migrant women, migrant FG

The (male-only) elderly group stated that the cases of sexual violence are not due to racism, but rather misogyny, which according to them is a common phenomenon in the country.

Conversely, members of the migrant group reacted in a very different way to the same video fragment,



Figure 2 De la migration à l'entrepreneuriat : Parcours de femmes au Maroc: https://www.yabiladi.com/articles/details/62949/migration-l-entrepreneuriat-parcours-femmes-maroc.html

[45] Clash between local residents of Derb Kebir in Casablanca and sub-Saharan migrants in the neighbourhood of Oulad Ziane, in November 2017: https://information.tv5monde.com/afrique/maroc-migrants-subsahariens-et-jeunes-marocains-s-affrontent-casablanca-205750

expressing concerns about the accuracy of the video and suggesting that it wasn't a "real" example of integration, since it did not resonate with their experience. They reacted with distrust and believed that the interviews with the three migrant women were prepared in advance. The video fragment was considered as a deliberate attempt to present a positive image of Morocco as being in control of the migration flow and integration to strengthen its position in the migration agreements with the European Union.

> *"Morocco is the gendarme of Europe"*
>
> Migrant man, migrant FG

Some members of the elderly group also expressed some doubt as to the representativeness of the video. They stated that the three women were not representative of the actual migrant population in Morocco; namely because the three women had a good level of French, they entered Morocco with a profession, and they had a good level of education. This group considered the video to be inaccurate of the actual migration context in Morocco, and felt that by focusing on individual success stories it ignored the more sensitive migrant profiles of male, poor, and irregular migrants.

KEY FINDING 2 – MIGRANTS' VOICES AS STORIES OF STRUGGLE AND INTEGRATION

The radio fragment '*Reportage audio*' (about a young Congolese woman who migrated to Morocco through Algeria) evoked pride within the migrant FG as it details the struggles that a young migrant woman had to go through in her determination to reach Morocco. Most migrant participants saw this as a positive example of integration because it goes beyond the victimisation of migrants and shows the strength, resilience and values of migrants. The radio fragment evoked similar reactions in the other FDGs:

> *"What courage and will! She is an Amazonian African!"*
>
> Moroccan man, man-only FG

Members of the men-only and elderly FG expressed some sentiments of pride towards their own country. According to them, the radio fragment correctly portrayed a positive image of Morocco. They felt that it showed the extent to which Morocco is welcoming towards migrants and that integration for migrants in Morocco is relatively easy, when compared to other countries in the Maghreb.

KEY FINDING 3 – THE COMPLEX IDENTITIES AND ATTACHMENTS EVOKED IN THE AUDIENCES

The video, *'De la migration à l'entrepreneuriat : Parcours de femmes au Maroc',* about the women entrepreneurs, evoked a number of debates across and within the audiences, notably in relation to the issues of oppression, racism, and discrimination towards sub-Saharan migrants. The reactions to the video and the discussions that followed reflected to a great extent the complex identity patterns found in Morocco.[46]

> *"Moroccans think of themselves as Europeans rather than Africans."*
>
> Moroccan woman, woman-only FG

> *"Nowadays there are still Moroccans who do not know that they are in the African continent. They are not aware. The media have to do their part and inform the population that Morocco is in Africa."*
>
> Migrant woman, migrant FG

Many of the Moroccan FG participants believed that racism and discrimination against sub-Saharan migrants does not exist in their country. The people directly affected by migration and a few Moroccan participants however considered racism and discrimination as a major problem that pushes Sub-Saharan migrants to continue their migration project beyond Morocco, as in the case of one of the three migrant women presented in the video fragment.

> *"For an African who lives in Morocco, Moroccans enact racism at the level of language, and discrimination in the job market. The migrant has not time to integrate in society because they have to cope with many challenges. Very often, Africans are not Muslim, in addition to the fact that they are black, so it's a double discrimination. On the other side, Muslims, like the migrants from Senegal, integrated easily. For example, I know a shoemaker that*

[46] As pointed out Cherti and Collyer (2015, 590) "Morocco 'thinks of itself' in very different ways: Arabic, Berber, Islamic, African, European, Maghrebian, Mediterranean, to name but a few. Each self-representation leads to an alternative set of policy orientations, and 'geopolitical cultures'."

married a Senegalese woman because they are Muslims. They have kids. There are many cases, Niger, Nigeria, Cameroon, Ivory Coast, but the Senegalese get integrated faster. Furthermore, they have a way of being that is closer to that of the Moroccans."

Moroccan man, man-only FG

Conversely, the written article (*Frère, laisse-moi te conter mon calvaire !)* evoked strong sentiments of empathy across all FGs. Men, women, young, old, and migrant groups seemed able to swiftly connect with the suffering of the African migrants described in the text. This was true even among the participants that initially showed distance or hostility vis a vis migration and of particularly sub-Saharan migrants in Morocco. For example, one young man showed solidarity with the rights of migrants, saying,

"Now people have no longer the right to pass the frontiers because Morocco has conventions with Europe to prevent Africans from crossing."

Moroccan man, Youth FG

The vivid details of the living conditions of irregular migrants living in the Bolingo Forest in the North of Morocco, waiting for the right moment to enter Europe, as well as the brutality of the Moroccan paramilitary forces used against migrants, contributed to a common interpretation of the story across all participants. A number of participants were surprised by the degree of discipline (with roles and rules) created by the group of migrants to live in the forest. They were genuinely moved by determination migrants had in the face of all adversities encountered in the forest. Their living condition has been likened for example by a participant of the women FG, to an actual state of war, saying:

"It's the war in the forest!"

Moroccan woman, women-only FG

SOUTHERN AFRICA HUB – **ZIMBABWE,** SOUTH AFRICA

KEY INSIGHTS

- **The stories themselves include migrant voices, but migrants mainly function to give a human face to suffering, and rarely get to speak about solutions.**
- **Honest, accurate, and in-depth accounts of migrants in and out of Zimbabwe are valued by FG participants.**
- **FG participants were discerning, using their existing knowledge and the perceived quality of journalism determine whether the articles are 'true'.**
- **Migration issues covered in stories were often read through participants' own everyday struggle to get by and deal with corruption in Zimbabwe.**

CONTEXT: MEDIA AND MIGRATION IN ZIMBABWE

ZIMBABWE'S MIGRATION CONTEXT

In 2017, the total population of Zimbabwe was estimated at 16.53 million people.[47] In terms of migration, Zimbabwe is mostly a sending country for migration.

The 2014 Labour Force and Child Labour (LFCL) Survey, conducted by the Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency, ZimStat, showed that in 2014 there were approximately 207,000 migrants residing in Zimbabwe, 78,000 of whom were labour migrants.[48,49] In March 2018, UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees) had registered a total of 19,182 People of Concern, the majority of whom came from Democratic Republic of Congo (8,987 persons) and Mozambique (8,172 persons). Many registered refugees and asylum seekers in Zimbabwe are living in Tongogara Refugee Camp, close to the border of Mozambique.[50]

It is difficult to obtain numbers regarding out-migration from Zimbabwe to South Africa and beyond

[47]http://esa.un.org/unpd/wpp/Publications/Files/WPP2017_KeyFindings.pdf
[48]http://www.zimstat.co.zw/sites/default/files/img/publications/Migration/Migration_Profile_2014.pdf p 5
[49]As Zimbabwean's population in 2014 was 15.41 million people, this equals that approximately 1.34 % of Zimbabwe's residing population was a migrant.
[50]http://reporting.unhcr.org/sites/default/files/UNHCR%20Zimbabwe%20Operational%20Update%20-%20March%202018.pdf

(predominantly to the UK, Australia and the US)[51]. In their 2015 report, IOM indicates that there are an estimated 500,000 to 3 million Zimbabwean nationals residing outside of Zimbabwe.[52] It is unclear how these numbers were obtained. The earlier mentioned 2014 LFCL survey provides additional insights: out of the 9,759 partaking Zimbabwean households, 763 had at least one household member who had left Zimbabwe (7.8 per cent).[53] In discussions in the FGs – as discussed later in this report – it also became evident that almost all participants were closely affected by migration: some had been migrants themselves, others had family members living abroad.

The main reasons mentioned in the 2014 survey for leaving Zimbabwe were unemployment (49.3 per cent) and the need for increasing the household income (18.3 per cent).[54] While Zimbabwe's failing economy and high unemployment figures certainly contribute to the need people may feel for outward migration, migration is not new: research in 2002 showed that almost 25 per cent of Zimbabweans' parents and/or grandparents at one point in their lives had worked in South Africa.[55] Remittances sent by Zimbabwean migrants amounted to over 1.8 billion USD in 2014. This accounted for 15 per cent of the country's GDP.[56]

A BRIEF OVERVIEW OF MEDIA USE IN ZIMBABWE

Figures of Information and Communication Technology (ICT) Household Survey showed that in 2014 61 per cent of Zimbabwean households had access to radio.[57] In rural areas 57 per cent had access to radio, compared with 68 per cent of urban households.[58] Access to TV in urban areas was 69 per cent. In rural areas 31 per cent had access to television.[59] In rural areas, among those households that had access to TV, 28 per cent had access to satellite services. In urban areas that number is 72 per cent.[60] Satellite TV provides wider access to different national, transnational and international news channels.

During the reign of President Mugabe (1980 – 2017) there was very limited press freedom, with laws against reporting on (among other things) governmental corruption and unemployment. Regardless of censorship there has been an emergence of alternative media – mostly via social media. In the current period after President Mugabe's resignation in November 2017 there is uncertainty about what reporting is or is not allowed.[61]

In 2014, 89 per cent of households had at least one mobile phone. Ninety-six per cent of Zimbabwean people live in a proximity of less than 500m of network coverage.[62] The number of households owning a computer nationwide was 11 per cent and roughly 33 per cent had access to Internet in the home. In 2017, 5.2 million people in Zimbabwe were using the messaging and Voice-over-IP service WhatsApp[63], suggesting that overall Internet access has increased in Zimbabwe. As discussed later, the FG participants suggested that the popularity of WhatsApp in Zimbabwe relates to its comparatively lower costs in terms of data consumption, and to its sharing affordances.

