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**Coverage of Migration Issues in Egyptian
Newspapers**

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Coverage of Migration Issues in Egyptian Newspapers

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Dissertation Presented to the Faculty of Communication Sciences,
Department of Journalism and Communication Sciences of the Autonomous
University of Barcelona in Fulfillment of the Requirements for the PhD in
Communication and Journalism

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2025

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

As I complete this research journey, I want to express my sincere gratitude to the wonderful people who made it possible.

My heartfelt thanks go to my supervisors, Professor Samy Tayie and Professor Cristina Pulido. Your insightful guidance and constant support were truly the backbone of this entire research project. I couldn't have done it without you.

I also want to extend my appreciation to Professor Santiago Tejedor and the entire team in the Department of Journalism and Communication Sciences. The resources and assistance you provided were invaluable and greatly contributed to my work.

Beyond the academic world, I am incredibly grateful for my family. My twin brother and my sister were a constant source of encouragement, always there to lift my spirits. And a very special thank you to Professor Hafiza Al-Haddad from the Department of Private International Law at Alexandria University, whose genuine affection and continuous support meant the world to me.

Finally, to my amazing friends: thank you for always being by my side throughout this journey. Your encouragement and unwavering support truly made a significant and positive difference in my life.

ABSTRACT

This study investigates the portrayal of immigration issues in Egyptian and European newspapers during the 2015 European migration crisis, examining how these publications represent immigrants and refugees. The research analyses 381 news articles published between March 1 and September 30, 2015, across three Egyptian newspapers (*Al-Ahram*, *Al-Masry Al-Youm*, and *Al-Wafd*) and two European newspapers (*El-País* [English edition] and *Euronews*). The analysis reveals significant disparities in coverage between the two regions.

Employing a mixed-methods—approach incorporating qualitative and quantitative content analysis, alongside in-depth interviews and focus group discussions—this study explores the crucial role of media in shaping public perceptions of immigration. It underscores the necessity of objective and accurate reporting to cultivate positive attitudes towards immigrants and facilitate their successful integration.

The findings indicate that Egyptian newspapers generally present a more sympathetic depiction of migrants and refugees, emphasising the need for international assistance and framing immigration policies as essential components of human rights. This compassionate perspective may be attributed to Egypt's historical position as a transit country for migrants, coupled with shared linguistic and cultural ties with nations such as Syria and Sudan. However, a notable weakness identified within Egyptian media is the underrepresentation of migrant voices, despite their centrality to the immigration narrative. In contrast, European newspapers frequently adopt a narrative characterised by fear, often emphasising the perceived threats posed by increased refugee flows at EU borders. While instances of portraying migrants as victims do occur, particularly following impactful events such as the publication of the image of the drowned Syrian child Aylan Kurdi, the prevailing tone in European media tends to frame migrants as security, economic, and cultural risks.

Furthermore, this research proposes practical recommendations for improving immigration reporting. These include promoting comprehensive and nuanced reporting, collaborating with non-governmental organisations to incorporate diverse perspectives, fostering media literacy on immigration issues, and providing journalists with training on ethical reporting practices. By understanding these media dynamics and implementing strategies for balanced and inclusive coverage, this study aims to contribute to the development of greater empathy and a more profound understanding of the challenges faced by migrants and refugees in both Egyptian and European newspapers.

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INTRODUCTION

The Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region has emerged as a focal point for diverse forms of migration, functioning both as a source and a destination for regular, irregular, transit, and refugee movements. These intricate migration patterns are shaped by a confluence of interconnected factors, including the pressures of globalisation, regional and international conflicts, persistent political instability, entrenched poverty, and the proliferation of human trafficking networks (Abdelwahed et al., 2020). This dynamic highlights the region's role not only in facilitating migration but also in reflecting the geopolitical tensions that drive mobility on a global scale.

Egypt occupies a pivotal position in its region, serving as both a destination and a transit hub for migrants, particularly those from other countries of Africa who aim to reach the European Union. The Egyptian government has demonstrated considerable expertise in managing migration, notably in integrating millions of Syrian refugees into Egyptian society over the past decade. This reflects a broader commitment towards accommodating displaced populations despite the country's domestic challenges. Furthermore, Egypt is the most populous nation in the MENA region, with a population “increase to hit 105 million in 2023” (Osman, 2023, p.5). It also functions as a significant source of migrant labour for numerous countries, with remittances constituting a vital economic lifeline. “From 2015 to 2020, the remittances constituted 45% to 70% of the total Egyptian revenues in foreign currencies” (Banoub, 2024, p.48), underscoring their critical importance to the nation's economy. This dual role as both a recipient and a supplier of migration highlights Egypt's complex and multidimensional engagement with global migration flows.

Although Europe has long been a significant destination for migration, the influx of refugees into the European Union reached its peak in 2015, driven primarily by the Syrian conflict, which forced millions to seek refuge in neighbouring countries, including Egypt. The rising number of refugees has disrupted traditional perceptions of migrants and refugees in the media, primarily due to the large-scale movement of people across the Mediterranean Sea or through mainland European borders. Despite the significant challenges migrants endure on their perilous journeys, some European countries refuse to accept them, citing concerns over the perceived threats migrants pose to national security, cultural identity, and economic stability.

The concepts of "positive" and "negative" perceptions of migrants are critical in understanding media framing and its societal implications. Positive perceptions are often rooted in humanitarian framing, which portrays migrants as vulnerable individuals fleeing conflict, poverty, or persecution, emphasizing their need for protection and support (Chouliaraki & Stolic, 2017). This framing may also highlight migrants' potential contributions to host societies, such as addressing labour shortages, enriching cultural diversity, or fostering economic growth (Lawlor & Tolley, 2017). Conversely, negative perceptions align with securitisation and threat frames, which depict migrants as risks to the safety, culture, and economy of receiving communities (Buzan et al., 1998; Greussing & Boomgaarden, 2017). These opposing frames not only shape public attitudes but also influence policy decisions and societal behaviours toward migrants.

The frequent migration across the Mediterranean prompts critical questions regarding how newspapers cover this global phenomenon. Media outlets vary in the framing of migrants' stories, with some narratives presenting migrants positively, portraying them as victims in need of support. Conversely, other newspapers adopt negative narratives, depicting migrants as threats to the security and well-being of receiving communities.

This study aims to investigate migration coverage in Egyptian and European newspapers during the European migration crisis, focusing on the period from 1 March 2015 to 30 September 2015, with the objective of analysing the media frames employed in reporting on immigration. The first dataset comprises immigration news published in three Egyptian newspapers: *Al-Ahram*, *Al-Masry Al-Youm*, and *Al-Wafd*. A total of 235 articles were gathered, with 34 articles from *Al-Ahram*, 183 from *Al-Masry Al-Youm*, and 18 from *Al-Wafd*. The second dataset includes immigration news published in two European newspapers, *El País* (English edition) and *Euronews*, during the same timeframe. This dataset consists of 146 articles, with 22 from *El País* and 124 from *Euronews*. Together, these datasets provide a total of 381 news articles for analysis.

Statement of the Research Problem

Geopolitical changes and conflicts forced many people to migrate to the European Union, and immigrants became more prevalent than ever. Conflicts in the Middle East and North Africa have led to a significant increase in migration flows, as large numbers of people are forced to flee their home countries in search of safety and stability. This surge in

migration has, in turn, heightened the relevance of immigration as a domestic issue, drawing increased public attention and making it a critical topic for newspaper coverage. As migration policies and public opinion become central to national debates, newspapers play a key role in shaping discourse by framing the causes, consequences, and policy responses to migration. This growing public and political focus on migration has not only intensified debates on immigration policies but has also brought migration and security concerns to the forefront of national and international discourse, shaping the way the issue is framed and discussed in both policymaking and media narratives. Discussions regarding migration and security today reflect the aspects of migration and how it is perceived (Cayon, 2022).

Out of all the challenges that Europe is currently dealing with, the so-called “refugee crisis” has had the biggest influence on public discussions about solidarity, reviving disputes and differences both inside and between European member states. The European Union has been divided by conflict since 2015 over how to respond to this “crisis” and who is responsible for providing aid and support. While most studies have been focused on migrant flows and their consequences for policy and security, there hasn’t been any in-depth comparative analysis of how newspapers covered the crisis and how the media framework could impact and shape public attitudes towards refugees and migrants (Cinalli et al., 2021).

Recent media coverage of immigration displays a variety of journalistic and news-framing perspectives. Journalists present news material through their ideological and political perspectives to give audiences specific coverage which reflects the newspaper’s orientation and ideology. Different narratives about migrants are frequently used in media coverage. Sympathetic coverage emphasises migrants as victims of conflict and calls for the advantages of integrating them into the host communities. In contrast, negative coverage adopts and expands on themes of migrants as threats to national security, cultural identity, economic security, and the public health of the host communities.

The study aimed to examine how Egyptian newspapers cover immigration issues, considering that the newspapers’ coverage plays a critical role in shaping people’s opinions and perceptions toward immigration and migrants. The study focuses on understanding how Egyptian newspapers cover immigration issues by examining the media frame that is used to describe immigrants and refugees and demonstrating the strengths and weaknesses of press coverage, considering that some refugees choose Egypt as a destination country and others prefer to go to Europe.

Significance of the Study

The year 2015 saw a significant surge in immigration, particularly among Syrians fleeing the ongoing conflict and seeking asylum in Egypt or the European Union. Many tragically drowned in the Mediterranean while attempting to migrate. International newspapers responded to the crisis in varying ways, with media coverage shaped by factors such as security concerns and economic threats, often resulting in a predominantly negative portrayal of the migration crisis and immigrants. However, a contrasting trend of more sympathetic coverage emerged, particularly following the retrieval of the body of three-year-old Aylan Kurdi, whose lifeless form washed up on a Turkish beach on 2 September 2015. This harrowing image evoked widespread empathy, drawing greater attention to the refugee crisis than statistical reports of the thousands who had perished. Aylan from Syria had been travelling with his parents and brother, all of whom were seeking safety when tragedy struck. They were attempting to reach Greece aboard a dinghy that departed from the Turkish coast, carrying several Syrian refugees escaping the devastation of war. Aylan drowned after slipping from his father's grasp when the boat capsized in the Mediterranean. His mother and brother also perished in the tragedy, a harrowing incident that resonated globally. The publication of the photograph depicting Aylan Kurdi's lifeless body profoundly impacted the world's perception of refugees and migration, bringing unprecedented attention to the humanitarian crisis.

The significance of this study lies in its examination of how Egyptian and European newspapers depict migration, migrants, and refugees. Given that newspaper coverage of immigration influences public attitudes and opinions, it consequently shapes societal behaviours towards migrants and refugees. Furthermore, the way migrants are framed in the media plays a crucial role in determining the effectiveness of integration policies.

Additionally, providing migrants with a platform to share their personal stories can offer deeper insight into their critical circumstances, including their need for housing, education, and medical services. Consequently, positive media coverage plays a vital role in informing governments and policymakers, aiding in the development of more effective immigration and integration policies.

Research Questions

- 1- How do the Egyptian newspapers cover immigration issues?
- 2- How do the European newspapers cover immigration issues?
- 3- What are possible suggestions to improve the coverage of Immigration issues in Egyptian newspapers?

Objectives of the Study

The primary goal of this study is to understand how Egyptian newspapers address immigration issues in order to identify the strengths and weaknesses of the coverage with a view to the possibility of improving it and increasing awareness of the immigration phenomenon. Without a doubt, the chosen media framing plays a crucial role in shaping public perceptions of migrants and influencing the proposed solutions to this pressing issue.

This research also seeks to analyse how European newspapers reported on the immigration crisis in 2015. While some European newspapers tend to depict migrants and refugees negatively through security and threat frames, others adopt alternative media framings that present immigration more favourably. These include narratives that portray migrants as victims or emphasise the human tragedy associated with their displacement.

As numerous migrants and refugees reside in Egypt, another key objective of this study is to highlight the significant role of Egyptian newspapers in combating xenophobia and intolerance towards migrants. This can be achieved by focusing on their lives, the challenges they encounter, and the contributions they make to both their host societies and their countries of origin. Consequently, Egyptian newspapers must provide migrant communities with a stronger platform to share their own narratives and articulate the difficulties they face throughout their journey. Furthermore, media coverage should emphasise the vital economic contributions of migrants, particularly through remittances sent to their home countries, which play a crucial role in global development. At the same time, Egypt could strengthen cooperation with other governments to maximise the benefits of migration. By highlighting skill shortages in one country that could be addressed by qualified migrants from another, news coverage can help foster more effective migration policies and international collaboration.

Organization of the Dissertation

The first chapter of this study provides a quick view of the developments in the social structure of Egyptian society from 1805 to 2024. The second chapter aims to clarify the global situation of immigration, concerning its causes and motives, and the European Union's policies related to borders and its impact on the issue of immigration. The third chapter presents literary reviews that address the issue of immigration in terms of media coverage of this complex issue and the human rights that immigrants and refugees must obtain. Chapter Four explains the theoretical framework and methodology used in this study, while chapter five presents the findings of this study using three mixed methods: personal interviews, content analysis, and focus group discussions. Finally, chapter six aims to present the discussions and conclusions reached by this study.

CHAPTER ONE

EGYPTIAN SOCIAL STRUCTURE (1805 – 2024)

This chapter provides a quick overview of the major socioeconomic changes in Egyptian society from the 18th century to now. It focuses on Egypt's numerous social and political upheavals, ending in the 2024 presidential election. Additionally, this section highlights the key social and political factors that led to the 2011 Egyptian protests, while analysing the various presidential periods in Egypt's recent history. The main social and economic issues facing Egyptian society throughout its governing eras are also covered. Thus, it started with the reign of Mohamed Ali (1805-1848), then a period of kingdom rule until the 1952 revolution, and finally times of instability marked by social and political corruption, as well as severe economic downturns, which culminated in the 2011 revolution.

Egypt has been regarded as the world's most important ancient civilization, mainly due to its ancient Pharaonic past (Kemp, 2018). Egypt is a populous nation whose crucial position in the middle of the world has long shaped its foreign policy and cultural heritage. In addition, Egypt has a long history of close relations with its neighbours (Goldschmidt, 2008). During the 19th century, Egypt did not experience immigration, instead, this phenomenon started at the end of the 20th century due to numerous social, political, and economic changes. These changes are one of the reasons why the state experienced so many wars and revolutions. However, these changes also caused the Egyptian economy to become weak, which gave rise to the idea of immigration to Europe for better living conditions. However, the country has a long history of hosting migrants and refugees. The following sections present a quick overview of Egyptian social transformation as a result of numerous political and economic problems. This chapter also covers the primary social and political characteristics of the different policies that affected the Egyptian national social structure.

1.1 Egypt in the Reign of Mohamed Ali (1805 – 1848)

For four hundred years (1517-1914), Egypt belonged to the Ottoman Empire. We can't discuss mid-nineteenth-century Egypt without talking about Muhammad Ali's time (1805–1848). This Albanian officer in the Turkish army is often called the founder of modern Egypt. Istanbul made him the Ottoman governor of Egypt in 1805 (Cleveland &

Bunton, 2009, p.66). Muhammad Ali dreamed of a strong, independent Egypt, maybe the center of a bigger Arab country. He wanted to rebuild Egypt in a modern way, like what was happening in Europe.

According to Hopwood (1982), after taking control of Egypt, Muhammad Ali recognised the importance of the Egyptian economy and the abundance of Egyptian resources available, so he established the monopoly system in 1812, which he applied to both internal and external trade. However, the poverty of some Mediterranean developing countries during Muhammad Ali's era aided the monopoly system's success. Furthermore, these developing countries needed to buy Egyptian wheat. Muhammad Ali took advantage of the situation by striking multiple deals with them, making Egypt the most significant Ottoman territory among its regions or states. Muhammad Ali also monopolized the selling of the country's export crops, including grain and cotton (Hopwood,1982).

For Muhammad Ali, modernisation meant arming the state, establishing an economic system based on modern education, and combining a vision of national culture with European achievements (Gopal et al., 2008).

Douer (2015) stated that the country was led by a new ruler who implemented considerable reforms in the European style of governance. He formed a central government and passed legislation to improve the agricultural sector, which he saw as the country's primary source of revenue. Egypt became the world's largest exporter of cotton during Muhammad Ali's reign. In addition, the French assisted him in establishing a unique educational and public health system. Furthermore, Commercial expansion toward Europe resulted in the development and modernisation of Alexandria, which thrived due to its well-known port and foreign population (Douer, 2015, p.73).