ZIMBABWE'S MEDIA LANDSCAPE IN RELATION TO THE MIGRATION CONTEXT

A report by the Humanitarian Information Facilities Centre (HIFC) (the implementing partner for the *Voices of African Migrants* programme), Media Monitors, and IMS concluded that migration issues received very limited coverage in Zimbabwean media.[64] Less than two per cent of reporting in print media was dedicated to migration, whereas in electronic media (including TV) three per cent was

[51] http://imrc.ca/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/PS-25-Zimbabweans-Who-Move-Perspectives-on-International-Migration-in-Zimbabwe.pdf
[52] https://www.iom.int/sites/default/files/country/docs/zimbabwe/IOM-Zimbabwe-AR-25Aug2016.pdf, p. 5
[53] http://www.zimstat.co.zw/sites/default/files/img/publications/Migration/Migration_Profile_2014.pdf, p. 25
[54] Ibid, p. 27
[55] http://imrc.ca/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/PS-25-Zimbabweans-Who-Move-Perspectives-on-International-Migration-in-Zimbabwe.pdf
[56] https://www.iom.int/sites/default/files/country/docs/zimbabwe/IOM-Zimbabwe-AR-25Aug2016.pdf, p. 5
[57] http://www.zimstat.co.zw/sites/default/files/img/publications/Infrastructure/Final_%20ICT_HH_2014.pdf, p. 31
[58] http://www.zimstat.co.zw/sites/default/files/img/publications/Infrastructure/Final_%20ICT_HH_2014.pdf, p. 32
[59] http://www.zimstat.co.zw/sites/default/files/img/publications/Infrastructure/Final_%20ICT_HH_2014.pdf, p. 39
[60] http://www.zimstat.co.zw/sites/default/files/img/publications/Infrastructure/Final_%20ICT_HH_2014.pdf, p. 53
[61] https://rsf.org/en/zimbabwe
[62] http://www.zimstat.co.zw/sites/default/files/img/publications/Infrastructure/Final_%20ICT_HH_2014.pdf, p. 39
[63] https://www.techzim.co.zw/2017/04/just-many-whatsapp-users-zimbabwe-digitalfuture/
[64] HIFC, IMS and Media Monitors (2017) Reporting Migration in Zimbabwe and South Africa – A media monitoring report 2015 - 2017



Figure 3 Image accompanying many 263Chat stories, e.g. https://263chat.com/heart-breaking-story-female-migrant-students-zimbabwe/

dedicated to migration.[65] These outcomes served as incentive for the development of the *Voices of African Migrants* programme.

ANALYSIS OF MEDIA STORIES

OVERVIEW

Nineteen articles were included in the analysis. Eighteen of those included were online text stories. One was a short TV story (see Appendix 2 for full list).

FRAMES

The majority (all but two) articles use a human interest frame (see Appendix 2), meaning that the journalist brings a strong focus on the human face or emotional angle to drive the story. The stories using a human interest frame tend to open (within the first three sentences) with a quote or vivid description about migrants or families of migrants, most often relating the hardships they face. These stories use quotes and personal accounts heavily throughout the story.

In terms of communicative frames (see Appendix 2) the stories most commonly aligned to 'reportage' (efforts by journalists to generate deeper understanding, providing thick, expressive descriptions, and first-hand accounts); investigation/exposé (similar to reportage but with a higher degree of conflict/fourth estate ideals); and campaigning (a conflictual frame declaring a stance and seeking to galvanise support).

The two exceptions ('Zimbabwe praised for human trafficking, migration interventions' and 'Zimbabwe's Porous Border Posts A Gateway For Human Traffickers And Illegal Immigrants') more clearly align with a 'contest frame' and a mix of the 'dominant frame' and 'contention frame' respectively. In the former, very short television news story on eNews

[65] HIFC, IMS and Media Monitors (2017) Reporting Migration in Zimbabwe and South Africa – A media monitoring report 2015 – 2017, p. 1

Channel Africa (ENCA), the majority of interviews come from current or former government spokespeople, but there is an effort to set up a binary of opposing perspectives. In the latter, different sources are used to set out conflicting perspectives, but government sources are clearly more dominant. Both these stories are also among the rare examples within the set of stories that focus on law enforcement as a solution for 'illegal' migration and trafficking (discussed below).

DESCRIPTIONS OF MIGRANTS

Stories analysed use different terminology to describe migrants. Very often it is not immediately obvious what the current documentation or legal status of a migrant is (especially when referred to as 'migrant/ foreign workers'), unless the story mentions expired documentation or inability to cross borders easily. With the exception of one article, which was anti-migration in its sentiment, the term 'illegal migrant/immigrant', which is a widely agreed to be a stigmatising term,[66] was not often used to describe migrants. In the other instances, it was part of quote from another source, or used to specify the process of using illegal border crossings and services. The most common qualifier to 'migrant' was 'worker' – which is in keeping with the trends relating to migration in the region.

Term used	Number of articles using the term at least once
'illegal' (migrant; foreigner; border-jumper)	6
'undocumented' (migrant; status; teen)	4
'irregular' (migrant; migration)	2
Traffick(ing/er)	5
Smuggle(d/er)	1
Worker (also foreign worker)	9
Refugee	8

VOICES

With just one exception, all articles analysed included at least one quote or some information sourced from migrants (whether irregular, regular or returned) or family members in the home country affected by migration. The only story not to include a migrant or a family member of a migrant was a short TV story that included interviews with current and former government spokespeople, NGOs, and one local citizen.

Quotes and information sourced from migrants (both regular and irregular) are most often associated with hardships (see Appendix 4 for tables showing the overlapping coding of sources included and contributions to the narrative). The most common hardships described include: poverty, family separation, sexual assaults or being forced into sex work, inability to access education, health issues (especially contracting HIV) and inability to access health services (especially HIV treatment), arrest, bribery and other forms of exploitation, and risks to safety, especially of children. Significantly, these personal accounts of hardships are often used in the opening paragraphs, and returned to again to close the stories, which places greater emphasis on the migrants' experiences within the narrative.

NGOs (either a spokesperson, or a generic quote from the organisation) are sometimes used within the narrative to reinforce and provide a sense of scale of the hardships faced. For example:

> *"Mano also said most women like her as well as the elderly and widows in Makonde and other parts of Mashonaland West Province are at greater risk of displacement since they have no security of land tenure.*
>
> *The International Organisation for Migration-Zimbabwe (2016) report noted that 1 398 individuals were displaced in Mashonaland West Province in 2015."*
>
> ('Counting The Cost of Men-Out Migration')

The primary role of NGO sources in stories seems to be to provide more detailed information about the causes and scale of migration. Although the personal narratives from migrants often provides background as to why people migrant, the NGOs provide more generalised statements about regional factors, and often statistics. Combining both the NGO and migrant perspectives on causes, the discussions about causes were quite wide ranging, with main causes being conflict and political/economic instability linked with poverty and unemployment. A smaller number referred to problems with expired documents or intergenerational problems with obtaining documents (especially birth certificates) as protracting limited rights and movement, seeking 'greener pastures', pursuing employment or

[66] Zetter, R. (2007). More Labels, Fewer Refugees: Remaking the Refugee Label in an Era of Globalization. *Journal of Refugee Studies* 20 (2): 172-191

educational opportunities, and the attractiveness of certain economies.

Discussions about solutions to the challenges raised were diverse in nature. This was principally the contributions made by government department and policy think-tanks to stories. It is important to note here that both quotes from interviews, and quotes from press releases, reports, websites and policies are included. Some solutions or responses were constructive and specific, such as calling for a *"change in attitudes"* and viewing migrants and refugees as *"brothers and sisters"* ('Heart Breaking Story Of Female Migrant Students in Zimbabwe'), encouraging families to visit registry offices to register births, ('Migrants IDs & healthcare woes') or urging women to "*continue lobbying for land, be productive and build permanent structures if they want to receive A1 permits*" ('Counting The Cost of Men-Out Migration'). At other times solutions were broad and vague, such a call to transform the economy so that people will not migrate or come back. One article, which discusses trafficking and 'illegal immigrants' includes references to the 2014 Trafficking of Persons Act in Zimbabwe and quotes from a Minister to focus on legal and law enforcement solutions.

NGOs also provided some discussions about solutions. Again, some are broad, sweeping statements from large agencies like the UN and IOM on the need for more dialogues, programmes, and targeted assistance. Local organisations quoted were more likely to be more specific, and the organisations include: Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU), the Rural Women's Assembly, women's rights pressure group, Stand, and Magaso-Gede Foundation. Most of these organisations also suggested efforts to build work opportunities and financial and social empowerment in the home country.

Migrants almost never posited solutions (although some echoed the wish to see instability in their home country end so they could return). The exception was a quote from a man in a migrant collective describing the formation of clubs that assist with repatriation and funeral costs ('The Silent side of Migration').

FOCUS GROUP PARTICIPANTS

DESCRIPTION OF PARTICIPANTS AND PROCESS

Focus group discussions with different potential Zimbabwean audiences discussing a selection of media texts developed for this programme took place in Zimbabwe's capital, Harare, at the HIFC offices (the implementing partner of IMS).

A total of five FG were conducted with audiences (men only, women only, youth, elderly and Zimbabwean people personally affected by migration). In regard to the last group, the two following remarks are in place: first, the number of (non-Zimbabwean) migrants living in Harare is relatively small (see next section) it was difficult to find people who were living as migrants in the city. Second, all FGs participants had experiences with migration – through their own travels or the experiences of close relatives and friends – and media texts were often interpreted in reference to these personal encounters.