In the same context, Muhammad Ali did not neglect his interest in education. In his first step toward reforming the education system, he started recruiting European teachers. After a while, he realised that sending Egyptian students to Europe became less expensive and more practical. In the year 1826, he sent an educational mission of students chosen by the state to France. These students began learning French and studied different sciences, like hydraulics and engraving (Silvera,1980).

On the other hand, Egypt was known for its abundant agricultural productivity throughout Muhammad Ali's reign, as he was interested in hiring French engineers to build and operate irrigation canals and dams. However, the Mahmoudia Canal, which connects Alexandria city to the River Nile, was completed in 1819. The fundamental motivation for

its creation was to discover a reliable source of pure water for Alexandrians, both locals and visitors, to utilize for drinking and other purposes. Alexandria's population was believed to be over thirty thousand people. The completion of this canal resulted in the city's prosperity and the influx of merchants from Europe and the Arab world, bringing the population to eighty thousand people (Mikhail, 2011, p.23).

Thompson (2008) states that Mohamed Ali's monopoly regime had sheltered the Egyptian industry from outside competition. It excluded undesirable imports, such as British fabrics that would compete with Egyptian cotton. As a result, the Egyptian ports were clogged with commodities because of Muhammad Ali's intense focus on foreign trade, and Alexandria and its seaport grew into a major shipbuilding center and an important naval station (Thompson, 2008). Muhammad Ali also began the Industrial Revolution. He established several cotton textile industries as well as weapon manufacturers. He paid much attention to the Egyptian army, so Egypt became the Middle East's most powerful military force under his rule.

Muhammad Ali's health weakened in 1847, so he travelled to Italy for treatment and rest. It was clear that he would not recover, so his son Ibrahim Pasha took over the rule of Egypt in 1848, but his reign was short-lived due to a chest infection; he died after only a few months, and Sultan Abbas Hilmi I, Muhammad Ali's grandson, took over in November 1848, and Muhammad Ali died the following year at the age of eighty-one (Thompson, 2008).

1.2- Social Structure of Egyptian Society (1854 -1952)

Sultan Abbas Hilmi I ruled Egypt from 1848 to 1854, and his reign did not witness worthwhile changes in Egyptian society. His successor was Khedive Said.

During Khedive Said's reign (1854-1863), the most notable event was his decision to support digging the Suez Canal, which connected the Red Sea and the Mediterranean Sea, reducing the distance between Europe and the East. The era of Khedive Said saw the recovery of Egyptian society's prosperity and high quality of life. Many Europeans, mainly engineers and other qualified professionals chose to live in Egypt during Said's rule, particularly in Cairo and Alexandria. They were granted privileges that exempted them from the payment of taxes because these Europeans offered essential services to Egypt, such as street lighting (Goldschmidt, 2008, p.38).

Several social and economic developments occurred under Said's reign, such as the building of numerous bridges, the expansion of telegraph lines, the expansion of railway miles, the publication of the Penal Code, and the founding of the first Egyptian Bank “Banque Masr” in 1855 (Richmond, 1977).

Khedive Said died in 1863, and Khedive Ismail became the ruler of Egypt (1863-1879). The start of Ismail's reign coincided with an increase in the price of Egyptian cotton sent abroad, giving him the financial means to initiate construction and development programs during his early years in power. Hence, more roads, bridges, and railways were erected, as were postal services and the foundation of the Ministry of Education.

Khedive Ismail showed an intense fascination with the West, viewing Egypt as more aligned with Europe than Africa. Notably, during his visit to Paris in 1867, he was captivated by the city's streets and architecture. As a result, he envisioned remaking Cairo in the image of Paris, intending to create vast public gardens, and he established the Opera House in 1869 (Thompson, 2008, p.248). In the same context, Ismail also financed the establishment of the Egyptian Museum and the National Library. In addition, the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 was a great event with an extraordinary celebration attended by European kings and dignitaries.

By the middle of the 1870s, Ismail noticed that his government was facing a significant financial problem, forcing him to sell the government's share in the Suez Canal Company for four million sterling pounds to raise funds. As a result, the British exerted pressure on the Ottoman Sultan and deposed Ismail, and Khedive Tawfik's era started from 1879 to 1892 (Dour, 2015, p.81).

Khedive Tawfik took power in 1879 after his father, Khedive Ismail. It is worth noting that the period of Khedive Tawfik witnessed the establishment of the *Al-Ahram* newspaper in 1875. Furthermore, *Al-Moayyad* newspaper was founded in 1889, and it was the voice of Egyptian Muslim public opinion. However, due to the sale of the Egyptian government's share in the Suez Canal Company, the British government owned 44% of the company's shares, which increased the British government's interference in Egypt's rule. As a result, national resistance to the British occupation reignited with the start of the rule of Abbas Hilmi II (1892-1941). The opposition was organised by Mostafa Kamel, a young Egyptian student at the Faculty of Law who resented the British's growing power in Egyptian affairs.

Mustafa Kamel relocated to Paris to finish his studies in the French Faculty of Law. However, his legal studies convinced him that persuading the British to leave, rather than revolting, was the best way to end the British control of his country. In 1896, he wrote a letter to the British Prime Minister, demanding that Britain fulfil its pledge to leave Egypt, but the British government remained disinterested. However, most Egyptians were Muslims at that time, and it was straightforward to bring them together under the leadership of an Islamic king against the power of England, a non-Muslim state. Following his return from France, Mustafa Kamel established the Al-Liwa newspaper in 1899. He began writing about Egyptian constitutional and political rights and the ongoing struggle against British rule (Goldschmidt, 2008, p.59).

Egyptian daily life didn't change much while Sultan Hussein Kamel was in charge (1914-1917). He came to power after Abbas Hilmi II. At that point, Egyptians were really focused on gaining independence, and this led to the 1919 revolution, with Saad Zagloul as their leader. It is important to remember that as Saad Zagloul became more and more popular, and as he kept pushing for the end of the British occupation, the British army captured him and some of his supporters and sent them away to Malta. This sparked a revolution led mainly by university students, but it also included judges, lawyers, and other workers. The unrest spread quickly, and people started disrupting things like railways and telegraph lines. Egyptian women joined the movement for the first time, and both Muslims and Christians united to call for the country's freedom. This uprising is believed to have cost the lives of about 1,000 Egyptians (Richmond, 1977).

After the successful 1919 revolution, Egyptian leaders, including Saad Zagloul, negotiated with the British government. This led to Egypt being declared an independent country in 1922, with King Fouad as the leader. However, British forces still had the right to defend Egypt from attack, protect foreign interests, and safeguard minorities. This period saw significant growth in Egyptian culture and society. The National University (later Cairo University) was established in 1908. The American University in Cairo was also founded in 1919 to offer higher education. The discovery of Tutankhamun's tomb and treasures in 1922 sparked worldwide fascination with Egyptian history. Radio Cairo began broadcasting in 1923, and many novels, newspapers, and magazines were published. Numerous writers and authors, like Taha Hussein and Tawfik al-Hakim, emerged. Cairo became the center of publishing in the Arab world (Thompson, 2008, p.276). Saad Zagloul served as president of the Council of Ministers from 1924 until his death in 1927.

King Fouad saw Zagloul's death as a chance to grab more power. He tried to rule the kingdom more directly through his palace. He used the new constitution to dissolve Parliament, giving the palace a much bigger role in running the country (Thompson, 2008, p.279). King Fouad passed away in 1936. His 17-year-old son, Farouk, took over. Farouk had studied at the Woolwich British Military Academy and spoke Arabic fluently (Goldschmidt, 2008, p.80). King Farouk's time in power saw some important things happen that changed Egyptian society. The biggest one was the start of World War II and how it affected Egypt's role in the war. Also, during this time, Hassan Al-Banna created the Muslim Brotherhood, an Islamic group that wanted to bring Islamic principles into Egyptian life and push the British out of the country. Even with this group, uprisings against the British went on. These uprisings eventually led to the creation of the Free Officers Movement, a group of Egyptian military officers who wanted to get rid of King Farouk, end the monarchy, and take control in the 1952 Revolution (Goldschmidt, 2008, p.85).

The next part will cover Egyptian society from 1952 to 2011, divided into three periods: First, the Nasser years from 1952 to 1970; second, the time under Anwar El Sadat from 1970 to 1981; and third, the Hosni Mubarak era from 1981 to 2011. Next, we will look at what is happening in Egypt from 2011 to 2024.

1.3 First Stage (1952-1970)

Before the 1952 revolution, Egypt's political structure had been corrupted by the British occupation and, above all, the desire to end the occupation. Nasser and the Free Officers group staged the revolution in the name of the Egyptian army. Once in power, they had to justify their actions to win legitimacy in the eyes of the Egyptians. This top priority drew focus away from any other issues. In this context, Hopwood (1982) postulated that “Egyptians were used to being governed by a central authority without much say in their destiny. Parliamentary life was not deeply rooted in the political system, and there was little tradition of government ministers being answerable before the people” (Hopwood, 1982, p.103).

Following the end of British occupation and the success of the July 23, 1952 revolution, the Nasser era commenced. Egypt faced widespread collapse, with deep-seated social problems stemming from its flawed economic system. Nasser initiated his efforts by rebuilding and improving Egypt's internal socio-economic conditions, focusing on various

domestic sectors, beginning with the outright banning of numerous political groups that obstructed his agenda. In addition to implementing various economic reforms, he also sought to eliminate all social organizations that opposed his views. The mid-1950s to the 1960s were widely considered a crucial period of economic transformation. Consequently, Nasser began by nationalizing all non-Egyptian banks and essential industries. Throughout his presidency, this same nationalization strategy was applied to major international insurance corporations and commercial companies as part of his broader plan to control the Egyptian economy (Bonin, 2010). In addition, between 1952 and 1961, Nasser conducted massive agricultural reforms, redistributing nearly one-seventh of Egypt's cultivable land from wealthy landowners to landless, impoverished peasants. As a result, Nasser focused on agricultural and industrial reforms to boost national income (Osman et al., 2012, p. 46). While these economic and social reforms were significant in bringing about fundamental changes in Egyptian society, their total economic impact was minimal. In the 1950s, Egypt received international assistance from the Soviet Union and the West. The Soviet Union served as the primary sponsor of most Egyptian economic programs. They were considered critical political allies and wealthy donors of Nasser's regime (Sharp, 2018, p.31).

Nasser's public sector expansion-based economic policy was more viable in 1965. However, Egypt was forced to look for funding from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) after losing the Soviet Union's financial and political assistance. The IMF loan was accompanied by an economic plan that mandated a 40% devaluation of the Egyptian pound and other unfavourable outcomes, including lower investment and higher living and tax expenses. It is important to remember that Nasser had a turbulent relationship with the United States in the 1950s. The United States thought that Nasser would change his approach towards the West as a result of increased international financial pressure on Egypt. By establishing an agreement with Israel, the US believed that Nasser would cooperate with them in limiting Soviet influence in the Middle East and promoting regional stability. However, Nasser did not allow his debt to affect his policy on the Middle East or the West (Cook, 2015).

In short, Nasser's administration was marked by numerous political and economic challenges that directly impacted Egyptian society and altered its structure. Furthermore, the Egyptian people endured significant hardship due to Egypt's economic decline, which began during the 1967 war with Israel and persisted until Nasser's death in 1970 (Awad, 2019).

1.4 Second Stage (1970-1981)

Following Nasser's death in 1970, Anwar Sadat became Egypt's president, governing from 1970 to 1981 (Cooper, 2013, p.123). Sadat ruled the country by resisting most of Nasser's ideas to seek eventual friendship and recognition from the West. In 1972, Sadat opposed Nasser's programs and embraced economic liberalism. At the same time, he prepared the army to fight the war with Israel, which ended with the Egyptians' victory in October 1973, and a peace agreement was signed between the two countries in 1979 (Dunne & Hamzawy, 2019, p.5).

Sadat inherited a poor society with several social and economic issues and complex political circumstances. Thus, Sadat's leadership attempted to rescue the country from its unstable state, where most people were poor, illiterate, and afflicted by sickness (Hinnebusch, 1981). Egypt suffered from a stagnating economy driven by a system of state capitalism throughout Sadat's presidency. As a result, most of Egypt's public sectors suffered from significant inflation and corruption due to the government's failure to supply the capital required for numerous social and economic developments.

On the other side, Sadat's political reconciliation with the Muslim Brotherhood group was driven by his wish to win their backing for his intended style of governance and social life, especially against the opposition liberal parties. Sadat's reconciliation strategy with the Muslim Brotherhood group was one of his worst errors since it allowed them to spread throughout Egyptian society, even though the group was obviously ineffective. This situation led to their disagreement with most of his foreign policy towards the end of the 1970s, especially the 1979 Camp David peace deal with Israel (Dunne & Hamzawy, 2019, p.45).

Sadat dealt with social and political problems head-on. He wanted to make the Middle East stable, both politically and economically. Sadat started something he called "The Corrective Revolution" to take Egypt in a new direction. His economic plan, the "Open Door Policy," focused on fixing the money situation first, before dealing with other problems inside the country and social issues (Kamel, 2021, p.36). This new policy got rid of government control over Egypt's money and brought in investment from Egypt and other countries. It seemed that Nasser's complex economic system made Sadat want to rethink Egypt's economy and go with a free-market plan (Kamel, 2021, p.36). Lippman (1989) put it this way: "The Egyptian economy would have to be opened up to encourage foreign

investments, and Egypt would accept unconditional aid and loans from abroad to aid in developments” (Lippman, 1989, p.99).

Egypt became the second-biggest receiver of US aid by 1979, shifting its allegiance from the Soviet Union to the United States. Egypt has gotten a lot of economic and military help from the US since the late 1970s. Sharp (2018) explained that "These successive U.S. administrations have been justified as an essential aid to the Egyptian economy for supporting its regional stability, building primarily long-running cooperations, especially with the Egyptian military, and also sustaining the 1979 Egyptian Israeli peace treaty" (Sharp, 2018, p.2).

Even though Sadat mainly focused on making peace with Egypt's neighbours and keeping Egypt strong politically and economically, several opposition groups formed against his rule. So, Egypt was in a tough spot during this time, even if the 1979 peace deal with Israel is still seen as a major diplomatic win for peace between Arabs and Israel (Sharp, 2018, p.2).

To sum up Sadat's time in power, Egyptian society felt widespread unhappiness and anger, with radical political groups like the Muslim Brotherhood opposing his policies. Sadat's authoritarian rule ended dramatically when he was shot and killed in public in 1981 (Badsha, 2021).

1.5 Third Stage (1981-2011)

When Mubarak became president in 1981 after Sadat was killed, Egyptians faced some big social and economic problems, like poverty, which was connected to things like not being able to read or write, not having jobs, and big differences in income.

Mubarak tried to fix the economy by sticking with the open-door economic plan, but it didn't really work, and the country's finances stayed bad. So, he switched to a new economic policy that focused on selling off government-owned businesses, and this quickly affected Egyptian society (Nagarajan, 2013, p.29). The gap between rich and poor got much wider in the 1980s. The middle class struggled and shrank, especially towards the end of Mubarak's time in power, while the very rich and the very poor became even more different. Mubarak's privatization policies helped create a class of super-rich people and a new group of business owners and elites. Because of this, the poor were largely ignored. Most Egyptians

struggled financially and had to deal with poor public services, and they didn't see their lives getting any better (Hibbard & Layton, 2010).

Mubarak's approach to foreign affairs was about building good relationships with the world's most powerful countries and fixing the strained relationships with Arab nations that had fallen apart towards the end of Sadat's time. Mubarak tried to protect Egypt from political unrest and conflict with other countries while also saying he wanted to bring more democracy to Egypt. However, he also brought in new rules, like suspending the constitution and making it harder for people to have basic freedoms. A new, separate court system, mainly using military courts, was also set up to try people accused of terrorism (Hibbard & Layton, 2010).

As the 1990s began and the European Union came into being, a new wave of young Egyptians looked to Europe for employment opportunities. Italy, with its relative proximity and perceived economic prospects, became a particularly attractive destination. When word spread about some Egyptians successfully making the journey and finding work in Italy, it fueled a growing desire among others to do the same. This type of migration became a hot topic of conversation and a subject of increasing interest. Egyptian news media began to focus on this emerging trend, examining the underlying reasons that were pushing young people to leave. They highlighted the difficulties Egyptians faced in finding decent jobs within their own country and emphasized the instability and weakness of the Egyptian economy. This situation was further complicated by the fact that, by the 1990s, Egypt had undergone a series of social and economic changes, including significant economic reforms. These reforms were often tied to financial support and guidance from international organizations like the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and other major global financial institutions (Hibbard & Layton, 2010). These reforms, while intended to improve the economy, sometimes had unintended consequences, like increasing unemployment or widening the gap between rich and poor, further contributing to the motivation for migration.

Egypt's social and economic progress in the 1990s didn't happen because of increased exports, as the IMF had predicted. Instead, it was driven by growth in demand within Egypt, especially in the construction industry (Harrigan & El-Said, 2009, p.25). During Mubarak's time, it was clear that while many people in different social and economic groups faced serious poverty and unemployment, others became incredibly rich. These social and economic changes led to the growth of a new middle class in Egypt. These people in the

new middle class often drove their own cars, sent their kids to private schools, and used private healthcare (Kamel, 2021, p.38).

It is important to remember that when Mubarak took over, he tried to fix Egypt's relationships with other countries, especially by rebuilding good ties with most Arab nations. He also worked to keep Egypt's promises under the 1979 peace deal with Israel, which made him look good to the US in both politics and world affairs (Aran & Ginat, 2014). Mubarak's successful diplomatic connections with other countries, particularly with the US government and presidents, helped him stay in power for so long. From the start of his presidency, he was very focused on maintaining strong ties with the United States to get their support. Teti et al. (2017) explained that “The strengthening of the role of the US in Egyptian politics dates back to the Cold War era and in particular during the 1970s. It was Anwar Sadat’s re-orientation of Egypt’s foreign policy that brought the country under the US sphere of influence” (Teti et al., 2017, p.93).

Mubarak's time in power saw some positive changes and progress in Egypt's social, economic, and political life. However, his rule also had problems and weaknesses, including a lot of political corruption. These negative things, like social problems and political instability within his government, created significant divisions within Egyptian society and increased inequality. This became a major concern, leading to large protests on January 25, 2011. People demanded change and democracy, which eventually led to his removal from power after 30 years of rule. Protests erupted across Egypt against Mubarak's government, calling for freedom, democracy, and an end to the corruption and oppression that had become deeply ingrained in the system.

1.6 Current Situation in Egypt (2011-2024)

Egyptian civil society, including groups and organisations outside of the government, was a major force behind the January 2011 revolution. The different movements pushing for change and the organizations working for human rights spoke for what people wanted, especially the demand for fairness and justice after so much oppression that had hurt many people active in politics and society (Yefet, 2024). It has been more than ten years since the January 2011 revolution, and Egypt has been through a very unstable period of change and uncertainty. This includes the removal of Mubarak, who had been in charge for thirty long years, the short and troubled rule of the Muslim Brotherhood from 2012 to 2013, and then

the period of temporary government from 2013 to 2014. During all this time, Egypt has been struggling with lots of difficult problems involving the economy, the well-being of its people, and the political system (El-Sherif, 2014).

The fall of Mubarak's regime, brought about by the January 2011 revolution, led to big changes in the way people talked and thought about things in Egypt. Groups and ideas that had been pushed to the sidelines before suddenly had chances to get involved in the country's politics. They wanted to play a leading role in rebuilding and reshaping Egyptian society.

The Islamist movement won the parliamentary elections, giving the Muslim Brotherhood a majority in Parliament. In June 2013, thirteen people ran in Egypt's first truly open presidential election. The final round was between Mohamed Morsi, the Brotherhood's candidate, and Ahmed Shafiq, a former Prime Minister. Mohamed Morsi won the election, and General Abdel Fattah El-Sisi became the Minister of Defence and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces (El-Sherif, 2014).

President Mohamed Morsi struggled to separate his role as president from his deep ties to the Muslim Brotherhood. Essentially, the group took over running the country, and its leaders controlled the media, using it to push their own ideas on everyone. This caused a lot of tension and conflict between the Brotherhood and other groups in society. On top of that, the economy was getting worse, there were constant power outages, and even fuel for cars was hard to find. As a result, most Egyptians became very unhappy and wanted the Muslim Brotherhood out of power. People were fed up with poverty, instability, and the decline of important public services, so huge protests broke out against Morsi's government in June 2013, demanding he be removed. Millions of people filled the streets all over Egypt on June 30, 2013, calling for the end of the Brotherhood's rule (El-Sherif, 2014).

This period in Egypt, from 2011 to 2013, was marked by political instability, which hurt the country's economic growth. Tourism, a key part of the economy, was especially affected. For example, the number of tourists visiting Egypt dropped from 14 million in 2010 to 9.5 million in 2011 and then fell even further to just 5.3 million in 2016. This decline in tourism meant less foreign money coming into the country, which made it harder to manage the economy (Echevarría & García-Enríquez, 2020). At that time, Egypt was also struggling with high inflation and unemployment, and the gap between the rich and poor grew much larger (Saidin & Storm, 2024, p.8).

After the Muslim Brotherhood was removed from power in June 2013, the discussion about what it means to be Egyptian became even more prominent, particularly after Abdel Fattah al-Sisi won the 2014 elections. The new president aimed to shape a new understanding of Egyptian identity that aligned with his own policies. He launched the "Building the New Egyptian Man" initiative, entrusting Egyptian religious institutions with the task of boosting Egyptians' self-confidence, given the challenges the country faced. These efforts focus on developing a new generation of Egyptians, especially young people, who will support the current political system and have the skills needed to promote state policies both at home and abroad (Winter & Shiloah, 2019).

Concluding Remarks

This chapter gives a quick look at how Egyptian society's economy and social structure have changed from 1805 to 2024. For four centuries, Egypt was part of the Ottoman Empire (1517-1914), developing its own unique political and cultural structure. To understand the social shifts in the mid-1800s, we have to talk about Muhammad Ali (1805–1848). This Albanian officer, who rose through the ranks of the Turkish army, is considered the founder of modern Egypt, and the Ottoman Empire even recognized him as the ruler of Egypt in 1805. After him came Khedive Said (1854–1863). His biggest achievement was the Suez Canal project. This shortcut between Europe and the East, connecting the Red Sea and the Mediterranean, was a game-changer.

Egypt thrived under Said, and he encouraged Europeans, especially skilled professionals and engineers, to settle there, particularly in Cairo and Alexandria. Then came Khedive Ismail, Muhammad Ali's son. The Suez Canal finally opened in 1869, making East-West connections much easier. Nevertheless, Ismail's spending habits and questionable policies landed Egypt in deep debt to European banks. Eventually, Egypt had to sell its share in the Suez Canal Company to the British, which paved the way for British control in 1882. The British occupation (1882-1952) brought big changes to Egyptian society. We saw the rise of nationalist movements, like the Orabi movement, led by figures like Mustafa Kamel and Saad Zaghloul, culminating in the 1919 revolution and the eventual end of British rule. This struggle for independence led to the formation of political parties and the rise of new, young leaders. Parliament flourished, elections were held, and Egypt finally gained independence.

To boost its economic independence, Egypt started focusing on its own resources, leading to the creation of Bank Misr in 1920. This bank helped build factories, keep the economy running, and even fund the first Egyptian film studio. Egyptian culture and literature also blossomed during this time, with many new writers and authors emerging. Cairo became a hub for Arab culture, earning the nickname "Hollywood of the East." In 1952, a group of army officers overthrew the king, turning Egypt into a republic. The country faced setbacks, like the defeat in the 1967 war with Israel, but bounced back to win the 1973 war. Different economic policies were tried over the years, from Sadat's "open door" policy to Mubarak's privatization, which ultimately led to his removal in 2011 after massive protests.

The years following the 2011 revolution were turbulent. The Muslim Brotherhood won the elections, and Mohamed Morsi became president in 2012, but their rule was short-lived. Massive protests led to their removal, and Abdel Fattah El-Sisi became president. The political instability between 2011 and 2013 hurt the economy, especially tourism, leading to a shortage of foreign currency, high inflation, and unemployment.

After taking office in 2014, President El-Sisi aimed to rebuild Egyptian identity, working with religious institutions. A key positive outcome of the 2011 revolution, though, is the increased political and economic awareness among Egyptians, fueled by better internet access and social media.

CHAPTER TWO

SITUATION OF GLOBAL IMMIGRATION

This chapter will first examine the reasons why people migrate, exploring their motivations and the factors that push or pull them to leave their home countries. Next, it will discuss the EU's border policies, including how they manage the movement of people across borders and how they handle the process of migrants becoming legal residents. Finally, the chapter will analyse how migration issues are portrayed and discussed in the media.

Immigration is a major global issue, presenting complex challenges and raising serious concerns. Looking closely at these challenges reveals a connection between new migration patterns, often involving transnational organised crime and the specific circumstances in different regions. The hope for a better life is a powerful motivator, influencing where people choose to go and the routes they take. Even though these journeys can be incredibly dangerous, with the risk of death at the border, people are still willing to take them to reach their goals (International Organization for Migration Report, 2024).

Migration has definitely captured the world's attention. It is a frequent topic in the news because it is such a tough problem, whether a country is where migrants come from, a place they pass through, or their final destination. Immigration has changed over time, and it is connected to a variety of things that are different from region to region.

One of the most basic reasons people migrate is economic. They might be looking for better job opportunities, higher wages, or a chance to escape poverty. Political factors also play a big role, such as instability caused by civil wars, conflicts, and human rights abuses. People may be forced to flee their homes to escape violence or persecution. Social factors, like rapid population growth, also create challenges. Countries receiving migrants and refugees face pressure to provide enough jobs, housing, and social services. Another factor that can influence migration decisions is the positive image of immigration often portrayed by those who have already made the journey. For example, someone who immigrated to Europe found success and then returned home might inspire others to consider a similar path, particularly those living in developing countries where opportunities are limited. These positive stories can create a perception that migration is a guaranteed path to a better life, even though the reality is often much more complex and challenging.

Because of the negative effects of immigration on the countries that receive migrants, several strategies have been tried to deal with this issue. For instance, these countries have organised many international and regional meetings and conferences to discuss the problem. They have also given financial aid to developing countries where many migrants come from, hoping to address the root causes of migration. And, of course, they have taken action against people who break immigration laws. However, many of the policies and rules that have been put in place actually make it harder for migrants to become part of their new communities. These complex and sometimes restrictive regulations can force migrants to stay in detention centres or deportation camps for long periods, creating additional hardship and hindering their ability to build new lives (Lindstrøm, 2005). These policies, while perhaps intended to control immigration flows, can have unintended negative consequences for the migrants themselves and can even create new problems.

On July 13, 2008, a partnership agreement was created between the European Union and sixteen countries in the Southern Mediterranean region, including Egypt. This agreement called the Euro-Mediterranean partnership, aimed to build cooperative relationships that would encourage economic integration and democratic changes in the EU's neighbouring countries in North Africa and the Middle East. This partnership offers a valuable chance for in-depth conversations and consultations between countries that send migrants and those that receive them. The goal of these discussions would be to address the root causes and motivations behind immigration, ultimately aiming to reduce the flow of migrants. Such a dialogue could help develop a shared understanding and lead to effective and fair measures for a true partnership. This would involve collaborative efforts between Egypt and European nations to develop legislative ideas that could be used both internationally and within individual countries (Zebakh et al., 2023).

2.1 Immigration: Causes and Motives

Conflict is a significant factor that leads to forced displacement. This can include perceived threats, instability, armed conflicts, widespread insecurity, political persecution, civil and ethnic strife, human rights violations, inter-communal tensions, or attacks on civilians, often happening during transitions to democracy. The number of people forcibly displaced by war, conflict, persecution, human rights abuses, and events disrupting public order reached a record high of 79.5 million by the end of 2019. This is almost double the 41

million displaced people in 2010, and significantly higher than the 70.8 million displaced in 2018. In 2019, over two-thirds (68%) of all refugees worldwide came from just five countries: Syria, Afghanistan, South Sudan, Myanmar, and Somalia (UNHCR, 2020b).

Moreover, economic factors are consistently a reason why people decide to move. Job opportunities and differences in pay are really important when people are thinking about migrating. The fact that wages and living standards are often much higher in the countries people go to compared to where they come from is a big influence on international migration. Lately, there's been a lot of attention on the possibility of more and more people migrating from African countries to the European Union. This is mainly because of slow economic growth in Africa and the fact that the population there is expected to keep growing until 2050. This potential increase in migration has led to many political discussions and initiatives in both Europe and Africa. Images of overloaded boats carrying refugees across the Mediterranean have become common in the news, which often focuses on these dramatic and tragic events during the migration process (Kebede et al., 2019).

While the media need to report on these dramatic incidents, they shouldn't only focus on them. Beyond these catastrophes, the news needs to give the public a much fuller picture. They should be exploring the deeper questions: What actually forces people to leave their homes in the first place? What kind of difficulties and realities do migrants face when they arrive in a new country? And what happens to them during their often dangerous journeys? By providing a more complete and nuanced story, the media can help people better understand the complex issue of migration.

Researchers have recognised the need to study immigration closely, especially how well the many systems and strategies created by the international community are working to address this issue, which has become a problem both within individual countries and across the world. However, the global community's efforts need to be re-evaluated to truly solve this complex issue because a key reason why existing approaches haven't been successful is that they tend to focus too narrowly on the economic factors driving migration while ignoring the many other important reasons why people move. Therefore, the best way to tackle immigration is to consider all the different economic, social, and political aspects and also to increase public awareness about why it is so important to address this issue effectively. A comprehensive solution must look at the whole picture, not just one piece of it.

Philo et al. (2013) argue that the way the global economy works has a big impact on the rising number of immigrants coming from developing and emerging countries. They suggest that Western capitalist countries are the primary beneficiaries of this global economic system, which is heavily influenced by organizations like the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. IMF policies often push developing countries to adopt free-market principles as a way to achieve economic growth. However, this often comes at the cost of vital public services like education and healthcare, forcing people in these countries to seek opportunities elsewhere (Philo et al., 2013).

Furthermore, Western countries, often influenced by powerful multinational corporations, use their foreign policy to boost their own economic growth, sometimes by fueling armed conflicts in various parts of the world and supporting corrupt leaders in Africa and South America. The arms trade, in particular, contributes to increased global immigration. A 2007 UNHCR report indicated that the conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan, initiated by the United States and the United Kingdom, were responsible for a significant portion of global immigration. At the same time, there is often public debate in Western countries, like England, about the supposed dangers of terrorism and crimes committed by asylum seekers. This stark contradiction reveals a certain hypocrisy and contributes to increased hostility towards people from developing countries. The research contends that this negative view won't simply change with shifts in political rhetoric. Instead, they argue that the West needs to fundamentally change its policies (Philo et al., 2013).

In the same regard, Noorwali et al. (2022) set out to track the journey of immigration, starting with the social, economic, and psychological reasons why people migrate, along with the global factors that influence young people's decisions to leave their home countries. The study also wanted to understand the consequences of this phenomenon. The researchers looked at the legal aspects of immigration and discussed some of the social and demographic traits of migrants. Their study also included ways to identify the psychological challenges faced by young migrants. Here are some of their key findings: First, the study found that economic reasons are the biggest factor pushing young people to migrate. Italy stands out as the country most often thought about by young people considering immigration, and it is seen as the most desirable destination. Second, the researchers concluded that immigration is likely to keep increasing if the underlying reasons and conditions that encourage it remain. Third, they emphasised the need for government authorities to properly fulfil their social responsibilities. This includes achieving comprehensive development for everyone in

society, but especially focusing on training and supporting workers. Essentially, they are saying that if governments don't address the root causes of migration and invest in their people, especially young workers, then immigration will likely continue to be a significant issue (Noorwali et al., 2022).

Bommes et al. (2014) examined the political and social changes that made increased immigration to neighbouring countries more likely, focusing on the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region, especially after the Arab Spring. The Arab Spring, which started in Tunisia in December 2010 and then spread to Egypt, Syria, and Yemen, resulted in millions of refugees migrating. The conflicts in the MENA region can be categorised as follows: (1) Conflicts over disputed borders left over from the colonial era. (2) Disputes about maritime boundaries. (3) Conflicts caused by shortages of resources like oil and water. (4) Conflicts rooted in ideological differences. (5) Conflicts related to protecting minority groups. (6) The Arab-Israeli conflict. In general, security problems and political and economic instability are the most noticeable characteristics of Middle-Eastern Countries that have been going through a period of change since the Arab Spring. These issues have fueled conflicts within these countries. Furthermore, social protests were widespread and predictable because the economic and developmental hopes of those who participated in the Arab Spring protests had not been fulfilled (Bommes et al., 2014). The research also pointed to the importance of fairly distributing government resources and development programs among the population. If some groups feel excluded from political, economic, and social progress, it can lead to more social protests, demonstrations, and sometimes even armed resistance. This, in turn, creates more instability within those societies and increases the amount of migration (Bommes et al., 2014).