FG	Breakdown participants
1 – Men	5 men, age range between approximately 25 and 50 years old. One participant was student at university, the other participants were employed but also mentioned that newspapers were of importance for finding job opportunities.
2 – Women	3 women, age range approximately between 25 and 30 years old. One student, one highly educated but unemployed, one finished high school and is a stay-at-home mother.
3 – Elderly	2 elderly women, who had migratory experiences as students to the UK in the 1970s.
4 – Youth	5 participants, 4 female, 1 male, age range approximately between 18 and 23 years old. Several of the women mentioned they were students in the university, whereas the young man mentioned he was a construction worker.
5 – People directly affected by migration	4 women, age range between 20 and 30 years old. One had recently returned from South Africa, another young woman's father recently passed away in South Africa.

The majority of the younger participants (in the youth-only group as well as younger participants in the other FGs) mentioned they were students in university. This can be further explained by the hope that tertiary education will provide access to jobs, either in Zimbabwe or beyond. Three participants did not have access to satellite TV, and mentioned they watched the state broadcaster ZBC (referred by participants as ZTV) for their news intake. All participants had access to smartphones.

PARTICIPANTS' PERCEPTIONS ABOUT MIGRATION AND THEIR MEDIA CONTEXTS

At the time of the field-work (early April 2018) the FG participants and the journalists interviewed

expressed that they felt secure enough to speak out about political issues (including migration) and were hopeful for change. The reporting by state TV (ZBC) and state press (The Herald) on migration was still perceived to be much in line with how it was prior to Mugabe's resignation. Limited reporting on migration served the government's interests, since reporting on Zimbabwe's outward migration would expose the government's failure regarding the countries' economy and the high levels of unemployment. Examples given were for instance the portrayal of Zimbabwe as a welcoming haven for foreign investors and as having effective border controls.

The state media coverage on migration was contrasted to reporting on migration by news outlets run by private investors. State media would ignore the issue, whereas corporate media would emphasise governmental failure and, through its focus on migrants' suffering, would tend to emphasise the negative sides of migration.

> *"Not every migrant coming out of Zimbabwe is cleaning toilets."*
>
> Zimbabwean man, men-only FG

Participants were aware that private outlets operate with their own political agendas, for example, with regard to critiquing the government. This further explains why hardly any of the FG participants relied on a single media outlet for obtaining news and information on migration.

People's financial circumstances limited to large extent whether people have access to satellite TV, cash to buy a newspaper or can access more data-consuming platforms such as Facebook or Google. All participants had access to WhatsApp and it was the participants' understanding that everyone in Zimbabwe had access to this platform. The two elderly women also used WhatsApp to communicate with their children living in the UK.

WhatsApp is less data consuming and used by all FG participants to communicate and consume but also to obtain access to and share news and other stories (online articles, videos, radio shows) other people might not have access to. The platform also played a crucial role in obtaining information relating to migration.

In all FGs references were made to jokes, inaccurate information and common rumours relating to migration on the platform, for instance, false job openings in the Gulf-region. One man described the news circulating on WhatsApp as "*fake news*".

PERSONAL OPINIONS ABOUT MIGRATION

> *"Papers are an issue but if you have the correct papers you will enjoy your stay out there."*
>
> Zimbabwean woman, women-only FG

Across all FGs there was a general understanding that outward migration from Zimbabwe can be 'good' as long as the decision to migrate is made voluntarily, does not split up families and occurs via regularised pathways. There was a more negative stance on people travelling without having the proper legal documents, not because this act was judged as wrong but because of the additional problems living without documentation (most commonly associated with South Africa).

However, there is also a deep awareness that regularised pathways out of Zimbabwe are difficult to find, reinforcing the need to find alternative paths and empathy towards those making that decision. There were also concerns about the impact outward migration could have on nuclear families – particularly in relation to the separation between parents and children**.** Generally, irregular migration was considered as an act of desperation that seemed to aggravate difficulties rather than provide relief. This necessary act was underscored by Zimbabwe's failing economy.

Participants' knowledge of migrants' experiences living in Zimbabwe was limited, which can be further explained by the limited coverage on this matter. Several participants for instance did not know that there is a refugee camp in Zimbabwe. There was a general understanding that forced migrants, labour migrants, students and other types of migrants living in Zimbabwe were treated fairly. There were however some signs of anxiety about migration into Zimbabwe. A young male construction worker, partaking in the FG for young people, for instance mentioned his concerns for even higher unemployment if people from other countries were to come and work in Zimbabwe. The elderly women also mentioned their concerns about the possible presence of South African criminals in Harare.

The two elderly women seemed concerned with national loyalty. They had personally migrated to the UK in the 1970s to study nursing to improve nursing in Zimbabwe, and they contrasted their own experiences to that of their children's generation, which they perceived as motivated by self-interest. Among the other (younger) FG participants, however, the phenomenon of outward migration also brought up tensions between one's commitment to

Zimbabwe's development and concerns of a 'brain drain' (hence the importance of staying), and the necessity and freedom to search for more individual 'greener pastures' elsewhere.

Some participants were open about their own search for ways out of Zimbabwe. Different media forms played an important role in this regard. For instance the newspaper, the *Sunday Mail*, was said to be a good source for job advertisements abroad.

RESPONSES TO MEDIA STORIES

The following texts were discussed in the focus groups:

- A fragment of a radio segment, **'Reflection of Zim migrant in South Africa'** broadcast on Capitalk FM, in which a Zimbabwean woman discusses migrant life in South Africa.
- The TV story/video story **'Zimbabwe and human trafficking'** broadcast on ENCA, a South African 24-hour news broadcaster and available online, in which the role of the government with regard to migration is discussed.
- The online article **'Refugees Struggle for Survival As Zim Economy Chokes'**, published on 263.chat.com discussing the plight of refugees in Zimbabwe
- The online article **'Moza police prey on Zimbabweans'** published by the online news platform, newZimbabwe. Selected for its many online reactions by readers.
- The online article **'On the trail of Child Trafficking in Zimbabwe'** published on InDepthNews. This article discusses the journeys of migrants.

KEY FINDING 1 – THE IMPORTANCE OF MIGRANT'S VOICES

The radio fragment of 'Reflection of Zim migrant in South Africa' evoked many responses. Participants in all FGs where this text was discussed expressed how the text made them feel 'sad' but equally evoked recognition and relief as the female protagonist in the story openly discussed difficulties in relation to migration. For instance, she discusses difficulties with South African police, and with not being able to care for her mother in Zimbabwe. Most participants in the FGs noted that her nuanced narrative contrasted not only with media coverage of migrants' suffering, but also with the optimistic personal accounts they hear.

> *"A lot of Zimbabweans in South Africa are really struggling but they have to keep up appearances. They have to show us it's greener there."*
>
> Young woman, Youth FG

Participants commented that even close friends and family members that have migrated keep up an image of a *"flamboyant life"* (Young woman, Youth FG). For that reason the female protagonist in the radio program is called *"brave"* for speaking up, and this emphasises the importance of migrant voices:

> *"Let people just know the truth of what actually happens, then people can make their own mind up."*
>
> Elderly woman, elderly FG

One elderly woman points to the importance of honest and accurate accounts on migration and of migration voices, which can inform people's decision about whether to migrate. This also became evident in the discussion about the text 'On the trail of Child Trafficking in Zimbabwe' within the FGs of people personally affected by migration. A former female Zimbabwean migrant pointed out that a combination of high levels of trust among Zimbabwean people as fellow nationals, and not having access to accurate information (in this case, to not knowing the dangers of letting one's child travel with strangers) can further reinforces migrants' suffering. The accurate and honest information on migration is therefore highly valued (see also Box 1).

KEY FINDING 2 – MIGRANTS' VOICES ARE INTERPRETED THROUGH TACIT KNOWLEDGE AND A SEARCH FOR ACCURACY

In all FGs, participants carefully evaluated and judged the accuracy of different media texts (or, as the participants tended to refer, the "truth"). Accuracy was tested in two ways.

First, they considered whether it corresponds with personal experiences and stories that they had heard before. One young woman, for instance, remembered her own stay in South Africa as a student when she reflected upon the radio interview:

> *"I think she was honest because I can relate to some of the things that she said."*
>
> Young woman, Youth FG

The story resonates with her own experiences and therefore she knows she can trust the story's accuracy.

Whereas recognition can foster bonds and connections, when it clashes what one has heard or 'knows' it might do the opposite. Two FG participants

Box 1. Textual analysis – shifting understandings from 'normality' to problematisation



Photo: An unidentified child trying to skip the border fence into South Africa. Credit: Aljazeera

On the Trail of Child Trafficking in Zimbabwe

By Jeffrey Moyo

BEITBRIDGE, Zimbabwe (IDN) – Child trafficking is alive and thriving on Zimbabwe's southern border.

'On the trail of child trafficking in Zimbabwe' discusses the journey of migrants crossing border between Zimbabwe and South Africa, including unaccompanied children moving between family members on either side of the border.

During one focus group, one female participant, after skim-reading the story, said that the themes in the article were 'normal'. After reading it in more depth, however she stated that the informal system put in place to reunite children with their parents across the border (and that she and her family personally make use of) can be very dangerous and is in fact 'child trafficking'.

The human interest and investigative framing of the article proves effective in this case. The journalist undertook the journey himself, and spoke to a wide variety of people involved including the heart breaking story of a single parent who has lost her child *en route* and another single migrant parent who is separated from her children.

In terms of the language used, the word 'trafficking' is used 4 times but without a clear definition of the word; the word 'smuggling' is used a total of 28 times. Both words often are following on the word 'child/children'. The word 'transport' – the word that is used and preferred by people engaged in these activities – is used 10 times and often put in connection to 'passengers'.

Among all readers the article evoked 'sadness' but also anger towards the parents, the 'transporter/smugglers', and the government (who benefit from these practices through corruption). The article does provide insights to the systems enabling migration, and the reasons why people decide to migrate, but does not address the structural reasons for why people engage in these practices, nor does it provide potential solutions.

drew upon their own personal encounters with Mozambican refugees in responding to the text 'Refugees Struggle for Survival As Zim Economy Chokes'. This online article on the plight of Mozambican refugees, includes references to their lack of birth certificates.

A young woman who comes from Chipinge (close to where the refugee camp discussed in the article is based), while recognising the difficulties with obtaining documentation from the Zimbabwean bureaucracy, also believes that the refugees have become "*relaxed*". According to her, obtaining legal documentation costs $10 and frequent visits to several offices, but it is not impossible, leading her say that "*As a refugee in Chipinge, you have to man-up, try to hassle hard and get that ID.*" (Young woman, Youth FG).

The interpretation of this woman contrasts with that of an elderly woman, whose cleaner came as refugee from Mozambique more than 30 years ago. She believes obtaining a Zimbabwean ID costs $5000, and she wonders if and how she could possibly help the woman in the story. These different readings point to the importance of stories not only including migrant voices but also providing necessary and accurate background information to make sure (mis)readings do not reinforce stereotypes.

The second way FG participants were testing the accuracy of a story was by considering whether the text was impartial and provided more than one side of the story. This way of reading the accuracy of the text was mainly done by the men in the FG men only group (some of whom had a journalistic background) who considered the more human interest approach in some of the texts discussed as biased. The video for television broadcast, 'Zimbabwe and human trafficking', was however received very positively by this group:

> *"My immediate reaction… [is that] it does not seek to propagate a particular view you*

know. The decision is left to whoever is watching. […] So for me that was a well-balanced story."

Man, men-only FG

This short video discusses governmental policies to restrict human trafficking, followed by the response of first an opposition leader, and then that of a Zimbabwean man who expresses his anger based on his belief that the government is not addressing the root causes. While the man's reaction might resonate with the feelings of the men in the FG, there are no migrant voices in this story. Moreover, as the citizen interviewed wore a sticker of the opposition leader, in the FG with people personally affected by migration this video was considered as 'biased'.

KEY FINDING 3 – CORRUPTION AND STRUGGLE AS NORMALITY, ANGER TOWARDS THE GOVERNMENT

The text 'Refugees Struggle for Survival as Zim Economy Chokes' evoked anger within the men-only FG as the article (inaccurately) mentions that refugees in the country were receiving "*a monthly stipend of $13 from the government*"[67]. This anger comes from a feeling among Zimbabwean citizens of being let down by their government, which emerged in all FGs. This is not just about 'false promises' or 'lies' but also about the mainstream message around migration which puts the responsibility on the individual:

"They would blame you, why are you migrating - you should fix your economy."

Woman, women-only FG

Participants showed little trust in government officials and border guards, and they had a conviction (sometimes based upon personal experiences) that many were corrupt and were gaining financially from illegalised border crossings. Corruption, especially in relation to living as a migrant in South Africa, was considered as part of everyday normality and was therefore something that had to be navigated through, for example, obtaining false documents (see also Box 1).

KEY FINDING 4 – IDEAS AND PERPETUATION OF XENOPHOBIA AND RACISM

The media texts 'Reflection of Zim migrant in South Africa' and 'Moza police prey on Zimbabweans' both started with discussions on corruption, but ended with discussions about racism. According to all FG participants, in Zimbabwe, in South Africa, and beyond, (black) African migrants are treated with far greater suspicion and are more often mistreated by police than other (white and Chinese) migrants. Xenophobic maltreatment is also conducted by fellow black people:

"Most blacks they think whites are a lot superior than them so they tend to shun away from that and instead attack their own brother."

Man, men-only FG

Financial circumstances and race interact and reinforce each other. For example, in South Africa corrupt police guards target black people as they are considered as poor and therefore do not have money to press charges.

Ideas around Zimbabwean migrants being poor and/or 'stealing' jobs are experienced as hurtful. Yet, the participants also have their own stereotypical ideas. In response to the radio interview 'Reflection of Zim migrant in South Africa', one young woman mentioned that South African people were "very lazy" and are taking advantage of highly educated Zimbabweans. Another young woman however felt that it not "fair" for South Africa, as she believes the South African "system" cannot accommodate Zimbabwean migrants. This young woman had previously studied in South Africa and might have been influenced by South African mainstream media, which tends to construct especially African migration as 'illegal'.[68] Another woman who used to live in South Africa also said she understood the "victimisation" she had experienced. She and several other Zimbabwean nationals stated that it was common for Zimbabwean migrants to be blamed for the financial situation in their country, and there were fears that these difficulties would be transposed into South Africa.

[67] Financial support for refugees in Zimbabwe is provided for by UN bodies UNHCR and WFP and funded for by the People's Republic of China. http://reporting.unhcr.org/sites/default/files/UNHCR%20Zimbabwe%20Operational%20Update%20-%20March%202018.pdf

[68] See for instance SIHMA (2017) "Media Portrayal of Immigration in the South African Media, 2011-2015", Working Paper June 2017, Scalabrini Institute for Human Mobility in Africa (SIMHA), Cape Town, South Africa.

FINDINGS – PERSPECTIVES OF PARTICIPATING JOURNALISTS

The six journalists interviewed were all appreciative and enthusiastic about the IMS *Voices of African Migrants* programme. They agreed that reporting on migration is important, and all seemed determined to continue to report on this matter after the end of the programme.

The journalists emphasised that the training courses, which often included migration experts, and the mentoring they have received, has increased their background knowledge and sensitivity for reporting on migration. For example, they were cautious about using problematic terms like 'illegal', and of using racialised distinctions which can be especially damaging in this context (i.e. 'Sub-Saharan African', rather than 'African'). They were also aware of the importance of protecting vulnerable sources in their work.

The funding provided to help cover the costs of travel and assistants was also highly valued. It was significant to note that some participating journalists interviewed (three of the six) were freelancers. This means that the financial and mentoring support provided by the programme is much more significant in making the stories possible, since these journalists are working on a self-funded basis. That said, for those working in media organisations, the funding was also crucial, since many are reliant on programmes like this to fund access to necessities like recording equipment and vans for more in-depth stories.

Those employed by news organisations (all three Zimbabwean journalists and one Nigerien) can face challenges in terms of getting support from editors. Although the Zimbabwean journalists were optimistic about possible changes after Mugabe's removal, there was, at the time of fieldwork, continuing (unspoken) restrictions about what reporters could cover or say in their stories, especially those working in media more closely connected to government (The Chronicle and to some extent, ECNA). Many of the articles from the Southern Africa Hub were published by the online website, 236Chat, the founder of which is a Zimbabwean who formerly lived in the UK as a migrant.

It appeared as though the IMS is just one media development programme that the journalists engage with. Two journalists made mention having received training from other NGOs, and others implied that funding for different stories by NGOs is not an uncommon source of income. Our interviews didn't explore in detail what other training they have access to.

Gender was seen by the Moroccan journalists as a non-issue, and posing no barriers to her career and practice. In Zimbabwe and Niger the female journalists interviewed felt they did have to work harder prove themselves able to manage the bigger stories. On the other hand, they felt that respondents, especially other women, are more likely to open up to them.

Some journalists did describe their approach to reporting on migration with a sense of an agenda. Many were thinking about techniques to make their *"messages"* more *"effective"*. This suggest they are comfortable with more 'campaign' oriented communicative frames (see Appendix 2), and don't necessarily see classic journalistic approaches that prioritise detachment and objectivity in reporting as defining their work. For example, a Moroccan journalists shared her idea for a future story following migrant women through pregnancy, because she says the children who are born in Morocco represent *"new life"* and *"a future"*.

Relatedly, most journalists had a personal interest in knowing how their stories were being received, and whether their stories did have impact. Journalists said they had mostly positive feedback and sometimes heartfelt appreciation by migrants in response to their stories. One journalist reflected that both people who support migration and those who are anti-migration felt reaffirmed by her stories, which is similar to the findings of this report which found that context and prior knowledge influences meaning making. Two of the Zimbabwean journalists mentioned that their reporting had contributed to bettering the lives of the migrants featured in their stories. In response to a story on the difficulties migrants experience with obtaining a birth certificate, an organisation reached out to the journalist to aid to mother and child in the story. In response to an article on foreign students in Zimbabwe, a Zimbabwean national offered to financially support the student in the story.

The journalists were deeply aware of the social media use by their audiences and tapped into this. A Nigerien journalist has set up a website to collect reactions. Accessibility was also of concern, and in Niger, the radio shows were both available online and broadcast in different languages, making these more widely accessible.

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

TYPES OF PARTICIPANT RESPONSES AND CONTRIBUTING FACTORS

Focus group participants mostly responded in ways that the *Voices of African Migrants* programme implicitly intended, as the media texts usually, to some degree, increased understanding of migration. However, some stories provoked 'distancing' responses among participants. Others were significant because they provoked a much more profound level of empathy. These three types of responses across the three Hubs are discussed below.

INTENDED RESPONSES: RECOGNISING AND UNDERSTANDING MIGRANTS' DIFFICULTIES

Across the three Hubs, most FG participants were fairly knowledgeable (at least in terms of tacit knowledge) about migration, and had a good, sometimes quite direct, understanding of the causes of migration. Because of this, when presented with the stories, which predominantly used human interest frames telling emotional accounts of hardships and challenges of migration, they responded with empathy and recognition.

At the same time, the discussions suggested that a clear-cut, oversimplified distinction prevailed about types of migration, which seemed to be reinforced by the stories: that is, that regular migration is considered as good (remittances, opportunities, 'greener pastures'), whereas irregular migration was seen as bad (leading to suffering/to be avoided). While FG participants understood and could empathise with the reasons leading to migration, there was simultaneously some level of judgment, a sense that it would be better if they had not migrated via irregular means. In Morocco this was quite stark, FG participants conveyed clearly that migration is not wrong, but that irregular migration is. Similar sentiments were stated in Zimbabwe, but with an emphasis on the consequences and difficulties of living without documents. Because the media stories tended to focus on hardships, they tended to reinforce these positions. In Morocco and Zimbabwe this focused on the distinction between regular and irregular forms of migrating, whereas in Niger there were gendered expectations.