Focusing on the conflict in Syria, Ferris & Kirişci (2016) noted the international community's general agreement that most Syrian refugees would likely stay in neighbouring countries in the future. This stance creates many challenges, especially for countries like Jordan, Lebanon, and Turkey, which have taken in about 90% of the Syrian refugees registered in the region. Their research aimed to understand the economic, social, and political consequences of this large influx of refugees in these three countries. Initially, Jordan, Lebanon, and Turkey welcomed the first wave of refugees with an open-door policy, believing that the Syrian government would soon fall and the refugees would quickly return home. However, the Russian intervention in northern Syria in late 2015 made the situation much worse. Russia's support for the Syrian government led to even more refugees fleeing

to neighbouring countries (Ferris & Kirişci, 2016). Many questions remain about how the international community will work together to identify and meet the needs of these refugees. The significant increase in refugees living outside of formal camps has led to numerous social problems, including difficulties adapting to new societies and the struggle to access basic services like education and healthcare. In Turkey, the language barrier presents a particularly large obstacle for many refugees trying to survive and navigate the challenges they face (Ferris & Kirişci, 2016).

According to Ferris and Kirişci (2016), the influx of Syrian refugees into neighbouring countries has generated a complex mix of economic and political consequences.

Economically, it is a mixed bag. One problem is that prices, especially for housing, have gone up. This can make things tough for people living there already and can cause hard feelings. Also, more people looking for work, including refugees willing to take jobs that don't pay much or have taxes taken out, can mean lower wages for everyone. And the government misses out on tax money. However, it is not all bad. The refugees coming in also led to more economic activity. Lots of aid groups came to help, and they created new jobs, even some for skilled workers. These groups spend money in the countries, which helps the economies grow a bit. Consequently, while there is more competition for some jobs, the extra help and activity can balance things out a little (Ferris & Kirişci, 2016).

Politically, things changed too. At first, people welcomed the Syrian refugees and were open to them. But over time, that changed, and people became less friendly. They started calling for the refugees to leave, worried about things like not having enough resources and safety. It is hard to manage the situation when so many people have to leave their homes for a long time. Since the situation in Syria doesn't seem to be getting better anytime soon, the world needs to realize that the refugees will probably stay in these other countries for a long time, and we need to find better ways to help them live there, share resources fairly, and try to fix the problems that made them leave Syria in the first place, so things don't get even worse (Ferris & Kirişci, 2016).

2.2 EU Border Policy: Collaboration and Coordination

With the European Union's stricter border security restrictions, Turkey and Morocco play a critical role as transit countries in the issue of immigration production. As a result,

solemn cooperation agreements between the European Union and international organisations such as the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the International Organization for Migration (IOM) and those two nations are required. Based on Üstübcici (2018), Morocco, which is only fourteen kilometres from Spanish territory, is a common destination for migrants from Africa and Sub-Saharan Africa seeking to enter the European Union via the Mediterranean Sea. On the other hand, Turkey has had multiple waves of immigration from nations such as Iraq, Iran, and Afghanistan since the 1980s and Syrian migrants fleeing the conflict in Syria in 2011 (Üstübcici, 2018). Turkey plays a significant role in the issue of irregular migration, according to its geographical location between the continents of Asia, Africa, and Europe. Four elements make Turkey an attractive center for immigrants. First, the political conflicts in neighbouring countries. Second is its geographical location. Third, the policy structure of the European Union deflected migrants' paths toward Turkey. Finally, the Turkish economy is considered the strongest in the region (Üstübcici, 2018).

Three groups of irregular migrants are immigrating to Turkey. The first group is immigrants for economic reasons, and most of them are from countries in the Middle East, such as Iran and Iraq. They entered Turkey intending to transit, and after a while, they planned to continue their journey toward the developed countries in Western Europe. The second group is immigrants from the former Soviet Union countries like the Russian Federation and Ukraine; those migrants entered Turkey legally and then worked in agriculture and industry in the Turkish West after the expiry of their visas. The third group is asylum seekers, especially those coming from Iraq and Iran; while their applications have been rejected or are still being processed, they do not intend to return to their countries and prefer to continue residing in Turkey, which reflects the importance of the Turkish role regarding the immigration issues (Baumann et al., 2011). In addition, Turkey has faced many waves of migrants and asylum seekers as a transit zone between the Middle East and Europe. It is considered a pivotal point between the regions of immigrants and asylum seekers and the European Union territory (Baumann et al., 2011). Furthermore, the issue of borders and visa regulations is constantly evolving within the European Union, and practical cooperation with transit countries in immigration has become one of the essential tools of the European Union's immigration policies. Hence, the partnership between the European Union and these two countries has begun. Moreover, border controls, technical and financial aid, and readmission agreements have become essential tools in the fight against irregular

immigration into the EU. Although Turkey was moved away from joining the European Union, the EU continuously pressured Turkey to tighten its border control procedures. On the other hand, the Turkish administration may face financial and social crises due to its attempts to integrate immigrants into society, negatively affecting future negotiations with the European Union (Baumann et al., 2011).

The EU's strict border policy did not end irregular cross-border migration. Instead, it increased the length of stay of migrants in transit countries, which increased the number of foreign people with no rights or legal status. On the other hand, Morocco received national and international criticism in 2013 for its treatment of immigrants. As a result of these criticisms, the Moroccan government declared a significant shift in immigration laws and acknowledged that the country had become an immigration hotspot. Therefore, many proposals were also made to develop new regulations that would make integrating immigrants into Moroccan society easier (Üstübcü, 2018).

In this regard, it should be noted that policies of coordination and cooperation between the European Union and European countries in immigration and border security were implemented practically after the European Union's expansion in 2004, which resulted in the application of high-level security standards. Furthermore, there is a need to improve EU-wide cooperation and coordination (Micinski, 2022). The beginning of this coordination happened in 1985 with the Schengen Agreement, which permitted the free movement of persons inside the Schengen area and created standard regulations on border security, visa policy, and information exchange. Cooperation between European Union member states has gone through various stages. In 1993, the Maastricht Treaty was signed. The issue of immigration became a broader responsibility of the European community after it was the exclusive responsibility of countries only; in general, the Maastricht Treaty made migration a common interest (Parenti & Tealdi, 2023). Then, the Lisbon Treaty in 2009 stipulated that a new partnership was formed between EU countries and EU institutions. However, the migration crisis in 2015 exposed a significant gap in EU countries' ability to deal with migration at the state level. As a result, the European Union increased the budget of FRONTEX (Coast Guard Agency) to 460 million euros to strengthen the state's capability in the field of migration. FRONTEX joined the work of the EU member states in border control operations and the deportation of individuals who had not been granted refugee status or who had been recognised by national authorities to be deported outside the European Union (Micinski, 2022).

The European Union initially tried to adopt a coordination policy on immigration policies among EU member states. However, coordination failure prompted the European Union to adopt a new cooperation policy. Thus, the EU, especially after the migration crisis in 2015, worked on adding more cooperation with member states in tightening border security and exercising the power of detention and deportation (Micinski, 2022).

It should be noted that the heightened security measures at EU borders, through strict monitoring and prosecution of irregular migrants, sometimes lead to imprisonment or deportation of the migrants to their origin countries. As a result, approximately 2-4 million irregular migrants are present on European territory. Like the rest of the population, they walk in the streets and drive cars, and some work informally. These undocumented migrants receive support from NGOs and international community organisations to integrate them into the local community and help them access social and medical services (Chauvin & Garcés-Mascreñas, 2014). However, in many cases, in contrast to the national government, the local authorities are helping these undocumented immigrants to integrate and adapt to society. For example, the city of Barcelona converted its population registry into what can be called resident citizenship, which means that anyone who registers in that census can access health services, education, childcare, and schools. However, this contradicts the fact that these immigrants do not obtain a work permit. Therefore, they cannot work legally, which is the responsibility of the national government. Taking into account the increase and growth of anti-immigration parties in some European countries might hinder the policies of local authorities toward the further integration of immigrants into society (Chauvin & Garcés-Mascreñas, 2014).

The European Union member states used the Schengen visa system to force the third-world countries to control the number of citizens entitled to travel or immigrate to the European Union zone. However, EU member states' current monitoring of immigration issues is insufficient to achieve the goal. Hence, the EU member states have appointed many officers in the third countries, whose task is to negotiate with the authorities of these countries to increase the monitoring privileges of the EU member states. These officers are also working on arresting all those involved in migrant operations to slow down this type of migration. In this light, it is worth mentioning that the French government passed a law in 2005 empowering the French navy to combat immigration that relies on migrants being transported by boat across the Mediterranean Sea (Clochard & Dupeyron, 2007). Furthermore, in 1998, the European Union developed a new initiative for third countries, the

Euro-Mediterranean Partnership's financial instrument. The mission of this program is to create democratic institutions in the third countries of the southern and eastern Mediterranean to put in place the necessary measures to prevent and reduce immigration. However, the European Union's measures have shown their flaws in practice, forcing more discussions concerning border management controls and addressing the adverse effects of immigration. Similarly, the researchers suggest that EU member states must strengthen cooperation and provide the essential capacities for successful border control. Hence, proposals such as establishing transit centres to examine asylum applications outside the European Union zone will help create a new turning point towards developing the European Union's policies on immigration (Clochard & Dupeyron, 2007).

Bommes et al. (2014) looked at how the European Union's immigration rules affect countries in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) like Egypt, Jordan, Morocco, and Lebanon. Their research centered on how the EU's relationships with these countries changed after the Arab Spring uprisings in 2010 and how those changes affected the governments in the MENA region.

To understand how the EU sees migration, sometimes as a threat, and sometimes as a manageable risk, the EU tries to talk directly with countries outside the EU, like Egypt and Morocco. The idea is that these countries could help the EU by cracking down on people trying to enter the EU illegally. So, it is really important to see how the EU's approach to immigration *outside* its own borders has evolved, particularly after the Arab Spring.

It is worth remembering that the foundation for how the EU and MENA countries deal with migration was laid down a while ago with the Barcelona Process in 1995. This later became the "Union for the Mediterranean and the European Neighbourhood Policy," which includes ten MENA countries as partners. So, there's a history of these relationships that shapes how things are handled today (Bommes et al., 2014).

Making immigration a key part of how the European Union deals with MENA countries has become a top priority for the EU. It is so important that talking about migration is now a must in any new agreements or partnerships. The EU really focuses on things like keeping borders secure, managing migration flows, and stopping human trafficking – these are the main goals of their immigration policies. Getting countries to agree to take back their citizens who are living illegally in the EU has also become a big deal.

On the other hand, EU countries have been pushing the EU Commission to make these "readmission agreements" happen and to give money and support to developing

countries so they can find long-term solutions to the problem of people migrating without the right papers (Bommes et al., 2014). Both the EU countries and the Commission now understand they really need to work together much better on immigration policies and that the people making these policies need to focus on reducing the number of people coming in illegally.

Because simply having strict immigration rules hasn't worked and has actually made illegal immigration a bigger problem worldwide, it is not enough just to control borders. It is also crucial to have and enforce immigration policies that work across whole regions (Casarico et al., 2015).

Miyagiwa & Sato (2019) wanted to see how rules about immigration, both those controlling borders (external) and those inside countries (internal), affect things when people want to go to several different countries. They focused on how most immigrants hope to end up in Europe, even if they first arrive in one European country and then move to another. Miyagiwa & Sato (2018) also studied how immigration rules and unemployment are connected in the countries that take in immigrants. The study suggests that big-picture border control rules (external enforcement) should be handled by a central government or a group of countries (like the EU). Nonetheless, they believe that each individual country should get to decide how to enforce the rules inside their own borders (internal enforcement).

Finally, to make immigration a win-win for the countries receiving immigrants, Miyagiwa & Sato (2019) argue that it is important to think of the work done by people born in the country and the work done by immigrants as things that complement each other, not as competing for the same jobs.

2.3 Movement across Borders and Dealing with Border Death.

Movement through borders never stops in the search for the best. Regarding Greece, in 1991, the International Society noted an increase in Albanians immigrating to Greece. (Baldwin-Edwards, 2004, p.52) Considering the Greeks' hatred of foreign immigrants, with the media's support, the Greek government's position referred to denial that Greece is an immigration destination country. At the same time, there is an absence of census numbers of immigrants in the Greek region. However, immigration is the usual pattern of entering Greece, whether by crossing the border illegally via Albania and staying illegally after the

expiry of a tourist visa or by working in Greece without a legal work permit. From a practical point of view, it is impossible to measure the size of the waves of immigration in Greece due to the lack of accurate statistics on the number of immigrants. However, data can be provided by measuring border arrests and the number of those arrested and deported due to their illegal residence. This situation leads to the concealing of facts from the general control of immigration (Baldwin-Edwards, 2004, p.53).

Inaccurate data on asylum seekers in Greece often leads to the denial of their applications. This suggests a lack of concern among Greek policymakers regarding the issue and has attracted European criticisms. Indeed, the lack and inaccuracy of immigration data may be strategically exploited as a defence mechanism. Consequently, continued immigration to Greece, including both Albanian immigrants and new arrivals from Africa and the Middle East, is anticipated. This study concludes that improving and developing Greece's residence database, in accordance with EU migration statistics standards, is crucial for accurately quantifying immigration flows (Baldwin-Edwards, 2004).

Another migration movement from Senegal and Gambia towards Spain has been noticed. The first African immigrants to Spain came overland through France in 1988. Then, with the tightening of French border procedures and the strict French visa regime, immigrants began to enter Spain through the Strait of Gibraltar using small boats. During the nineties, migrants from West Africa and Sub-Saharan Africa, other than those from Morocco, continued their attempts to enter Spain, but their journeys became very expensive and lengthy. Therefore, since 2005, they have started to cross barbed wire and climb fences in Ceuta and Melilla, despite the control of the Spanish authorities in these two regions (Graw, 2021). The motive for immigration from Senegal and Gambia is money, as the economic situation is fragile for most people in those countries. According to the study, when discussing immigration to Europe, especially in Spain, money is the focus of the debates. Other factors, such as globalisation, which refers to the international movement of people, products, ideas, and capital, also drive people in these two African countries to migrate to Europe (Graw, 2021).

Stock (2019) analysed the journeys of sub-Saharan migrants to Morocco, examining their experiences from departure to arrival. For these individuals, migration is often an existential imperative, driven by the desire for social mobility and self-actualisation. They view themselves as adventurers, not simply transit migrants, seeking a sense of pride. While economic factors may play a role, their migration is primarily motivated by the need to build

a future and achieve self-determined goals. Often prompted by a confluence of political and economic circumstances, these migrants typically embark on their journeys without a concrete plan (Stock, 2019). The research demonstrates that increasingly restrictive border controls, intended to limit legal African migration, are ineffective. Rather than deterring migration, these measures force migrants onto longer, more perilous routes due to their inability to access necessary documentation like passports, visas, and plane tickets. At the same time, their determination to migrate and achieve their goals remains undiminished. The study also reveals that legal immigration procedures from Africa have become increasingly complex and stringent. Consequently, prospective migrants must rely on informal social and economic networks for protection during their journey and extended stays in various countries as they prepare for onward travel. This transforms migration from a choice into a necessity, with reaching Europe becoming the ultimate objective of this adventure (Stock, 2019).

Costantino (2014) quantitatively analysed immigrant flows to the US and the EU between 2000 and 2011, examining the role of criminal organizations in facilitating these movements. The study investigated established drivers of immigration, including growth rate, unemployment rate, and minimum wage, within both regions. Border arrest data were also incorporated into the analysis. The findings indicate that a significant portion of immigration involves facilitated cross-border movement. Therefore, the study suggests developing an enforcement strategy that disrupts funding for illegal immigration operations by strengthening methods for monitoring money laundering and corruption in emigration countries (Costantino, 2014).

Several studies have investigated border deaths, analysing their nature, causes, and consequences. Gombeer et al. (2019) define border death as the physical death of an individual during a border crossing, and it is different from legal and social death. Legal death refers to the presumed death of an individual lost in hazardous circumstances, particularly after an extended period without any indication of survival. In the context of migration, legal death signifies the loss of a migrant during a border crossing, where the body remains unrecovered. Social death, conversely, denotes a condition in which an individual is deprived of fundamental legal protections. Within the framework of migration studies, social death describes the experience of a person subjected to violence at a border and simultaneously denied recognition as a fully human being by the broader society. After establishing a definition of border death, this study explores its causative factors, including

border policing strategies related to apprehensions, the methods employed by smugglers, and the influence of state and organisational policies and restrictions that contribute to increasingly perilous migration routes. The research concludes that determining the exact causes and circumstances of border deaths is a complex undertaking, involving numerous interacting factors, notably the influence of both domestic and international policies. Relatedly, the study also examines the phenomenon of after-border death, exemplified by the experiences of migrants who, having crossed borders, find themselves in precarious situations. For instance, migrants reaching Greek islands like Lesbos and residing in camps have been deprived of fundamental rights due to EU policies aimed at restricting access. This situation is further compounded by negative attitudes from local Greek communities stemming from the increased camp populations, which in turn generate various political, social, and economic challenges for Greek society (Gombeer et al., 2019).

Kovras & Robins (2016) illustrate the tragic reality of border deaths with the case of a young Syrian woman whose body was discovered on the shores of Lesbos, Greece, in March 2013. She, along with her mother and sister, had fled the Syrian war and attempted to reach the EU by crossing the Aegean Sea from Turkey. Tragically, the bodies of her mother and sister were found the same day on the shores of a nearby Greek village. These deaths are considered a direct consequence of the EU's securitised migration agenda, a policy rejected by the residents of Lesbos. As Kovras & Robins (2016) argue, migrants and refugees represent one of the most devastating outcomes of EU border policy. This study reveals two key findings: First, there is a striking disparity between the extensive media coverage of Mediterranean shipwrecks and the near-total silence surrounding the handling of deceased border crossers. Second, numerous attempts have been made to frame these deaths as mere accidents within the context of the EU's border security policy and its growth while at the same time ignoring the increasing frequency of such incidents and the lack of transparency regarding the management of migrants' remains. Consequently, the militarisation of EU borders has intensified human suffering (Kovras & Robins, 2016).

The challenge of accurately forecasting migration flows and the importance of such predictions for developing and adapting realistic migration policies have motivated scholarly interest in migration patterns. Wiśniowski et al. (2012) analysed immigration flows and concluded that such predictions are naturally difficult for several reasons. A key obstacle is the absence of a universally accepted definition of migration, along with the complexities of effectively measuring population movement. Furthermore, understanding the diverse and

evolving factors that influence future migration, such as political transitions, armed conflicts, and social unrest, presents a significant challenge. Migration is a dynamic, rather than a static, phenomenon, and assuming its stability can lead to flawed predictions that mislead both users and policymakers. Therefore, short-term prediction, ideally within a five-to-ten-year timeframe, offers the most reliable approach. Longer-term projections are prone to inaccuracy and lack a solid empirical foundation, potentially harming the development of carefully considered migration policies (Wiśniowski et al., 2012).

Pietsch & Clark (2015) observe that international attention to public concerns surrounding temporary and irregular migration, a prominent issue in Europe during the 1980s and early 1990s, coincided with a rapid increase in migrant arrivals in Southern Europe, particularly in Spain, Italy, and Greece. By 2002, annual migrant arrivals in the EU reached approximately 2 million (Pietsch & Clark, 2015). The study indicates widespread public opposition to increased migration within most EU nations. Consequently, EU migration policy concerning irregular migrants and asylum seekers has become increasingly restrictive since the 1980s and 1990s, driven by economic and demographic considerations. These include concerns among EU member states regarding unemployment, wage depression, crime rates, border security, and the perceived impact of new migration flows on national identity. Conversely, some European nations face declining populations, a demographic challenge that migration could potentially mitigate (Pietsch & Clark, 2015). Furthermore, the high demand for highly skilled migrants has shifted migration policy from the national to the EU level, making it a contentious issue among member states. This has fostered a growing recognition of the need for a unified EU migration and asylum policy. The study suggests that the European Parliament and other EU institutions should play a more prominent role in immigration policy decision-making, particularly by improving migrants' living conditions through legislative action (Pietsch & Clark, 2015).

2.4 Remittances, Skilled Labour Migration, and Brain Drain.

Migrants' remittances to their families back home contribute to the economic, security, and social advancement of their nations. Hence, the debate revolves around on one hand, the extent of the importance of these money transfers in alleviating poverty among specific individuals in the areas of origin of migrants and, on the other hand, the state's ability

to manage these critical resources better to achieve development. Bearing in mind that the attempts of the state to address these money transfers may go differently than planned for the achievement of development in some cases. For example, suppose the migrants find that the money they send to their families goes to the general development goals sponsored by the government. In that case, they may resort to transferring money through informal channels, or they may stop sending money entirely. Therefore, the study takes this point into account when governments develop policies for managing migrant remittances to countries of origin (Skeldon, 2010).

The study confirmed that the migration of highly skilled people was viewed negatively, especially in the countries of origin, because these countries lose people who may be able to achieve development within their countries. Individuals in these countries may accept training in a specific skill or learn a profession to find a job abroad that requires the availability of this skill. However, governments must not overstate the fear of the emigration of qualified and skilled people. Policymakers should accept that immigration is not separable from development, and increasing welfare leads to population movement. Therefore, migration does not necessarily have negative consequences for development (Skeldon, 2010).

2.5 Migrants' Legalisation

Migration is definitely a big challenge for us today, and a lot of the reasons behind it are tied to how our governments are set up and how politics works. When we look at the problems caused by the different immigration rules in European countries, we see that these issues affect important things like public health, social services, legal help, and even how well migrant children do in school. These are all areas that need attention and resources.

Many migrants are looking for work, and they often find jobs in areas like housework, caring for people, home renovations, and fixing electronics. These kinds of services are needed, and migrants often offer them at reasonable prices, so many families find this a good option. Migrants also play a big role in the construction industry, which relies heavily on their labour. This has become even more noticeable since the EU made it easier for people to offer services across borders, which has increased the demand for migrant workers. Basically, these sectors depend on migrant labour, and the availability of that labour influences how these sectors function and how much they cost.

The way migrants integrate into society has a wide range of impacts on employment and the economy. To grasp this, we have to look at the opportunities migrants get and also the barriers they run into in all sorts of areas of life. Immigration throws some tough questions at governments, making them think hard about what they absolutely must do, what they can do, and what they simply cannot do with their immigration policies.

Countries feel very strongly that they have the right to control who comes into their country and who is allowed to stay. However, migration often conflicts with this right, and it is a perfect example of how hard it is to make those laws stick. While countries want to be in charge of their borders, the reality of people moving makes that control difficult to achieve.

Bommes & D'Amato (2012) suggest that we can find ways to handle the problems that come with migration and that there are practical solutions we can use. These solutions can be anything from giving undocumented immigrants legal status to making sure they have access to legal help and healthcare. Another important step is allowing the children of undocumented immigrants to go to school, no matter what their parents' legal situation might be.

The study argues that if a government can't stop migrants from settling in their country, then it is essential to make sure the children of those families get an education so they can gain skills and qualifications. If these kids are kept out of school, they will likely never become fully part of society, and that will probably lead to bigger social problems and costs down the road. Giving migrants legal status often makes sense because many of them are already working, starting families, and building lives in the country. Migrants become part of the fabric of the community, even if they initially arrived without documentation. The longer they stay, the stronger these social connections become (Bommes & D'Amato, 2012).

On the other side, if lots of people are denied basic things like healthcare, legal protection, and schooling, it ends up costing everyone more in the long run, both the individuals themselves and society as a whole. So, it seems modern societies create reasons for people to migrate because of the opportunities they offer, but then they turn around and try hard, through laws and politics, to stop or even get rid of those same opportunities. However, completely shutting down the possibility of people building normal lives is a tricky issue, especially when you consider the idea of equality that's so important in democratic countries with constitutions that protect those rights. It creates a real tension

between the desire to control immigration and the fundamental principles of fairness and equal treatment (Bommes & D'Amato, 2012).

Looking at Spain specifically, how immigration laws are written and how migrants become part of Spanish society has been a popular topic for researchers. Borkert (2011) explains that Spain's first immigration law, which also addressed how immigrants integrate, was introduced in 1985. This law aimed to create a system of legal support and set the rules for foreigners living in Spain. This happened just a year before Spain joined the European Union. A second set of immigration laws was introduced in 1999, and these rules were updated again in 2009 (Borkert, 2011). Because the number of immigrants has grown a lot in the last twenty years, many studies have looked at how Spain develops its immigration policies. By 2005, the Spanish government had started several "regularisation" programs, which allowed some undocumented immigrants to become legal. The goal was to reduce the number of people living and working illegally and to tackle the "underground economy." However, these programs usually had strict requirements that migrants had to meet to get a work permit and legal residency. Because of this, the easiest and most common way for people to become legal in Spain is often to enter the country on a tourist visa and then find a legal job while waiting for one of these regularisation programs to open up. The study suggests that pressure from migrants and groups supporting them, along with media attention, played a big role in creating these new regularisation programs. Also, many organisations working with communities pushed the government to implement these programs because of the difficult situations faced by immigrants living in Spain. So, it wasn't just the government deciding to be generous; there was a lot of pressure from various groups (Borkert, 2011).

It is important to remember that since 2000, local regions (called "autonomous communities" in Spain) have been the ones mostly running these programs that allow undocumented immigrants to become legal. Local governments haven't had a huge role in this. Also, at the national level in Spain, making it easier for immigrants to settle down hasn't been a top priority. Even before migration became such a big deal, the European Union was already working hard to create better migration policies. Generally, what happens with migration policies often goes beyond the control of just one country. So, even though countries want to control their borders and immigration, other levels of government and even larger organisations like the EU are also involved and have influence (Borkert, 2011).

In the same vein, Meeteren (2014) studied how undocumented immigrants in Belgium and the Netherlands become part of their new communities. The research showed that the EU has created policies designed to fight illegal immigration by tightening up border controls around the EU and also by putting rules in place within countries to keep immigrants from using public services. On top of that, employers who hire undocumented workers are being punished, and countries have started deporting and jailing immigrants on a large scale. Nevertheless, these policies haven't worked, especially lately, because there's such a high demand for the kind of work undocumented immigrants do. Lots of businesses can only compete globally by hiring workers under the table because it lets them avoid paying minimum wage and things such as social security (Meeteren, 2014).

Some scholars used the idea of "assimilation" to describe how immigrants fit into their new societies. "Assimilation" meant that immigrants gave up their languages, hobbies, and traditions to blend in. However, as we learned more about how societies and economies work, and as we became more accepting of different cultures, the word "integration" started to be used instead. "Integration" acknowledges that people can become part of a new community without completely erasing their original identity. Even though these immigrants often try hard to fit in and become part of their new countries, the current thinking is that immigrants themselves are mostly responsible for making that happen. It is kind of saying, "We'll let you in, but it is up to you to figure out how to fit in." (Meeteren, 2014).

2.6 Immigration and Media Coverage

How the media shows migrants and migration varies a lot from country to country. This gives policymakers a good chance to compare how different countries' media cover immigration, which shows how free and unbiased the media is when it comes to reporting news. Besides, improvements in journalism and online media have led to more news agencies popping up, which means information spreads more easily across different platforms. It is important to remember that what people see in the media often has a bigger impact on immigrants than official government information because the media is often seen as more trustworthy and it is easier to access (McAuliffe & Mence, 2017).

It is also worth thinking about whether there are times of year when immigration coverage changes. For example, research has shown that around Christmas and New Year's,

news about immigration tends to decrease in many countries. On the other hand, during times of the year when more people are trying to cross borders by sea (the "sailing season"), media coverage of immigration usually goes up. So, it seems that news coverage isn't always driven by the facts on the ground but also by other factors, like holidays and seasonal migration patterns (McAuliffe & Mence, 2017).

Facchini et al. (2017) point out that immigration is talked about a lot in countries that receive immigrants, but we do not understand very well what makes individuals have the attitudes they do about immigrants. The research, done in the U.S. in 2006, looked at what shapes public opinion on immigration, especially how the media plays a role. The research found that people who are highly skilled, liberal, and wealthy tend to support the immigration plan that was proposed in the U.S. Senate in 2006. On the other hand, people who watch Fox News and the CNN evening news are more likely to be against the Senate plan. This suggests that people choose news programs that match their existing beliefs, and this reinforces their opinions on immigration. It is like people gravitate towards news that tells them what they already want to hear (Facchini et al., 2017).

Similarly, Kristine & Gombač (2013) compared how four major Spanish newspapers ('El País,' 'La Vanguardia,' 'El Mundo,' and 'ABC') covered issues related to Spain's southern border with Morocco. They wanted to see if there were big differences in how these newspapers reported on immigration and how that might reflect public opinion in Spain. Their research showed that the way these newspapers presented the news influenced public opinion, making people think that immigration is a bad thing and that strong border controls are needed to protect Spain and Europe. The media's framing of the issue seemed to sway public opinion towards a more negative view of immigration (Kristine & Gombač, 2013).

Other researchers have also looked at how immigration is talked about in European media. Haenen et al. (2019) chose Belgium and Sweden to compare how much people's trust in the media affects their feelings about immigrants and refugees. Their study focused on how the media shapes what people think and how immigration news is put together and presented. They found a big difference between how Belgians and Swedes feel about news about immigrants and refugees. Even though most people in both countries trust the information they get from their national media, Swedes generally have more positive feelings towards immigrants and refugees than Belgians, despite Swedes generally trust their news media less than Belgians do. The study also found that watching commercial TV in Sweden makes people feel less positive about immigrants and refugees. So, overall, what

people watch and read in the media seems to have a bigger impact on public opinion in Belgium than it does in Sweden (Haenens et al., 2019).

Concluding Remarks

This chapter explores the complex phenomenon of immigration, a topic of increasing global concern. It begins by examining the multiple drivers of migration, encompassing economic, social, and political factors, and acknowledges the significant contributions of migrants to the international economy through remittances.

A key focus of the chapter is the ongoing struggle to integrate and regularize the status of migrants within host countries. Existing research highlights the urgent need for improved integration strategies, including ensuring access to education for migrant children regardless of their parents' legal status and expanding access to essential public services like healthcare. The chapter notes the surge in migration flows resulting from regional instability, particularly the Arab Spring uprisings and the Syrian conflict.

Despite the European Union's stringent immigration policies, their effectiveness has been limited. The persistent demand for informal labour has created a market for undocumented migrants willing to accept substandard wages, highlighting the need for a more accurate approach. The chapter emphasizes the importance of collaborative efforts between the EU and North African/Middle Eastern nations to address the root causes of irregular migration. The strategic geographical location of Turkey and Morocco as transit points for migrants seeking entry into Europe is also highlighted.

The chapter further examines the powerful influence of media narratives in shaping public perceptions of immigration. The variability of media coverage, both across and within countries, presents a valuable opportunity for policymakers to analyse the determinants of public opinion on migration and develop effective strategies to address related challenges.

Finally, the chapter considers the role of global economic governance, particularly the influence of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. It argues that the economic policies imposed by these institutions on developing countries, such as cuts to public services in exchange for loans, can inadvertently exacerbate migration by prompting citizens to seek better opportunities abroad.

CHAPTER THREE

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter is structured into two sections, each addressing a critical aspect of immigration discourse. The first section delves into the media's portrayal of the European immigration crisis of 2015-2016. It examines how refugees and immigrants were depicted in popular culture during this period. This analysis aims to illuminate the dominant narratives and potential biases that emerged within communication studies.

The second section shifts focus to the human rights dimensions of immigration. Here, we explore the foundational principles enshrined in the 1951 Refugee Convention, analyse the impact of the 2015-2016 crisis on human rights protections, and address the pressing issues of violence against immigrants and forced deportations. This section will provide a critical assessment of the legal and ethical frameworks surrounding immigration.

The foundation of this chapter rests upon a comprehensive review of 140 scholarly references, encompassing books, book chapters, and peer-reviewed articles. The research utilized the SCOPUS electronic database to ensure a focused and relevant scope. The search parameters were deliberately set to capture publications from 2015 to 2024, reflecting the pivotal year of the European immigration crisis. Furthermore, the search was limited to English-language publications across all fields, providing a consistent linguistic media frame for analysis. Table (1) shows the keywords used to search the literature review.

Table (1) The keywords used to search the literature review

Keywords	Results	Results Selected
International Migration, Immigrant Workers, Receiving Countries, Integration	993	25
Migrants Perception, News Coverage, Immigration Crisis, Europe	664	21
Syrian Conflict, Refugees, Immigration Crisis, Public Attitudes	612	15
Migrants, Newspapers, Immigration Policies, European Union, Borders	477	12

Mediterranean, Europe, Media framing, Refugees	359	13
Immigration Policies, European Immigration 2015, Integration, Human Tragedy	281	12
Aylan Kurdi	281	13
Undocumented Migrants, European Union, Media discourse, Immigration threat	196	8
Immigration Crisis 2015, Media Debate, Enforced Borders	58	10
Syrian Refugees, Immigration, Aylan Kurdi, Human Rights	57	11
Total	3978	140

3.1 Media Discourse on the Immigration Crisis (2015/2016)

Europe has long been a focal point for significant migration flows, including both forced and voluntary movements. This migration flow, driven by factors such as economic necessity, personal aspirations, and political persecution, exerts a profound influence on European societies and shapes public discourse about migration (Massey et al., 2010). Hence, migration has remained a persistent and prominent topic of discussion across European nations.