DISTANCING AND DISRUPTING RESPONSES: OPPOSING OR DISCONNECTING FROM STORIES

The programme, and most of the stories produced by participating journalists, generally showed an implicit intension to provoke understanding and galvanise sympathies for the plight of migrants. This is evident through the heavy use of the human interest frame, and communicative frames such as campaigning, reportage, and community service.

Despite those intentions, some stories provoked a distancing or a disruption to understanding, rather than a closeness. At times this reinforced or even created a rift between migrants and non-migrants. These readings tended to occur when people had incomplete or incorrect background knowledge, or when influenced by local cultural factors.

A compelling example of this is the way that the radio story shown to FG participants in Niger about a woman migrating was met with a mix of judgement, anger, and even disbelief, tempered somewhat with pity and collective responsibility for the shame. These responses can be explained by the cultural context in which there are gendered social norms which suggest that while men may migrate to provide for their family, migration for by women is frowned upon, and considered as shameful for the women themselves and their society. The outraged response was strongest among young women who were new to this information.

Understanding and empathy could also be disrupted when the 'suffering' underlying the cause of migration was not considered extreme enough to warrant migration. Implicitly or explicitly, the migrant's situation was contrasted with the participant's own situation. Partial or incorrect background information was again a factor in compounding this. In stories like this, FG participants judge or disconnect rather than reacting with understanding and empathy as was probably intended by the text.

An example of this was the heated response to an article on refugees in Zimbabwe (Mozambican refugees from Zimbabwe Refugees Struggle For Survival As Zim Economy Chokes). Here, a misleading statement, wrongfully suggesting that the Zimbabwean government provided 13 USD a month to refugees, led participants to question why the Zimbabwean government would provide financial support to refugees when it cannot take care of its own citizens ("*It is not fair"* Zimbabwean man). Partial prior knowledge informed the discussions about

refugees in response to this article in other ways too. Overall, FG participants had wildly varying understandings of the costs and bureaucratic difficulties associated with obtaining documentation such as birth certificates and travel documents, and this further influenced their degree of empathy and understanding.

Similarly, some FG participants in Niger reacted strongly to a story of a returnee from Mali, reading his hardship as superficial *("he is not poor!"*). Participants condemned the male migrant protagonist for spending 5 million CFA ($10.000 USD) on migration to Russia believing instead that he should have invested his money in Niger's economy.

The video story of about a positive integration experience of three entrepreneurial women shown in FGs in Morocco had particularly diverse readings. It was thought by one migrant participant to have been produced by government for political and propagandistic purposes. Another Moroccan participant expressed that the three entrepreneurs are not representative of the 'illegal' migrants that hurt Morocco, since they speak French and came with a profession. Yet others responded saying that Morocco should focus on Moroccans, and that migrants should leave when they get enough money.

The interpreted meanings of the media stories need to be understood in their cultural context. These examples of intense and emotive responses to stories, disrupting the understanding leading to a pushback, can reinforce stigmatisation of vulnerable groups of migrants (such as women, refugees, and undocumented migrants). Focusing on one type of migrants can have an unintended meaning for other kinds of migrants.

PROFOUND EMPATHY AND INFLUENCING ATTITUDES

Some stories achieved a deep level of enriched understanding and empathy that FG participants had about migration. This is important and valuable in the context of this research and the overall programme aims that are focused on informing non-migrant audiences on migration issues.

In Niger, the text story '*Ces etres humains en quête d'un bien-etre'* is significant since, unlike in the radio story about Nigerien migrant woman, the young female protagonist (called Germaine) in this story was not at all judged negatively. Instead one of the women in the women-only FG expressed her happiness that Germaine found a husband, and



Figure 4 Frère, laisse-moi te conter mon calvaire!: https://www.libe.ma/Frere-laisse-moi-te-conter-mon-calvaire-_a96527.html

another woman seemed to be proud that her native tongue, Hausa, was mentioned as a key connecting language for migrants.

In Zimbabwe, the article *'*On the trail of child trafficking in Zimbabwe' was able to shift knowledge and framing of what is 'normal'. Where the practices described were initially thought of as normal ("*But this is not trafficking. I see this all the time!"),* after reading the article she said she now realised the dangers of children travelling by themselves.

The radio interview, 'Reflection of Zim migrant in South Africa' provoked profound responses for different reasons. The Zimbabwean woman interviewed reflects on many of the challenges migrants face (difficulties with documentation, family separation, structural discrimination, etc.). FG participants were touched by this story because although many may have personally experienced, or are deeply aware of, the challenges Zimbabwean migrants face in South Africa, such experiences are not often discussed in public or in the media, and in

fact are rarely discussed between family members and friends. The newspaper article shared in the Moroccan FGs (see Figure 4) that is set in the Bolingo Forest and discusses the fate of young African men waiting to cross into Europe was also thought provoking for all participants. This story used the reportage and exposé communicative frames, and unique narrative style (in the form of a letter), including detailed observations and rich descriptions. For example, one young Moroccan participant, who was outspokenly hostile to migrants, stated that he was touched by this article and said it made him *"feel closer to the suffering of migrants."*

These examples suggest that profound levels of understanding are most likely to be achieved when greater depth, complexity, closeness and 'thickness' is achieved. The story in the Bolingo Forest achieves this through a narrative reportage style; 'On the Trail of Child Traffickers' is similar in style, leaning more towards first person, in situ investigation/exposé, and focusing on the systems and smugglers, as well as the migrants themselves. By contrast, 'Reflection of Zim migrant in South Africa' achieves this through the intimacy and simplicity of an interview.

VOICES OF MIGRANTS

The programme, *Voices of African Migrants*, had a deliberate focus on amplifying the voices of migrants, so that those voices would be part of the public discourse.

Almost all media stories produced with the support of the programme did include quotes and information sourced from migrants. Very often, the migrant(s)' voice was the most prominent voice in the story, frequently included in the lead and in the conclusion, if not the sole focus of the story throughout.

In the FGs in each site that included migrants or people with close family connections to migration, it was clear that while participants felt misrepresented by mainstream media coverage, they had, almost without exception[69], overwhelmingly positive responses to the media stories produced by journalists through the programme. The stories resonated with them, and they seemed appreciative of the nuanced, sensitive stories that were 'true' to their experience.

On the other hand, the content analysis and the responses by other FG participants suggests that there can be problems with a repeated focus on 'voice'. The content analysis across the three Hubs suggests that the main contribution of 'migrant voices' is to provide a human face and emotive descriptions of suffering. While intended to evoke sympathy, it can reproduce representations of migrants as helpless victims, and verge on 'poverty porn'.[70] As identified in the literature, the use of human interest frames and an emphasis on individual voices can tend to under-interrogate systemic and structural factors.[71] While there is often an attempt to incorporate NGO and government quotes to point to broader contexts and facts, when the suffering and hardship defines the role of the migrant in the narrative it can reduce the agency of migrants. In addition, since migrant voices are rarely called upon or included in discussions about solutions, their position as helpless is ingrained.

The two articles that are most clearly exceptions to this are '*Frère, laisse-moi te conter mon calvaire !*' (the story of African men in Bolingo), and 'On the Trail of Child Traffickers': both of which do use vivid and expressive imagery, but which also address systemic and/or structural factors.

A second problem with the primacy placed on 'voices', particularly when seeking to tell a positive story, is the risk of creating a representation of a 'hyper-migrant'. Telling stories of successful migrants implies that the burden to integrate is on the migrant. It can also be that these migrants are considered exceptions – or even propaganda - rather than the rule. This is the case of the story of the three women entrepreneurs in Morocco, which provoked diverse readings, including a sense that they are exceptions in opposition to the less-deserving or illegal migrants.

This is not a hard rule, however, and arguably the radio interview with a migrant ('Reflection of Zim migrant in South Africa'), which is a very straightforward focus on 'voice', was also among those texts that had the most profound resonance with FG participants.

[69] The exception is '*De la migration à l'entrepreneuriat : Parcours de femmes au Maroc',* which the migrant group felt was staged with political interests to give a positive image of how Morocco treats migrants.
[70] See Chouliaraki (2010) Post-humanitarianism: Humanitarian communication beyond a politics of pity. *International Journal of Cultural Studies.* 13(2), 107-126 https://doi.org/10.1177/1367877909356720; Jenson (2014). Welfare Commonsense, Poverty Porn and Doxosophy. *Sociological Research Online.* 19(3), 1-7 https://doi.org/10.5153/sro.3441
[71] Figenschou, T. U., & Thorbjørnsrud, K. (2015). Faces of an invisible population: Human interest framing of irregular immigration news in the United States, France, and Norway. *American Behavioral Scientist,* 59(7), 783-801.

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BEST PRACTICES FROM THE PROGRAMME

USE EXISTING RESOURCES TO IDENTIFY SENSITIVE TERMINOLOGY FOR REPORTING ABOUT MIGRATION

Journalists are not alone in grappling with the right language relating to migration – academics, policy makers and activists also actively debate these issues. In most articles stigmatising words (such as 'illegal immigrant/migrant') were avoided. Instead, most journalists exhibited good practice by referring simply to people as 'migrants', and describing how they had crossed borders or what documents they have as relevant to the narrative. The effects of other terms such as 'trafficking' are more complex. In the research we saw examples of this term used to argue for stronger law enforcement, criminalisation and victimisation of migrants. A number of good resources exist to support journalists, including a concise infographic by the Ethical Journalism Network[72] and a booklet by the RespectWords project.[73]

RESPECT AUDIENCES AS KNOWLEDGABLE AND DISCERNING

Participants in the FGs were knowledgeable and discerning; a disposition resulting from close, often personal experiences of migration and hardships, and honed through decades of dealing with government controlled media. Audiences will question stories, especially if they don't trust the media outlet or the narrative doesn't fit with their tacit knowledge. They respond positively to in depth, well researched and reportage that grapples with the complexities of migration.