The 2015-2016 period saw a dramatic increase in individuals crossing the Mediterranean Sea, seeking refuge from conflicts, persecution, and terrorism. According to the UNHCR (2016), approximately 1.3 million asylum applications were registered within the European Union during 2015 and 2016. This surge originated primarily from countries experiencing instability, including Syria, Afghanistan, and Sudan. In response, the European Union elevated immigration to a top-tier political priority (European Commission, 2016).

EU member states exhibited diverse responses to the migration crisis. Germany, for instance, was among the few nations that initially adopted a welcoming stance towards immigrants, with the German government calling for a "decisive, generous, and, above all, commonly shared" response from EU members (Bennett et al., 2015). While some countries supported the call to accept and assist refugees, others agreed only to accept fewer migrants

than recommended. Moreover, some member states, such as Hungary, explicitly rejected the fundamental principle of providing support to refugees (Jungblut, 2017).

The media's representation of immigrants and refugees plays a pivotal role in shaping public understanding. As Entman (1993) argues, media representations are not neutral reflections of reality but rather the constructions of meaning within specific contexts. This understanding is essential for analysing how the media frames the immigration crisis. Frequently, media portrayals of the 2015-2016 crisis emphasized security, economic, and cultural concerns. This framing often involved highlighting the need for reinforced border controls and stricter asylum procedures. Additionally, reports concerning the integration of migrants into host societies sometimes presented challenges and difficulties for those societies, potentially contributing to shaping the public perception of the crisis. It is important to acknowledge that the tone and focus of this coverage varied across different media outlets and national contexts.

Numerous studies demonstrate that some European press outlets tend to negatively portray immigrants and refugees, often framing the immigration crisis as a direct threat to the European Union (Mujagic, 2022). This negativity is sometimes expressed through the use of dehumanising metaphors, such as depicting migrants and refugees as an invasion of barbarians, a rush of refugees, or waves of people (Mujagic, 2022). In some instances, migrants have even been depicted as animals, including cockroaches, human hares, guinea pigs, or a swarm (Mujagić & Berberović, 2020). Notably, refugees are frequently subjected to even more negative representations than other migrant categories (Roman et al., 2021). The media often frame migrants and refugees as a burden, a security threat, and an economic challenge. The terms "refugees" and "asylum seekers" are frequently linked to the notion of financial strain on welfare systems, while the terms "migrants" and "immigrants" are more often associated with narratives of economic threat, such as increased competition within the labour market. However, this framing is not uniform. Eastern European refugees, such as Ukrainians, are less likely to be perceived as a cultural threat compared to individuals from North Africa and the Middle East. The latter group is most strongly associated with frames of security threat, followed by cultural threat, but not necessarily economic threat. While non-European migrants are often viewed as a challenge to the host country's culture, Eastern Europeans are more frequently portrayed as a strain on the economic and welfare systems (Eberl et al., 2018).

On the other side, some media outlets within the European Union have adopted a more positive approach to reporting on migration. These more favourable accounts often employ frames of humanity and victimhood, particularly in response to the increased visibility of images depicting migrants who have drowned in the Mediterranean. The 2015 photo of Aylan Kurdi, the drowned Syrian child, stands as a particularly poignant example of how such images can evoke widespread compassion for migrants and refugees (Mattus, 2020).

3.1.1 Aylan Kurdi's Photo and the Sympathy for Refugees

On September 2, 2015, a moment that would deeply affect the world, Nilufer Demir, a reporter working for the Dogan News Agency, took a photograph. This wasn't just any picture; it showed Aylan Kurdi, a small child from Syria who had tragically drowned on a beach in Bodrum, Turkey. Aylan, along with his family, had been trying to cross the dangerous Mediterranean Sea in a small boat, hoping to find safety. Sadly, the boat tipped over, and he drowned. Shortly after, Peter Bouckaert, who works to help people in emergencies at Human Rights Watch, shared this heartbreaking image on Twitter. This single act caused the picture to spread incredibly quickly, seen by people all over the internet and in news reports (Mattus, 2020). People often choose to share very difficult images, like pictures of children who have died, because they hope they will make others truly understand the terrible situation refugees face. They want to show how hard it is, especially for children.

The picture of Aylan Kurdi touched people's hearts around the world. It made many feel deep sadness and empathy, which is different from the fear or indifference they might usually feel when they hear about people trying to migrate to Europe. Even though this picture became a powerful reminder of the refugee crisis, it is important to note that children are still dying in the Mediterranean, and those who survive often feel like they are not welcome, as if they are strangers (Mattus, 2020).

Imanishi (2022) pointed out that Aylan's picture did have a big impact, especially on how news and politicians in the United States talked about people seeking safety. The picture wasn't just shocking because of what it showed; it also spread incredibly fast online, reaching millions of people in a very short time. More importantly, it made people pay much closer attention to the huge number of people trying to find refuge in Europe in 2015. Even though

this crisis was already a big deal, Aylan's picture made it feel much more like a human tragedy, something that required compassion and help (Imanishi, 2022). For a short time, the world stopped and looked at Aylan's picture. It was a chance for everyone, including governments, to see how bad the situation was for people fleeing Syria and to feel like they had to do something (Slovic et al., 2017). When people in Europe, especially those with lighter skin, saw Aylan, they saw a child who could have been part of their own family. This feeling of connection was clear from the many messages people shared on Twitter. The picture was so powerful because it showed, in a very simple way, how a young life was lost (El-Enany, 2016).

3.1.2 European Media Framing of the Migration Crisis (2015/2016)

Journalists use framing as a technique to depict complex social topics. Media Frames can be considered interpretation systems that support a specific problem definition or causal interpretation of a problem. In other words, a Frame is defined as a "primary organising idea" of a news item that clarifies or aids in understanding the issue or event under discussion. Repetition of the same or comparable groups of words and symbols is a critical component of frames. They can create a tone for an event or topic, giving it a positive, negative, or neutral appearance (Heidenreich et al., 2019).

When it comes to reporting on the journeys of people trying to cross the Mediterranean Sea, news organisations have faced a real challenge. How they tell these stories greatly affects how the public sees migrants and refugees. Often, news stories paint them as a separate group, people who are very different from us. It is like they're labelled as "the others," not as part of "us," and this creates a feeling of being different, of not belonging.

Researchers have looked into how the media, along with the common ideas we hold, shapes how we think about migration and the people who migrate. It is a complicated relationship. Even though there are some general patterns across different countries, the way migration is shown in the news can vary quite a bit. This is because each country and region has its own culture and its own way of seeing the world. Also, news stories often use familiar patterns, or "frames," to tell migration stories. These frames can influence what parts of the story get emphasised, and sometimes, they can lead to stereotypes or misunderstandings.

To put it simply, the media plays a powerful role in how we understand migration. By often portraying migrants as "outsiders," news stories can reinforce feelings of separation and difference (Rozukalne et al., 2020).

As mentioned before, news outlets often discuss immigration differently from country to country. For instance, if you look at newspapers in Italy and the UK, you'll see they often focus on how immigration could be a threat to the economy or might change the local culture. However, if you look at Germany and Sweden, those same worries are not as frequently talked about. In Austria, the news focused heavily on three main ideas: first, the difficulties of dealing with all the new arrivals; second, the idea that these arrivals could be a security risk; and third, the financial costs of taking in refugees. On the other hand, in Turkey, news stories often showed refugees as victims, highlighting the discrimination they faced and the terrible places they had to live. If you turn to Canada, the biggest focus in their news was on security concerns related to refugees. In the Czech Republic, online news mainly talked about the refugee crisis in terms of how much it would cost the government or whether it was a threat to security. Stories that focused on helping refugees and showing their human suffering were rare (Roman et al., 2021).

Even though news stories about immigration vary from country to country in Europe, there are some patterns that appear repeatedly. For the most part, immigrants don't get a lot of attention in the news. When they do appear, it is often in a negative light, like they are criminals or people who cause problems. The way the news talks about different groups of migrants changes depending on who they are focusing on. However, the coverage typically focuses on the negative aspects of immigration. When people are constantly seeing these kinds of stories, it can make them feel negatively towards immigrants and start believing in stereotypes (Eberl et al., 2018). Therefore, the political views of the news sources and how they present the stories have a big impact on how immigration is talked about. If the news is always saying immigrants are a threat to things like the economy, culture, or safety, it is going to make people feel worried and anxious about those groups. If people keep seeing these negative messages over and over, these feelings can stick with them for a long time (Eberl et al., 2018).

3.1.3 European Media's Perception of the Migration Crisis (2015/2016)

To understand how European news outlets portrayed the refugee crisis back in 2015, I took a close look at a bunch of articles from different European countries. I made sure to include news from most European regions so I could get a good overall picture. My goal was to figure out the common ways news stories talked about migrant issues, the patterns they used, and the words they chose. By doing this, I could see more clearly what things influence how the media shows migrants and refugees. It is pretty clear that the way the news frames the story changes how people understand the situation and what they think should be done to solve it. Now, it is interesting to see how news coverage of immigration was different across Europe. A lot depended on where the country was located and how strong its economy was. What I found was that many European news outlets in 2015 tended to focus on the negative side of the refugee crisis. They used certain ways of telling the story that would likely leave a negative impression on the public. Nonetheless, it was not all negative. Some news outlets did use different approaches, trying to create a more positive view of migrants and refugees.

Negative Media Coverage of the European Migration Crisis in 2015

Numerous studies show a strong connection between what people see and hear in the news and their own opinions. It is noted that most European news outlets have been using more and more negative language when they talk about immigrants and refugees (Amores et al., 2020).

Back in 2015, around a million people from Syria came to Germany because the country decided to open its borders. This decision had a lot of support from politicians. Nevertheless, even though many German politicians thought it was the right thing to do for humanitarian reasons, studies show that German news stories often portrayed migration as a problem, or even a threat, to Germany. This was especially true after the government decided to keep the borders open. Interestingly, even though most German news sources were in favour of accepting migrants, it seems like they were also reflecting the government's position on immigration. It was German politicians who led the conversation about how to deal with the large number of refugees coming to Europe. While German left-wing parties have always been supportive of immigration, the right-wing parties in Germany had a very different view (Maurer et al., 2022).

Von Nordheim et al. (2019) examined how different German newspapers talked about the refugee crisis in 2015 and 2016. The study looked at a right-wing weekly paper called *Junge Freiheit* and compared it to three big daily newspapers: *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, *Die Welt*, and *Handelsblatt*. What the study concluded was that the daily newspapers were pretty neutral in their reporting most of the time. Nonetheless, *Junge Freiheit* was very different. You could describe it as a news outlet that uses a kind of "reactive populism." This means they focused a lot on how the crisis affected Germany as a nation, supported the views of the right-wing political party AfD, and didn't pay attention to how the crisis was affecting other countries in Europe or the world. *Junge Freiheit* used populist tactics and frames to present the refugee problem as an influx of Muslim foreigners who were culturally different from the native-born Christian Germans (Von Nordheim et al., 2019).

In a similar vein, Hameleers et al. (2019) studied how right-wing populist messages on social media can strengthen negative stereotypes about immigrants. The study found that social media is a key place where populist ideas spread. However, it is important to remember that only a small group of people are drawn to this kind of right-wing talk. Those who are drawn to it feel free to express very hateful views on social media. There's no real discussion or debate on these platforms. Instead, people who already dislike immigrants just become even more hostile (Hameleers, 2019). The study also found that during the peak of the refugee crisis in August and September 2015, the news focused a lot on border issues, especially in countries like Germany that were close to the Balkan route. So, the news was full of stories about whether borders should be open or closed. However, in Germany, they also gave a lot of attention to what happens after refugees arrive, like how to help them integrate into society (Heidenreich et al., 2018).

Parker et al. (2022) examined 96 news articles in the UK, all about immigration that came out in December 2018. The study found that the newspapers were using three main ways to talk about the issue. First, they used the phrase "secure the borders," which made it seem like the UK's borders were easy to get through. Second, they often said, "Smuggling is Immoral," which put the blame on the smugglers and kind of let the government off the hook. Third, they would talk about "desperate people," trying to show refugees as helpless and in need of protection, like they'd do anything dangerous to survive. Most of the news stories focused on the idea that the UK needed to control its borders and that smuggling was wrong (Parker et al., 2022).

Gregoriou et al. (2022) studied how the news talked about a tragic event: the discovery of 39 dead bodies inside a refrigerated truck in the UK in October 2019. This story got a lot of attention around the world. Within two days of the news breaking, newspapers in the UK and other parts of Europe were reporting on it. The study found that many UK newspapers talked about human trafficking like it was just a business or trade. Nevertheless, some newspapers, like *The Independent* and *The Daily Mirror*, stressed that the government needed to create safe and legal ways for people fleeing war and danger to come into the country. The study pointed out that the British government's focus on stopping immigration by tightening border controls has actually pushed migrants to try riskier and often more dangerous ways to get into the UK (Gregoriou et al., 2022).

Mujagic & Berberovic (2020) stated that UK news outlets often use metaphors to make immigrants seem less human and to make people feel less sympathy for them. The big migrant crisis in Europe changed the way language was used in UK news stories. Immigrants were often compared to things like animals, dangers, or diseases. During the height of the crisis, newspapers used phrases like "waves of people," "floods of immigrants," "swarms," and "hordes of immigrants." The study concluded that these metaphors are mainly used to push an anti-immigrant message in the UK's news coverage of the European migrant crisis (Mujagic et al., 2020).

In the same context, Karabuva (2021) mentioned that metaphors are a common way to create and understand abstract ideas about immigration. The research found nine different types of metaphors used: comparing immigrants to aliens, natural forces, containers, conflicts, non-human creatures, plants, and animals. These metaphors pop up a lot in UK discussions about immigration. However, the way immigration is talked about in the UK news shows that immigrants are usually portrayed negatively, as if they're linked to crime or natural disasters. This kind of language creates a clear division between "them" and "us" (Karabuva, 2021).

Conversely, concerning the perception of Ukrainian refugees in the UK press, Roman et al. (2021) argued that elite newspapers in the UK covered displaced Ukrainians differently from other refugees. They do not use the security or threat frame, rather, they use the human tragedy frame and victims frame as well. The study also showed that the frames used for the range of Ukrainian refugees depend on the nation's political climate and the features of media organisations (Roman et al., 2021).

In Hungary, before May 2015, the news mainly focused on helping refugees. However, as more refugees arrived in Hungary after the 2015 crisis, the way the news talked about them started to change. Suddenly, migration became a big topic again in Hungarian politics and news (Heidenreich et al., 2018). Right after the shooting at the French magazine Charlie Hebdo in January 2015, the Hungarian government started a campaign against refugees and migrants (Szalai & Gobl, 2015). They wanted to make people see migrants as a danger to the country's safety. Making refugees and migrants seem like threats isn't a new trick. Right-wing political groups often use this tactic. Political analysts have seen how turning immigration into a terrorism issue has been a successful way for right-wing politicians to gain support for many years. At first, when the number of refugees coming to Hungary increased, the news talked about it mostly as an economic problem. But later on, they started to frame it as a threat to Hungarian identity instead (Szalai & Gobl, 2015).

In the same context, Egres (2018) analysed two speeches of the Hungarian Prime Minister on three online media platforms. The Prime Minister spoke about the refugee crisis before the parliament on 21st September and 16th November 2015. The study concluded that the Prime Minister's speeches used danger and political conflict frameworks. The danger frame portrays refugees and migrants as a symbolic threat because they differ from Europeans in terms of cultural values, manner of life, customs, and traditions. At the same time, the risk model predicts that immigrants will cause greater violence and criminal activity in their new country. Therefore, European cultures must be preserved, and immigration must be under control (Egres, 2015). However, additional frames, such as burden, crisis, and counterterrorism, could be found in the media discourse, demonstrating that the online media platforms did not simply repeat the government's rhetoric but also discussed various facets of the problem. Moreover, in November, terrorism was the most often found frame, followed by political conflict. The threat of terrorism is more closely associated with hypothetical than actual threats. Like the crisis frame, the burden frame was recognised to a lesser extent on all three media platforms (Egres, 2015).

On the other hand, Greece is like the front door for people trying to come into Europe from the Mediterranean Sea. Because of this, they see a lot of migrants and refugees arriving. Unfortunately, this has led to a worrying trend: more and more hate crimes and people being openly against immigration. You see this kind of negativity popping up in the news all over Europe, especially after 2015 when the whole migration issue got much bigger.