AVOID THINKING IN DICHOTOMIES (ESPECIALLY 'POSITIVE'/ 'NEGATIVE' STORIES). INSTEAD, WORK TOWARDS EXPLORING NUANCES.

While reporting on positive stories may seem helpful, it can have the unintended effect of producing 'hyper-migrants' (who integrate and settle well and quickly), which works to place the responsibility for success on the migrant, and reinforces a perceived division between 'good' and 'bad' types of migrants. At the same time, bleak and pitiful descriptions of migrants not only reduced migrants to helpless victims, but can also lead to pity and judgement from audiences. Stories that FG participants responded most to tended to explore and unpack complex experiences, rather than those that focused only on positives or negatives.

BE AWARE OF THE CONSEQUENCES OF INDIVIDUALISING MIGRANT VOICES AND IGNORING SYSTEMIC/STRUCTURAL FACTORS

There was a tendency in some stories to use particular sources in quite formulaic ways (migrants to give a human face to suffering, NGOs to provide facts and scale, governments to provide statements about policy responses). The stories that had more profound effects on FG participants stepped away from this formula, and instead either gave more space for migrants to direct their own voice (as in a straight radio interview), or included migrants' experiences in the context of broader systems and structures (as in investigative and extended reportage). 'Solutions Journalism' or 'Constructive Journalism' may be approaches that could be useful to engage in more robust discussions about solutions.

UNPACK THE LOCAL CONTEXT AS MUCH AND AS ACCURATELY AS POSSIBLE

Audiences use their pre-existing, sometimes partial or incorrect background information to make meaning from stories about migration. Reporting without contextual details can reinforce particular misconceptions. Any omissions, or incorrect implications can be damaging and reinforce stigmatisation.

USE ACCESSIBLE, SHARABLE, AND IN-DEPTH MEDIA FORMS THAT PEOPLE TRUST

Pay attention to which technologies are affordable, accessible, and to flows of media content (such as via WhatsApp and other social media, and in local languages).Be aware of which outlets are considered credible. In terms of journalistic approach, FG participants most enjoyed the stories where journalists were more engaged, rather than the traditional detached role (especially reportage, investigative approaches, and extended radio interviews). These were often selected as favourite pieces by people who did not consume much news.

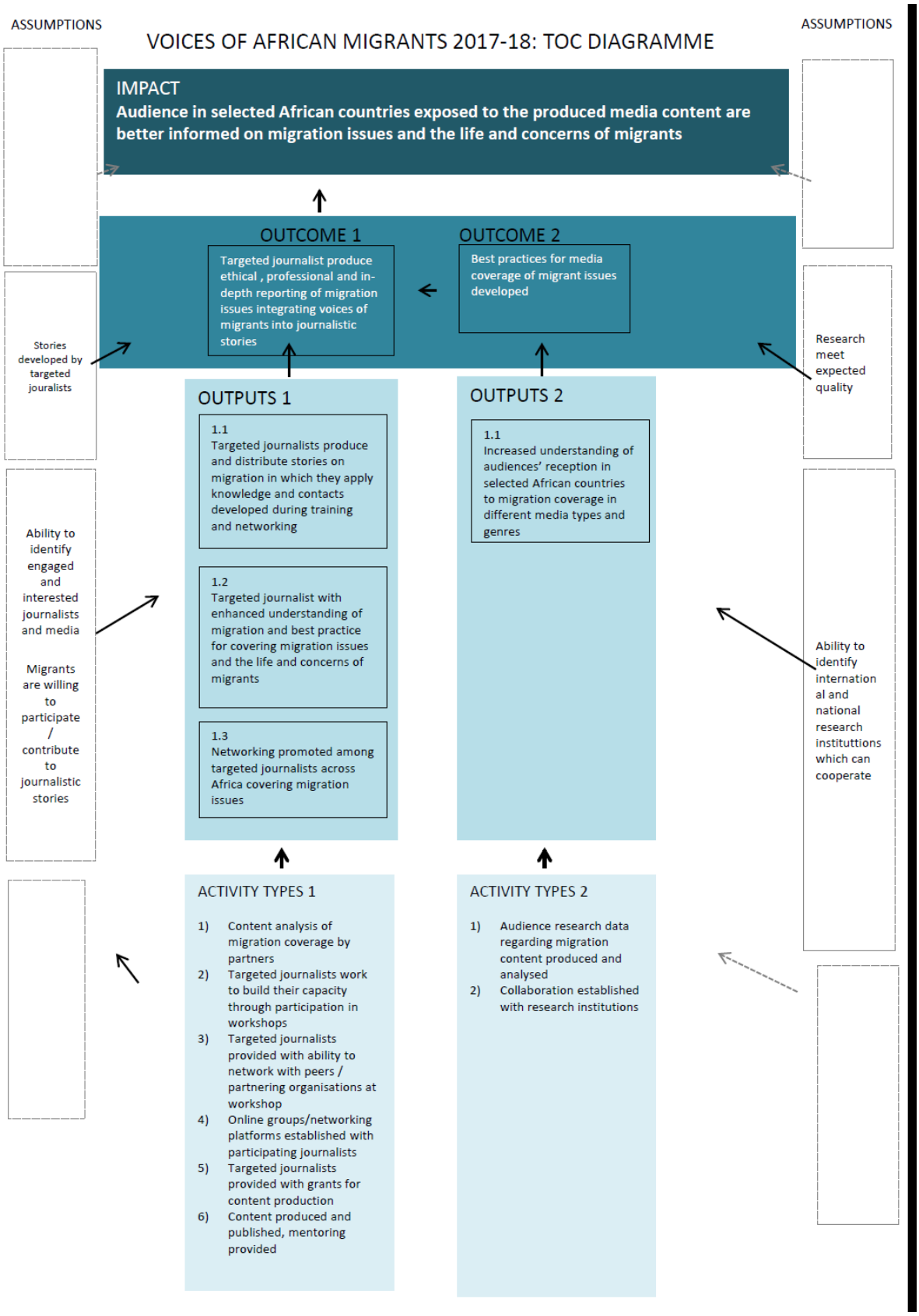
CONTINUE SUPPORTING LOCAL JOURNALISTS TO PRODUCE STORIES ABOUT MIGRATION

Local journalists tended to have a deep understanding of the stakes involved, and enthusiasm to report on these matters. Prior to the programme however they expressed they lacked the knowledge or awareness necessary for reporting on migration, further suggesting the importance of capacity building among journalists.

[72] https://ethicaljournalismnetwork.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/Migration-infographic_update-1.pdf
[73] https://www.respectwords.org/en/ethical-code/

APPENDIX

APPENDIX 1: *VOICES OF AFRICAN MIGRANTS* THEORY OF CHANGE DIAGRAM



APPENDIX 2: OVERVIEW OF DATA AND METHODS

Content for analysis

We included as many of the provided media stories as possible in the content analysis. For budgetary reasons, not all audio/video content could be transcribed and included. All text articles in English and French were included. Text articles in Arabic were included to the extent possible (see below).

West Africa Hub *(including media stories from Burkina Faso, Mali and Niger):*

In total 11 stories were accessed, and seven were included in the analysis. Five text stories, and well as one radio story and one video (which were partially transcribed), were analysed. All stories were in French.

Title	Publication/outlet	url
Du voyage d'espoir à la détresse !	Journal la Voix du peuple	Not available
MIGRANTS OUEST AFRICAINS: Ces êtres humains en quête d'un bien-être	L'Evenement	Not available
Nigérians du Burkina: Au-delà des stéréotypes	L'Obervateur	Not available
Le rêve européen ; en « escale » à Niamey des migrants y croient encore	Journal la mutation	Not available
Migrer pour survivre : cas des femmes de Kantché,	Anfani Radio	Not available
Rêve brisé.	unknown	Not available
Situation des migrants en transit au Niger	Le Courrier	Not available

North Africa Hub *(including stories from Morocco, Tunisia and Libya)*

In total 10 stories were accessed. Three text stories in French language were analysed, and one video and one audio story were transcribed and included. In addition, three stories supplied in Arabic were translated using Google Translate and included in some parts of the analysis. The translation was rudimentary but in the absence of funds for professional translation it enabled the researchers to get a sense of those stories, which would otherwise have been excluded. The articles originally published in Arabic were not included in analysis comparing language and terms.

Title	Publication/outlet	URL
Frère, laisse-moi te conter mon calvaire !	Libération	https://www.libe.ma/Frere-laisse-moi-te-conter-mon-calvaire-_a96527.html
ريورتاج: مهاجرون من جنوب الصحراء يحلمون بأن يصبحوا لاعبين في فرق مغربية (+فيديو)	La Kome	Not available
De la migration à l'entrepreneuriat : Parcours de femmes au Maroc	Yabiladi	https://www.yabiladi.com/articles/details/62949/migration-l-entrepreneuriat-parcours-femmes-maroc.html
Reportage audio	Atlantic Radio	Not available
بين المغرب والجزائر مهاجرون يعبرون خط النار	Akhbar Al Yaoum	http://www.alyaoum24.com/1059644.html

ءارحصلا تحدّيا :ودامأو ةديشر /جاتروبير ملح نادناعي الازامو ..قرغلا نم ونجوا قرجملا	Hakaekonline	Not available
Maghnia : Sur les rives maudites de l'oued Jorgi	Al Watan	https://www.algeria-watch.org/fr/article/pol/migration/rives_oued_jorgi.htm
قصص مهاجرات جنوب الصحراء.. من حلم عبور المتوسط إلى واقع الاستقرار بطنجة	Anoual Presse	Not available
Travailleurs migrants en Tunisie : Plutôt qu'un fardeau, un stimulant pour l'économie.	La Presse	http://www.lapresse.tn/index.php?option=com_societe&task=article&id=146112

Southern Africa Hub *(Most media stories were by Zimbabwean journalists, including some by Zimbabwean journalists based in South Africa)*

In total 20 stories were accessed. Eighteen text stories and one short TV story was transcribed and analysed were analysed. The only story excluded was an extended radio interview, which was not transcribed.