Greece got hit especially hard by the big wave of people coming in, mainly because it is so close to Turkey. Turkey is where a lot of these people start their journey, particularly those fleeing Syria, who then try to get to other European countries through the Balkans. Imagine trying to deal with a huge number of people arriving while your country is already struggling financially. It was a tough situation, a real crisis. It was so big that Greece couldn't handle it alone; it needed help from the whole of Europe. That help came in the form of a deal between the EU and Turkey in 2016. When you put it all together – lots of people arriving, a struggling economy, and a sense of being overwhelmed – it is easy to see why people in Greece started feeling more negative about immigration. They began to see it as a burden, something that was making their problems even worse. Greece became a key example of how a country can be affected when it is on the front lines of a big migration flow (Amores et al., 2020). In 2015, during the biggest wave of refugees trying to cross the Mediterranean, Greece saw a massive jump in the number of people arriving. It was not just a few extra people; it was a huge surge. Now, it was not just the sheer number of people that was the problem. They were all concentrated in certain places, like the Moria camp on the island of Lesbos. Imagine a camp designed for a certain number of people suddenly having way more than it can handle. It gets overcrowded, and resources get stretched extremely thin. However, here's the thing: Greece was already having a tough time even before all this happened. Their economy wasn't in great shape. Hence, when this massive wave of people arrived, it put even more pressure on an already struggling country. When you put all those pieces together – a huge influx of people, overcrowded camps, and a country that was already struggling – you can start to understand why the news in Greece started talking about the crisis negatively. They were reflecting the stress and anxiety that a lot of people were feeling. (Amores et al., 2020).

Before 2015, Italy was already dealing with a lot of migrants, mostly from Africa, especially after the Arab Spring in 2011. Then, in October 2013, there were these incredibly awful shipwrecks near Lampedusa, an Italian island. Hundreds of people drowned. It was a huge tragedy but after 2015 things changed a lot. Italy saw a massive increase in people arriving by boat across the Mediterranean, which changed how newspapers in Italy portrayed immigration. It became a much bigger topic, and people had stronger opinions about it. They generally saw the situation negatively. Then again, here's an interesting point: Italians were more concerned about the economic impact of so many immigrants than they were about immigrants being criminals. They were worried about jobs, resources, and how it would

affect the country's finances (Berry et al., 2015). The economic ramifications became increasingly crucial to Italian citizens during the crisis. Economic statistics demonstrate that severe economic conditions are highly correlated with unfavourable attitudes toward immigrants during the crisis, both at the individual and regional levels (di Mauro & Memoli, 2021). Therefore, the need to control "immigration flows" and restrict immigration are common themes in public discourse that often include discussions about migrants.

In the Netherlands, the way the media portrays immigration often falls into a few key patterns. One is the idea that Islam is a threat. This frame depicts Islam as a danger to Western society's values. The media often emphasises the idea that Muslims aren't integrating well into society or that they're involved in crime, drugs, or extremism (Amores et al., 2020).

When the media portrays immigration as a burden or a threat and focuses on things that people find scary, like job competition or the destruction of cultural values, it makes people feel more negative about immigration (Bos et al., 2016). Instead of showing images that might evoke sympathy, like photos of refugee camps or war zones, they show immigrants at the borders, on boats, or trying to get through barbed wire, often surrounded by security.

Another frame used by some newspapers focuses on how women within immigrant communities are seen as victims. It highlights the gender inequality and oppression they face, suggesting that this prevents them from fully participating in Dutch society. Unfortunately, this 'victimisation' frame also tends to make people feel more negative about immigration (Amores et al., 2020).

During the immigration crisis in 2015, Austria suddenly had a lot more people arrive than they expected. Many regions in Austria were already behind on their promises to take in a certain number of refugees. They hadn't met their targets. Local towns and cities were hesitant to give refugees permanent places to live. They were worried about safety and security, and it created a lot of tension. In the summer of 2015, the system they had in place to welcome and process new arrivals just collapsed. It was like a traffic jam where no one could move. They couldn't register people properly; they couldn't give them the help they needed. Greussing & Boomgaarden (2017) examined how Austrian news publications covered the European refugee crisis between January 2015 and January 2016. The study found that the news stories focused on three main things: first, all the practical, day-to-day problems of dealing with so many people arriving. Second, the idea that these newcomers

were a threat to the country's security. Third, the economic impact – how this was going to affect jobs and money. The news wasn't focusing on the human side of the story. They didn't spend much time talking about why these people were fleeing their homes or the hardships they were going through. It was more about the problems Austria was facing. The study also found that tabloid newspapers – the ones known for sensational stories – played a big role in making people feel hostile towards immigrants. They used stereotypes and prejudiced images to paint them in a negative light to make people afraid (Greussing & Boomgaarden, 2017).

Positive Media Coverage of the European Migration Crisis in 2015

Unlike some other European countries, Spain didn't experience a dramatic spike in immigration during the 2015 refugee crisis. Instead, there was a slight increase in how often Spanish news talked about the “border” as a key issue. The main focus of Spanish media, however, shifted over time. In the first few months of 2015, newspapers often used “human interest” stories, showing the personal struggles of refugees. Later on, the dominant frame became the “EU refugee strategy,” focusing on the policies and actions of the European Union, after the EU-Turkey deal in 2016, which aimed to reduce the number of refugees coming through Turkey, the “EU refugee policy” frame became even more prominent (Heidenreich et al., 2019). The media coverage became more "caring" as it shifted from portraying migrants as a threat to Spain to depicting them as either victims of the authorities or as desperate people fleeing a country characterised by poverty and violence (Amores et al., 2020).

When it comes to how Spanish people feel about immigration, the numbers show a generally positive attitude. Spain ranks very high in terms of people having immigrants as friends or family. Spaniards also tend to have a more positive view of integration, believing that immigrants are successfully integrating into society. They don't see immigration as a particularly complex problem compared to other nations. However, it is important to note that, while the overall trend is positive, there's still a minority in Spain who hold negative views. They believe immigrants pose a threat, are more likely to commit crimes, or encourage terrorism. However, this is a minority view (Amores et al., 2020, p.15).

Horsti (2008) examined media coverage of African migration to the Canary Islands in Finnish and Swedish publications, revealing a disparity in reporting volume. Finnish media dedicated more coverage to the issue than their Swedish counterparts. The study suggests this difference is due to Finland's geographical position as a northernmost European nation with an extensive border with Russia, potentially fostering a heightened awareness of border challenges. In contrast, Swedish media emphasised a humanitarian perspective, aligning with the nation's self-perception as a globally engaged actor in immigration. This focus on humanitarianism, despite Sweden having received the highest number of asylum seekers among Nordic countries, may have diminished the prominence of border-centric framing in their coverage of the Canary Islands situation (Horsti, 2008). Furthermore, while Swedish media generally adopted a welcoming stance towards refugees and immigrants, other European newspapers highlighted the need for a collective, EU-level approach to immigration crises (Heidenreich et al., 2019). This reflects a broader trend in media coverage, which often underscores regional disparities within the EU and the diverse crisis management strategies employed (Berry et al., 2015). Notably, "human interest" framing has consistently dominated Swedish media's coverage of the immigration crisis (Heidenreich et al., 2019).

News stories often create a clear divide between "us," the European public, and "them," the refugees. They give each group different roles and characteristics, like we have responsibilities and they just have problems. There were big arguments, especially in September and October 2015, about what words to use for refugees, things like "them," "other people," or "foreigners." However, this was handled a bit differently in Portuguese news reports. A particular incident attracted public interest in the refugee crisis when the media and social networks published a picture of a three-year-old Syrian boy named Aylan Kurdi, who had drowned and been tossed into the sea onto a Turkish beach. That image shocked people and made the news pay even more attention to the refugee crisis (Marques & Ramos, 2020).

Torkington & Ribeiro (2019) suggest that Portugal wasn't really on the "front lines" of the crisis because not many refugees arrived there. That might be why Portugal seemed more open and welcoming to refugees, both in what the government did and how people felt about the issue. Even though the number of refugees wasn't huge, Portuguese newspapers mostly showed them kindness and welcomed them. This could be because Portugal doesn't

have to deal with as many refugees, asylum seekers, or regular migrants compared to other countries in Europe (Torkington & Ribeiro, 2019).

Regarding Ukraine, most of the time, the debate on migration in the Ukrainian media adopted a neutral posture (Yuzva & Tashchenko, 2021, p.8). In contrast, Roman et al., (2021) focused on the coverage of the Ukrainian refugee crisis in US newspapers. The study mentioned that most Ukrainian elites consistently showed compassion for displaced Ukrainians. This position is clearly in contrast to the coverage in some European countries during the migration crisis in 2015 when there was an active debate about the fate of the Syrian refugees as some politicians welcomed the newcomers and others opposed their arrival. The study showed that the country's political situation and the unique characteristics of the media outlets impact the frames used to depict Ukrainian migrants. The study argued that the degree of cultural and linguistic similarity between the migrants' countries, areas of origin, and destinations may also affect how migrants are depicted in the news, especially if their situations are tragic (Roman et al.,2021). The study concluded that numerous publications mentioned the conflict between Ukraine and Russia and refugee statistics without going into further detail regarding the situation of the displaced people. At the same time, relatively few reports were either negative or positive regarding the displaced Ukrainians. The neutral reporting may have the effect of making the situation of the displaced population appear less terrible (Roman et al., 2021).

Over in the USA., news about the European refugee crisis tends to be pretty understanding and sympathetic to migrants and refugees. Regardless of their political leanings, media outlets grew more refugee-sympathetic and attempted to domesticate the problem by promoting USA. resettlement tales. Therefore, policymakers adjusted their attitudes toward the resettlement of Syrian migrants. These alterations can be linked to the refugee's image capacity to draw attention, disrupt preexisting discourses, and open space for activists to introduce policy alternatives (Imanishi, 2022).

In the same context, Parrott et al. (2019) examined the USA. news organisations' messages regarding immigrants and refugees. According to the study, conflict and human interest are two commonly used frames in news articles about immigration to the United States. However, by emphasising migrants and refugees as ordinary people, a migrant's photo could draw attention to the reality that immigrants and refugees are looking for what most people desire: stability, safety, and home. Therefore, emotional responses significantly impacted how immigrants and refugees were represented visually in terms of political or

human interest. Positive emotional responses from exposure to the human-interest framing predicted reduced feelings of threat and promoted more positive sentiments toward policy meant to help immigrants and refugees re-establish themselves in the United States (Parrott et al., 2019).

It is worth noting that the USA. discourses on the 2015 migrant crisis reached a significant turning point when the image of the Syrian drowned child Aylan Kurdi became an icon worldwide. Following the images, the condition of Syrian migrants changed from being a side issue to being highly debated in the media and policy sectors. Imanishi (2022) examined how photos of Aylan Kurdi during the 2015 migration crisis affected political and media discourses on asylum in the US. The study discovered a significant shift in US discourses on the 2015 migrant crisis. The Kurdi photos show that, at least occasionally, the media and decision-makers are open to more compassionate stories (Imanishi, 2022).

In the same vein, Young et al., (2022) examined the coverage of immigration policy in US newspapers from 2010 to 2013 and from 2017 to 2019. The study found considerable changes in how immigrants were framed, from negative messages depicting them as an economic drain to positive messages depicting them as families and financial contributors. (Young et al., 2022).

3.1.4 Does the migrants' voice make a difference?

The way the news portrays these people often makes them seem like they have no voice and are different from everyone else. When the news doesn't let them speak for themselves and instead compares them to animals or calls them a "crisis," it reinforces the idea that they're dangerous to our safety and economy. These kinds of portrayals don't just make people see immigrants and refugees as less human; they also make it seem okay to treat them badly. Plus, a lot of newspapers use hurtful language and leave people out when they talk about immigration. This makes anti-immigrant politicians sound more reasonable and pushes for tougher immigration laws, which leads to more hate speech (Smets & Bozdağ, 2018).

News outlets around the Mediterranean have very different ways of portraying immigration. The news can choose to give people a voice or take it away. Even though immigration is a normal part of life in many countries, the news often ignores the people

who live there. Thorbjørnsrud & Figenschou (2016) provided a quantitative content analysis of how the US, French, and Norwegian media have covered irregular migration. The study found that Irregular migrants make up less than 10% of the news sources, mainly confirming the challenges disadvantaged groups face accessing elite-dominated mainstream news media. However, the research also showed that the articles that use irregular migrants as news sources tend to emphasise victim framing more and are less likely to frame them as a threat. In addition, when an immigrant's voice is quoted in an article, the media's framing of irregular migrants as a threat is less evident. Therefore, there is enormous room for improvement in allowing the most directly impacted people to speak publicly. However, it must be remembered that the irregular migrants' position as outsiders makes it more difficult for journalists to find their voices (Thorbjørnsrud & Figenschou, 2016).

For journalists, interviews with irregular migrants must be balanced against the protection of weak individuals and groups, adhering to press ethics guidelines. Furthermore, it frequently requires additional resources to locate and speak with irregular migrants because most of them are hiding and not a part of the journalist's regular source network. Migrants often do not understand the language and do not want to be interviewed because being a news source - for undocumented immigrants - who are living unlawfully on the outskirts of Western society entails significant danger of deportation. However, today, the media is one of the few political platforms accessible to non-citizens where they can speak their opinions and argue their cases (Thorbjørnsrud & Figenschou, 2014).

3.1.5 Towards Neutral and Responsible Media Coverage of Immigration Issues “Recommendations for Journalists When Covering Migration”

Covering immigration issues in the news is challenging. It is a topic that crosses all sorts of borders, so it is hard to find one simple way to frame the story. This creates problems for everyone involved: the migrants and refugees themselves, the countries they are going to, and the politicians making decisions. How the news portrays migrants and refugees can change how people feel about them. A perfect example is the story of Aylan Kurdi, the little Syrian boy who drowned while trying to get to Europe. That heartbreaking picture of him on the beach went everywhere, becoming a symbol of the whole refugee crisis. It changed how a lot of people around the world felt, making them more open to helping refugees

(Sohlberg et al., 2018). Showing that single image and putting it on front pages and TV screens made a difference. It shows how one personal story can grab everyone's attention and make them react strongly. The way the news handled Aylan Kurdi's story shows how powerful that can be (Brosius & Bathelt, 1994; Zillmann & Brosius, 2010).

The following discussions are essential for discovering improved news angles to deliver facts that the public must know. When covering migration and refugee issues, journalists must prioritise precision, maintain a well-organized narrative, captivate audiences with unexpected elements, and demonstrate inventiveness in both subject matter and presentation. Additionally, they must adhere to the fundamental principles of ethical journalism, including fairness, compassion, and responsibility (Zappe, 2021).

Professionally, reporting on the stories of migrants and refugees demands additional skills, and journalists should be thoroughly prepared for such assignments. This entails conducting in-depth research for each story, beginning with a comprehensive examination of previous coverage across various media platforms to grasp the political, cultural, and social backdrops of the countries involved. Competent execution of this task requires journalists to sift through reports and relevant data from international, national, and local organisations and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) engaged in the matter. Additionally, they should monitor social media channels and statements from politicians and officials and consult with migration experts (Zappe, 2021).

The information sources, including phone calls, social media platforms, face-to-face and digital meetings, other media channels, data analysis, investigative research, and more, need to be utilised more. While NGOs and conventional entities like governments, political parties, legal authorities, law enforcement agencies, local administrations, business groups, labour unions, religious institutions, international entities, and others can be consulted, journalists covering migration and forced displacement must not solely rely on official or elite sources. Instead, they should seek information from diverse sources. Therefore, practice often needs to improve in European and North African media (International Centre for Migration Policy Development, 2016, p. 99).

The individuals directly affected by migrants and refugees are an essential source for reporting on these issues. Indeed, stories that allow migrants, refugees, and local communities to share their perspectives on their situations present an advantageous option for information sources for journalists. However, it is crucial to recognise that not every statement issued by politicians regarding migrants and refugees should be accepted without

scrutiny, and not all online articles about migration can be considered accurate. Reporting on these issues also entails the responsibility of challenging stereotypes. Hence, employing precise language is one strategy journalists can use to combat stereotypes. For example, rather than using terminology like “migrant or refugee crisis,” which frames people as the problem, it is preferable to refer to it as a “crisis of migrant policy” (European Federation of Journalists, 2016).