Title	**Publication/outlet**	**URL**
Migrants suffer at border	The Zimbabwean (online)	http://www.thezimbabwean.co/2017/08/migrants-suffer-border/
Untold stories of African refugees in Zimbabwe	Health Times (online)	http://healthtimes.co.zw/2017/12/14/of-rape-and-hiv-infection-the-plight-of-refugees-in-transit/
Heart-breaking story of female migrant students in Zimbabwe	263Chat (online)	http://263chat.com/heart-breaking-story-female-migrants-students-zimbabwe/
Zim's long political turmoil turns youth to be refugees	Daily News	https://www.newsday.co.zw/2017/09/02/zims-long-political-turmoil-forces-youths-refugees/
The silent side of migration	263Chat (online)	http://263chat.com/silent-side-migration/
Moz police prey on Zimbabweans	Manica Post	http://www.newzimbabwe.com/news-40492-Moz+police+prey+on+Zimbabweans/news.aspx
Counting the cost of men-out migration	Southern Times	https://263chat.com/counting-cost-men-migration/
Zimbabwe's Porous Border Posts A Gateway For Human Traffickers And Illegal Immigrants	The Standard	http://263chat.com/zimbabwes-porous-border-posts-gateway-human-traffickers-illegal-immigrants/
The plight of Zim female migrants in *mzansi*	NewsAfrica	https://www.newsday.co.zw/2017/09/plight-zim-female-migrants-mzanzi/
Refugees struggle for survival as Zim economy chokes	263Chat (online)	http://263chat.com/refugees-struggle-survival-zim-economy-chokes/
The anguish of foreign job seekers	Financial Gazette	www.newsday.co.zw/2017/11/anguish-foreign-job-seekers
Migrants recount horror	263Chat (online)	http://263chat.com/migrants-recount-horror/
South Africa steps up deportation of asylum seekers	News Deeply (online)	https://www.newsdeeply.com/refugees/articles/2017/10/17/south-africa-steps-up-deportation-of-asylum-seekers

Zim immigrants sidelined from health services	NewsDay	https://www.newsday.co.zw/2017/12/zim-immigrants-sidelined-health-services/
Zimbos living in SA in a catch-22 situation	NewsDay	https://www.newsday.co.zw/2017/11/zimbos-living-sa-catch-22-situation/
Zimbabwe praised for human trafficking, migration interventions	eNews Channel Africa	http://www.enca.com/africa/watch-zimbabwe-praised-for-human-trafficking-migration-interventions
On the Trail of Child Trafficking in Zimbabwe	IDN/IPS (online)	http://www.indepthnews.net/index.php/the-world/africa/1447-on-the-trail-of-child-trafficking-in-zimbabwe
Migrants IDs and healthcare woes	The Chronicle	http://www.chronicle.co.zw/migrants-ids-healthcare-woes/
Women endure burden of migration	Radio VoP (online)	http://www.radiovop.com/index.php/national-news/16116-feature-women-endure-the-burden-of-migration.html

Fieldwork

The fieldwork locations were: Niamey, Niger (West Africa Hub), Casablanca, Morocco (North Africa Hub), Harare, Zimbabwe (Southern Africa Hub). These Hubs were selected based on IMS's activities. They cover distinct migration contexts: countries where migrants typically in transit to other regional or international destinations; destination countries; and regional labour migration.

In each Hub, five focus group discussions, with an average of five participants were undertaken. The five FG groups were arranged into the following sub-groups: men-only, women-only, older people, younger people, people with direct experience of migration (self or family members). This grouping was important since it allowed for differences in terms of gender and life experience to emerge. Sampling for the FGs was purposive, seeking people who met the criteria for each category and that together provide diversity within those categories (diversity of education levels, professions, media practices etc.). Local research assistants were engaged to recruit participants, and they were advised to use their networks, snowball methods, and to go to public spaces (markets, public transport hubs, universities, etc.) to recruit. The RAs were in all cases recommended by IMS partners, which accounts for a higher than expected number of journalists participating in the FG discussions.

A small honoraria (approx. $10USD) was offered in recognition of time spent and any potential travel costs.

The FG discussions were two hours long, and covered: media practices, perspectives on migration, responses to three media stories from the *Voices of African Migrants* participating journalists. The same media stories were used in most FGs in that field-site, but sometimes the researchers changed the media story after the first FG if it was felt that the story was not working to generate on-topic discussions.

The texts for use in the FGs in each Hub were selected on the on the basis of the following general criteria:

- That it would be possible to compare the reception of different media forms used and platforms through which they were distributed: ideally, this means a radio fragment, a video fragment, and at least one online/text article.
- That the texts provide an opportunity to discuss a range of different topical issues and interests relating to migration (including different causes, positive and negative experiences, gendered differences, etc.)
- That they do not explicitly discuss sexual violence (for ethical reasons)
- Where possible, examples of different types of journalistic and communicative frames

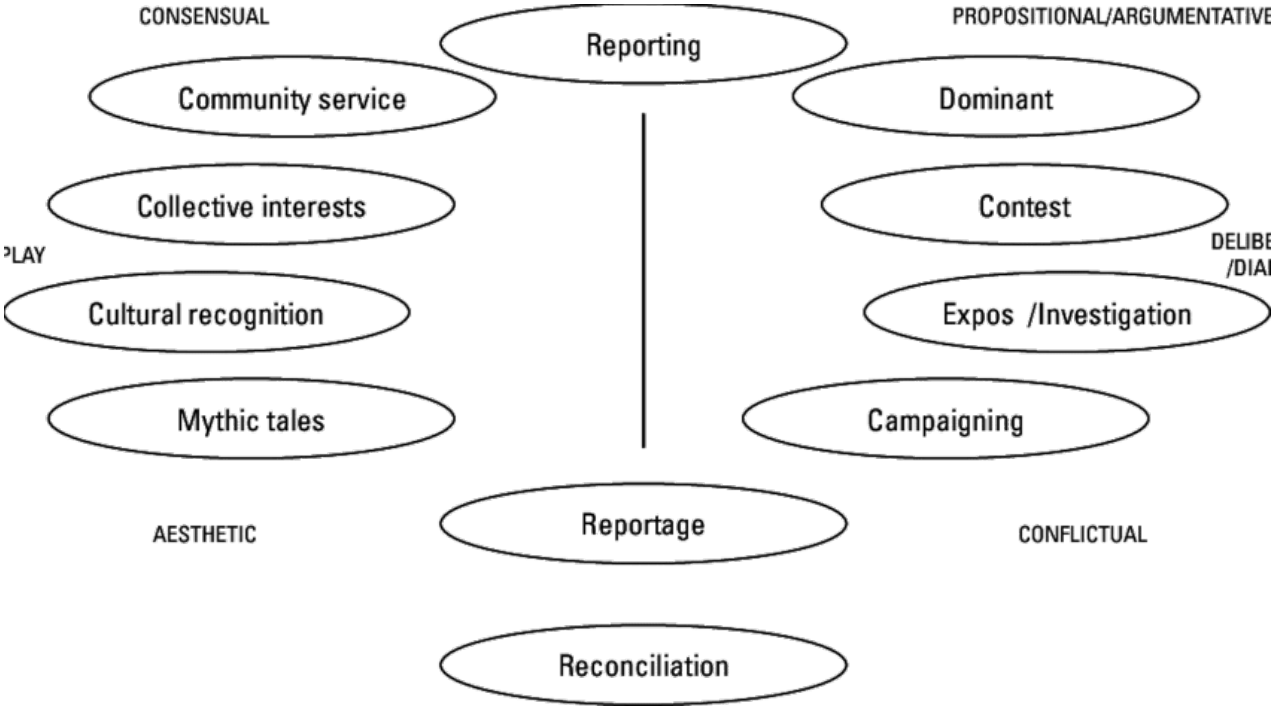
Focus group guides are provided in Appendix 5.

In addition, in each Hub in-depth, semi-structured interviews with an average of two participating journalists were undertaken. This was in order to explore the contexts in which the stories were produced. The interview guides are provided in Appendix 6.

Data analysis

The data was analysed using Nvivo, which is a world leading computer assisted qualitative data analysis software program.

For the content analysis we used a mix of inductive and deductive coding. We used an existing content analysis report commissioned by IMS and HCIF in Zimbabwe and South Africa (Reporting migration in Zimbabwe and South Africa – A media monitoring report 2015-2017) as a starting point for developing codes. We also coded against journalistic frames, especially human interest frames with reference to Figenschou and Thorbjørnsrud (2015) and Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) [74]and Cottle and Rai's (2006)[75] set of communicative frames. The 12 communicative frames bring attention to the ways journalism can be oriented in conflictual and consensual ways. The 12 communicative frames are show in the diagram below:



Cottle and Rai, 2006, p 171[76]

For the FG data and interviews we initially coded according to questions (see FG Guides) and media stories, and coded inductively to identify themes.

Findings and recommendations workshop

A findings and recommendations workshop was held at the IMS offices in Copenhagen with participation by regional heads via Skype. The workshop timed to provide an opportunity to share the emerging findings with IMS and Ford Foundation and to co-generate recommendations. The workshops objectives were to:

1. To share and reflect on emerging findings, which may inform the final stages of analysis
2. To develop an initial, co-created draft of the principles for good practices for reporting on migration

Advisory group meetings and feedback

[74] Figenschou, T. U., & Thorbjørnsrud, K. (2015). Faces of an invisible population: Human interest framing of irregular immigration news in the United States, France, and Norway. American Behavioral Scientist, 59(7), 783-801; Semetko, H. A., & Valkenburg, P. M. (2000). Framing European politics: A content analysis of press and television news. Journal of communication, 50(2), 93-109.
[75] Cottle, S., & Rai, M. (2006). Between display and deliberation: Analyzing TV news as communicative architecture. Media, Culture & Society, 28(2), 163-189. https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443706061680
[76] Ibid

The advisory group provided written and verbal feedback and advice at key points in the project, including feedback on the proposed methodology, feedback after the first fieldwork visit to inform the second two visits, and feedback on the draft outline report.

APPENDIX 3: CODE BOOKS

Codes for media articles: the table below shows the code that were used to analyse the media stories in NVivo.	
Descriptions of migrants	geography of migration
- immigration status	- inter-continental focus
- nationality	- regional focus
- other	opening two paras
- race	sentiment
- social status	- anti migrants or migration
hardship	- supportive or empathetic
- Arrest, bribery, exploitation	sources
- discrimination	- citizen in home country
- education disadvantage	- (man)
- family separation	- (woman)
- health issues and HIV	- citizen in host country
- poverty	- (man)
- safety	- (woman)
- sexual harassment and abuse	- migrants
Discussion about solutions	irregular migrant
Discussion of causes of migration	- (man)
- conflict and instability	- (woman)
- expired or lack of documents	regular migrant
- family reunion	- (man)
- 'greener pastures'	- (woman)
- History	- NGO agency or worker
- other discussions on causes	- (man)
- poverty	- (woman)
- pull factors	other
- pursue education	- (man)
- pursue employment	- (woman)
- systemic problems in host country	policy maker, government
discussion of impacts of migration	- (man)
- impacts for host country	- (woman)
- impacts for migrants	
- impacts in home country	
Frames	
- campaigning	
- collective interest	

- community service	
- contention	
- Contest	
- cultural recognition	
- dominant	
- exposé, investigation	
- mythic tales	
- reconciliation	
- reportage	
- Reporting	

APPENDIX 4: SELECTED MEDIA CODING QUERY RESULTS

Source and purpose coding matrix: this matrix shows the number of pieces of text where there is an overlap in coding between the source and the contribution to the story

West Africa

	A : hardships	**B : Discussion of causes of migration**	**C : Discussion about solutions**
Citizen in home country	3	0	3
man	3	0	0
woman	0	0	0
Citizen in host country	0	0	0
man	0	0	0
woman	0	0	0
Migrants - irregular	11	5	0
man	5	1	0
woman	6	4	0
Migrant - regular	3	1	1
man	2	0	1
woman	1	1	0
NGO agency or worker (including org level/reports, statements)	0	0	3
man	0	0	3
woman	0	0	0
Other (e.g. academic, police, smuggler)	0	0	0
man	0	0	0
woman	0	0	0
Policy maker, government source (including org. level)	0	0	5
man	0	0	4
woman	0	0	1

North Africa Hub – Source and purpose coding matrix

	A : Hardships	B : Discussion of causes of migration	C : Discussion about solutions
Citizen in home country	1	0	1
man	0	0	0
woman	1	0	1
Citizen in host country	0	0	0
man	0	0	0
woman	0	0	0
Migrants - irregular	8	7	1
man	7	6	1
woman	1	1	0
Migrant - regular	6	2	2
man	2	0	0
woman	4	2	2
NGO agency or worker (including org level/reports, statements)	2	0	3
man	0	0	2
woman		0	1
Other (e.g. academic, police, smuggler)	0	0	0
man	0	0	0
woman	0	0	0
Policy maker, government source (including org. level)	0	0	2
man	0	0	1
woman	0	0	1

Southern Africa Hub – Source and purpose coding matrix

	Hardships/ challenges	Discussion causes of migration	Discussion about solutions
Citizen in home country	3	2	1
- Man	0	0	0
- woman	3	2	1
Citizen in host country	0	0	1
- man	0	0	1
- woman	0	0	0
Migrants - irregular	16	11	0
- man	4	6	0
- woman	10	6	0
Migrant - regular	11	4	1
- man	9	2	1
- woman	2	2	0

NGO agency or worker (including org level/reports, statements)	6	8	8
- man	2	4	3
- woman	2	0	4
Other (e.g. academic, police, smuggler)	1	4	0
- man	1	1	0
- woman	0	0	0
Policy maker, government source (including org. level)	0	7	13
- man	0	2	3
- woman	0	3	6

APPENDIX 5: FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDES

This is the version of the FG guide following the fieldwork in Niger, and following meetings with the Advisory group.

Indicative Focus Group Discussion schedule (2 hours):

1. 0:00-0:15: Introduction, ice-breaker
   Explanation of the research project, signing consent forms, introducing (y)ourselves

2. 0:15-0:45: Exploring media practices and perceptions on migration

   - What media forms do you use to obtain information about what happens in [Niger/Zimbabwe/Morocco] And in the rest of the world? Are there any particular shows, news bulletins you follow? Which of those are most reliable, who do you think tells the truth?
   - What does the media you use say about migration?
   - Why do you think people migrate to/from Zimbabwe (or as relevant to the location)? (and then probe - differences between refugees and economic migrants? Which types of migrants are a problem?)

3. 0:45-1:45: Discussing particular media outputs (the same three media stories for each FG, unless the experience in field suggests that different stories would be better. We will investigate incorporating one story from mainstream)
   approx. 3x stories played or showed. Murmurs and utterances made by participants during the showing of content will be recorded in keeping with the Text-in-Action Approach (Wood, 2005; 2007), giving insight into immediate responses. Following the showing of the content, standard types of audience-reception FG questions will follow (Kruger & Casey 2012; Brennen 2015 pp 59-92; Hansen & Machin pp 227-253).
   Participants will be asked:

   a. What is your first reaction to this story?
   b. Are these stories similar to what you know about migration, or different?
   c. Did you learn anything new from this story? If so, what kinds of things?
   d. Do you think this story has a message? Who for / Who do you think it is addressing / speaking to?
   e. Who do you think has written it? Do you think it would be different if it was written by someone with different characteristics? (i.e. migrant)
   f. what would you have done differently if you were writing the story?

g. Did it speak to you?
h. How did the story make you feel?

4. 1:45 – 2:00: General Discussion.
   After discussing each story separately, a more general discussion will take place comparing the different media content and the messages they conveyed. Participants will be asked:

   a. Which story of the three do you think is most effective in reaching Zimbabwean/Moroccan people? Why / Why not?
   b. Which story do you think is best in putting across it message? What do you think is the reason for this (for instance, is it the visual elements or for instance clarity despite complexity)?
   c. Which story of the three do you think is best representing migrants and their complex experiences? Does a voice-over style help to interpret or does it patronise?
   d. What kinds are stories and on what kind of media would you be interested in future?

APPENDIX 6: INTERVIEW GUIDES

1. How did you become enrolled in this programme by IMS?
2. Can you describe the process of making this production?
3. Have you reported on migration-issues before?
4. Why did you choose for this particular topic?
5. Why did you choose for this particular media form?
6. What have been the challenges on making this production?
7. Can you describe your culture of work, for instance in regard to:
   - deadlines, salary
   - organisational structure
   - emphasis on professional guidelines?
8. What production you have made, makes you the most proud?
9. Are there any general challenges you are personally experience as a (female/migrant) journalist?
10. Are there any specific challenges in regard to technology (you use or that the public does not use)?
11. Are there any challenges for reporting on (particular) issues related to migration:
    - in relation to the government / state?
    - hostile responses of non-migrant and/or other migrant populations?
    - particular issues or taboos?
12. What are the things you find most difficult to talk about
13. Are there particular terms relating to migration that you use or avoid?
14. Do you try to focus on any particular types of migrants? How do you manage the differences between refugees and economic migrants?
15. This programme aims to bring forward the voices of migrants, but sometimes visibility might increase exposure and hence insecurity. How can you as journalist best deal with this?
16. What have been the responses to this production?

17. Have you seen other productions produced for this programme? If so, do you feel particular issues around migration in and beyond Zimbabwe are not addressed? If so, why do you think this is the case?
18. do you think the stories would be different in any way if migrants wrote this story?
19. What would you do differently, next time you are working on a production on migration? Are there any topics you would like to take on next?
20. How could migrant's voices reach more and more specific audiences?

APPENDIX 7: KEY MEDIA TEXTS DISCUSSED IN FGS

In Niger Focus Groups

Migrer pour survivre : cas des femmes de Kantché, Radio show on female outward migration from a rural town in Niger, for radio channel Studio Kalangou.
Rêve brisé. Tv-show on migrants who have returned to Mali. For broadcast on the private TV channel Dounia.
Migrant Ouest Africains - Ces êtres humains en quête d'un bien-être. A newspaper article on migrants living in transit in Niamey, Niger.

In the Morocco Focus Groups

The video 'De la migration à l'entrepreneuriat: Parcours de femmes au Maroc' by in which three migrant women (two migrants from Ivory Coast and Togo and a refugee from Ivory Coast) living in the city capital of Rabat talk about their positive integration experiences as entrepeneours in the Moroccan job market.
The fragment of a radio segment broadcast on Atlantic Radio where a young Congolese women discuss her migration to Morocco through Algeria.
The online article `Frère, laisse-moi te conter mon calvaire !' published by Libération in which the experience of a young African waiting in the Bolingo Forest in the North of Morocco to cross the barriers to enter Europe is told in the form of a letter sent to his brother.

In the Zimbabwe focus groups

A fragment of the radio interview, 'Reflection of Zim migrant in South Africa', broadcast on Capitalk FM, in which a Zimbabwean woman discusses migrant life in South Africa
The video 'Zimbabwe and human trafficking' for ENCa, a South African 24-hour news broadcaster and available online, in which the role of the government in regard to migration is discussed.
The online article 'Refugees Struggle for Survival As Zim Economy Chokes', published on 263.chat.com - http://263chat.com/refugees-struggle-survival-zim-economy-chokes/ - discussing the plight of refugees in Zimbabwe
The online article 'Moza police prey on Zimbabweans' published by the online newsplatform newZimbabwe. Selected for its many online reactions by readers.
The online article 'On the trail of Child Trafficking in Zimbabwe' published by InDepthNews: https://archive.indepthnews.net/index.php/the-world/africa/1447-on-the-trail-of-child-trafficking-in-zimbabwe. This article discusses the journeys of migrants.

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