Moreover, during expert interviews on reporting about immigrants and immigration, journalists are advised against using labels such as "illegal" or "undocumented." Instead, they should precisely describe situations or individuals' statuses and provide context. Additionally, journalists are encouraged to focus on solutions rather than solely presenting problems and dramatic narratives. This approach could involve highlighting the recovery of individuals who have survived human trafficking in the context of migration and forced displacement. However, it is essential to analyse the immigration policies and consider potential improvements (White, 2015, p.12). Therefore, journalists must contemplate their role in the process. They should approach each story with the same level of care, attention to detail, and respect that they desire if their roles are reversed (Nobel, 2018). It is crucial to dialogue not just about migrants and refugees but with them directly. Interviews with them may be shared or quoted within a report. In addition, journalists must engage with migrants and refugees, asking questions and listening to their stories. Journalists also must be mindful of how their interactions might re-traumatise individuals who have already experienced significant distress. Even small details discussed during interviews can trigger painful memories, requiring journalists to give interviewees space to recover. It is important to remember that these individuals are not professional commentators; they are people who may have experienced trauma and should be treated with sensitivity and respect (Jenny Gering et al., 2016, p. 4).

According to Fengler et al. (2021), journalists must consider the following: -

(1) Preparation – Before conducting interviews, journalists should thoroughly prepare themselves. This entails not only having specific skills like interviewing techniques and understanding immigration law but also familiarising themselves with statistics on migrants and refugees and their migration backgrounds. Moreover, journalists should be aware of trauma-related aspects. Being informed about potential trauma is a crucial preparatory step. It is important also to recognise potential factors such as gender, language, class, culture, or nationality that could influence interactions on both sides.

(2) Identification - Transparency is critical from the outset. Before initiating questions, journalists should introduce themselves and their purpose. For instance, "My name is John Doe, and I am reporting on migration for the Daily Magazine." Journalists should maintain composure despite the possibility of receiving surprising or insensitive reactions, understanding that such responses may stem from past traumas. Journalists could leave a contact card for future communication if an interviewee declines to participate.

(3) Explanation - Journalists should remember that their interviewees are often not accustomed to media practices. They should explain the media process in their region, including how their story may be used. Clarifying that material could be edited, reused, or potentially not used is essential.

(4) Respect - Interviewees should always be treated with dignity. Journalists must respect the rights of migrants and refugees to decline interviews, filming, or photography and seek prior consent for any such activities. Pressuring individuals into interviews under the pretence of helping others is inappropriate.

(5) Setting - Creating a safe environment for interviews is essential. Impacted people require an environment free from interruptions or unwelcome listeners in order to talk about their experiences. Journalists should empower interviewees by allowing them control over the conversation, including the option to decline to answer specific questions or end the interview at any time.

(6) Words - Careful consideration of words is essential. Rather than faking compassion, journalists should use empathetic language, such as expressing sympathy for the interviewee's experiences. It is crucial to avoid presuming understanding of their experiences or using language that implies blame. Additionally, using terms like "survivor" instead of "victim" respects the dignity of migrants and refugees.

(7) Time - Sufficient time should be allocated for interviews. Discussing potentially traumatic experiences can be emotionally intense and personal for migrants and refugees. Journalists need to invest time in building trust and actively listening without judgment.

(8) Response - Journalists must be prepared to handle emotional incidents during interviews. Journalists should remain calm and offer support, confirming the interviewee's safety. If the interviewee becomes tired, it may be necessary to pause or cancel the interview (Fengler, et al., 2021, p.252)

Collaboration among Media Professionals

Collaboration between media professionals has grown increasingly crucial, particularly for outlets focused on investigative journalism. By collecting resources and expertise, journalists and news organisations can delve into matters of public significance.

There has been a surge in cross-border collaborative journalism in recent years, gathering considerable attention for their collective exploration of relevant stories across numerous countries despite language and cultural differences in journalism practices. These initiatives engage regional, national, and international audiences. One significant advantage of collaborating with foreign reporters is the ability to present stories across a broader range of media platforms and to diverse audiences. Moreover, participation in an international journalistic network can offer security, especially for journalists operating in restrictive environments. Effective collaboration within international teams requires a foundation of mutual trust. Together, they can accomplish far more than one journalist could (Alfter, 2016).

Still, the accurate tale of migration and forced displacement can be revealed only from multiple points of view. As the number of foreign journalists in the "Western" media continues to decline and newsrooms struggle to find enough resources to cover stories, joint initiatives could be an excellent way to improve coverage. Additionally, journalists might collaborate in international networks to evaluate migration statistics and generate story ideas. Furthermore, immigrants and refugees may be involved in cooperative ventures. Hence, their media visibility may be increased.

In October 2017, the United Nations University Institute on Globalisation, Culture, and Mobility organised a meeting in Bellagio, Italy, with representatives from academia, international news media networks, and the United Nations (UN) to discuss how media shape public opinion around migration. Two fundamental concerns led to the Bellagio Workshop: (1) How are migrants and refugees portrayed in the world's news media? (2) How is the public's perception of migrants influenced by how they are portrayed in the media? With a focus on the European "migrant crisis" of 2015, these questions were examined. The conversations provided a unique perspective on how UN migration advocates understand the duties of international newsmakers and how newsmakers and producers perceive their responsibilities in this domain. Additionally, it made it possible for academic specialists in media and migration to provide insights into how the media functions as a component of the social environment that impacts everyone in question. Additionally, the

occasion offered a chance for newsmakers to raise awareness of "best practices," shared difficulties, and potential areas of cooperation (Brubaker, 2018).

Suggestions for United Nations Entities:

- Engage with journalists, media representatives, regulators, and communication services of organisations closely connected with migrant communities to discuss the media's role in countering the negative portrayals of migration.

- Arrange additional workshops for journalists worldwide as new circumstances arise, ensuring they can access regularly updated, accurate, and easily understandable information about vulnerable populations when appropriate.

- Explore collaborative reporting projects with media experts to facilitate responsible, balanced, and human-centred reporting. The UN, concerned NGOs, and Member States should be prepared to support such initiatives financially.

- Direct UN efforts not only towards media producers but also towards media consumers. Promoting critical awareness about reading and evaluating news sources, seeking diverse viewpoints, and fact-checking is crucial, especially in a media landscape increasingly influenced by social media and misinformation.

- Encourage coverage of the conditions prompting individuals to flee their homes, fostering understanding of the circumstances driving such risky journeys. (Fengler et al., 2021).

Guidelines for News Producers

- Avoid using stereotypical, harmful, or oversimplified language when depicting refugees and migrants in news coverage. Instead, provide reporting that moves beyond typical portrayals such as victims or heroes. Such reporting fosters comprehension and encourages readers to evaluate information on migration.

- Ensure inclusive and varied coverage of migrant communities within each country, offering a platform for diverse voices and informing the public about the diverse composition of migrant populations. To achieve this, diversify the sources of information cited in news articles by allocating more space to migrants and those directly involved with migrant groups.
- Continuously explore stories concerning migrant experiences, daily living conditions, skills, and contributions to host societies rather than solely focusing on migrant arrivals or border crossings. While it is essential to cover the impact of migrant admissions on employment, security, and national identity, it is equally necessary to provide a comprehensive perspective on immigration issues.
- Provide explanations or clarification from experts or relevant authorities, such as scholars or UN entities, on migrant admission and integration statistics to avoid misinterpretations and potential discriminatory practices (Fengler et al.,2021).

Recommendations for National Governments

- Allocate funding to organisations tasked with analysing media coverage of migration.
- Promote the adoption of ethical journalistic standards regarding migrants through conferences, workshops, training sessions, and awareness campaigns.
- Enhance public understanding of various forms of discrimination against migrants and educate the public on media literacy, including accessing, analysing, and evaluating media content.
- Support media outlets operated by ethnic and minority groups, particularly those that address migrant issues and raise awareness about their situations (Fengler et al.,2021).

3.1.6 Egypt's Efforts to Combat Illegal Immigration

Egypt has consistently worked to address illegal immigration, a problem that tragically led to the deaths of many young Egyptians before President Abdel Fattah El-Sisi's administration in 2014. Government agencies, particularly the Ministry of Immigration, have aimed to eliminate this practice, which often stems from economic hardship in impoverished villages. The Egyptian government has implemented strategies to manage

immigration, treating refugees and immigrants from all countries fairly (Al-Kashef & Martin, 2019).

In 2016, Egypt launched its first national strategy to combat illegal immigration, running until 2026 (Hussein, 2019). That same year, the president declared that no illegal immigration boats had departed from Egyptian shores. Law No. 82 of 2016 was enacted, criminalizing all forms of migrant smuggling and related activities. This law imposes penalties, with Article 6 stating that individuals convicted of migrant smuggling, or attempting to do so, face imprisonment and a fine between 50,000 and 200,000 Egyptian pounds, or a fine equal to the financial gain obtained, whichever is higher. The penalty increases to imprisonment and a fine between 200,000 and 500,000 Egyptian pounds, or a fine equal to the financial gain, if the offender established or led a criminal smuggling network, if the crime spans across national borders, if the crime endangers the lives or health of the migrants, or if it involves inhumane treatment (Al-Kashef & Martin, 2019).

Egypt has positioned itself as a key player in addressing migration issues, not just within its own borders but across Africa and in partnership with Europe. To illustrate, in June 2016, Egypt convened a significant meeting in Sharm El-Sheikh, bringing together African Union nations and Horn of Africa countries. This meeting focused on tackling the devastating problems of human trafficking and migrant smuggling, showing Egypt's commitment to regional cooperation (Al-Kashef & Martin, 2019).

Building on this, in March 2017, Egypt and Italy joined forces to launch a crucial training program. They recognised that law enforcement plays a vital role in combating illegal immigration, so they offered specialised training to police officers from 22 African nations. This collaboration aimed to equip these officers with the skills and knowledge needed to stop smuggling operations and protect vulnerable migrants. Later that year, in November, Egypt hosted another important conference in Luxor. This event brought together all the various entities involved in the complex migration route between Africa and Europe, fostering dialogue and coordinated action. It was a place where all relevant parties could exchange ideas and increase collaboration (Al-Kashef & Martin, 2019).

Egypt's involvement extends to high-level international agreements. For example, in November 2014, Egypt endorsed the Rome Declaration, a joint effort between the European Union and Horn of Africa countries. This declaration focused on helping Horn of Africa nations address the root causes of illegal immigration, such as poverty and conflict. Essentially, Egypt was supporting efforts to create conditions that would reduce the need for

people to migrate in the first place (de Waal & Rachel, 2016). A human security strategy for the European Union in the Horn of Africa. Furthermore, Egypt participated in crafting the Valletta Summit agreement in Malta in November 2015, demonstrating its ongoing commitment to shaping global migration policy (Al-Kashef & Martin, 2019).

In August 2016, Germany and Egypt formalised cooperation to address illegal immigration (Andrade & Hammad, 2021). This agreement focused on two key areas: guiding those seeking legal pathways to Germany, and supporting Egyptian authorities with logistical support and training to combat smuggling operations at borders, ports, and airports. This dual approach emphasises both proactive prevention and reactive enforcement (Al-Kashef & Martin, 2019).

Further demonstrating international trust in Egypt's capabilities, a 2018 protocol was signed with Italy to combat crime and immigration. This agreement reflects the confidence of Italian and European security agencies in Egypt's expertise and training capacity, particularly in preventing smuggling networks. Notably, the protocol also aims to facilitate family reunification for Egyptian workers legally residing in Italy, addressing a crucial human aspect of migration (Al-Kashef & Martin, 2019).

In October 2018, Egypt and the European Union strengthened their cooperation with a comprehensive agreement to combat illegal immigration, human smuggling, and human trafficking (Tsourapas, 2020). This agreement included seven projects, funded with 60 million euros, across fifteen Egyptian governorates. These projects aimed to examine the root causes of migration, addressing the underlying factors that drive people to leave their homes (Al-Kashef & Martin, 2019).

More recently, on March 17, 2024, a significant agreement was reached with the signing of a joint declaration between the Egyptian President and the President of the European Commission. This declaration elevated the relationship between Egypt and the European Union to a strategic and comprehensive partnership grounded in justice, respect, and mutual trust. Recognising their long-standing historical ties and close geographical and cultural connections, both parties committed to deepening their collaboration to promote stability, peace, and shared prosperity. The European Union acknowledged Egypt's pivotal role as a reliable partner and its unique strategic position as a cornerstone of security, moderation, and peace in the Mediterranean, the Near East, and Africa.

On a national level, the Ministry of Immigration has taken a proactive approach through the "Survival Boats" initiative, a project launched by the Egyptian president. This

initiative aligns with Egypt's commitment to the Global Compact for Migration, a landmark international agreement adopted in Morocco in December 2018. The "Survival Boats" initiative is designed to educate and empower vulnerable communities, particularly those in areas where people are most likely to risk illegal sea journeys. They are being given information about the dangers of illegal immigration, and are offered alternative paths. The program included educational and training programs for work skills, and entrepreneurship, and also included going door-to-door to inform people. This is a very direct way of helping those who feel they have no other options (Al-Kashef & Martin, 2019).

The Egyptian government recognises immigrants as vulnerable individuals, often exploited by smugglers and traffickers. However, the 2016 law marked a shift in approach, significantly increasing penalties for those who profit from these crimes. Beyond enforcement, the government now actively supports potential migrants by providing information on job opportunities within national projects, educating them about the risks of illegal journeys, and offering training programs to facilitate legal migration. This multi-faceted strategy has proven effective in curbing illegal immigration, strengthening border security, and establishing a strong legal framework to combat migrant smuggling.

At the same time, Egypt has a long history of welcoming refugees and migrants from diverse backgrounds. They are treated equitably, integrated into Egyptian society, and granted access to essential services like healthcare and education, similar to Egyptian citizens. Furthermore, they enjoy freedom of movement within the country. This comprehensive approach, combining border control, legal reform, and support for vulnerable individuals, has positioned Egypt as a successful international model in managing migration and supporting refugees (Al-Kashef & Martin, 2019).

The National Coordinating Committee for Combating and Preventing Illegal Immigration and Trafficking in Persons (NCCPIMTIP)

Egypt has actively fought against smuggling and illegal immigration by establishing The National Coordinating Committee for Combating and Preventing Illegal Immigration and Trafficking in Persons on January 23, 2017. It specialises in coordinating policies, plans, and programs designed to combat and prevent illegal immigration and human trafficking, in addition to providing necessary care and services for victims of this crime.

The National Committee is concerned with raising public awareness of the dangers of illegal immigration and human trafficking. Moreover, the committee works to mobilise the necessary resources to support efforts to combat these issues, support development as a basis for combating illegal immigration and human trafficking, provide positive alternatives for job opportunities, and support legal migration paths. Additionally, the National Committee pays special attention to protecting the groups most vulnerable to exploitation through various activities, including building and activating the legislative framework that supports activities to combat illegal immigration and human trafficking.

Top Priorities of (NCCPIMTIP)

1. To increase public understanding of the risks and alternatives to illegal immigration.
2. To gather the necessary resources to support the effort to combat illegal immigration (including private sector participation, capacity building of national entities working in the field).
3. Encourage growth that helps stop illegal immigration
4. To promote the legal/regular migration routes.
5. To safeguard those communities most in danger of exploitation or smuggling.
6. To develop a national infrastructure for gathering and analysing data on illegal immigration.
7. To construct and implement the legislative framework required to aid in the fight against illegal immigration.
8. To promote capacity building and regional collaboration by transferring knowledge.

The National Committee is also concerned with cooperation at the national, regional, and international levels to combat illegal immigration, the smuggling of migrants, and human trafficking. **The (NCCPIMTIP) undertakes the following:**

1. Activate cooperation with the United Nations and other relevant intergovernmental organisations.
2. Work to obtain available support to assist ministries and agencies concerned with combating human trafficking crimes, illegal immigration, and smuggling of migrants, including training law enforcement officials, and getting advisory services, all by applicable laws and regulations.

3. Work with colleagues at the regional and international levels to share best practices, experiences, and knowledge.

3.2 Human Rights Approach to Immigration

In today's world, with its divisions and conflicts, it is truly remarkable to reflect on the fact that on December 10, 1948, the nations of the world came together to unanimously adopt a comprehensive list of fundamental rights that should be guaranteed to everyone (Glendon, 1997). The striking opening line of the thirty-article Universal Declaration of Human Rights outlines fundamental rights: "Every human being has inherent freedom, equality, and rights from birth." This historic declaration depicts a society where everyone has the right to certain liberties and rights, a world of true justice and harmony. One such fundamental right is the freedom of movement, which is protected by the constitutions of many countries. This right ensures that citizens have the freedom to travel, live, and work within their own country without clashing with the rights of others and to come and go from the country as they wish. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights states in Article 13 that "everyone has the right to leave any country, including their own, and to return to their country." Comparably, "Everyone has the right to move freely and choose their place of residence within their country of legal presence," as well as the unrestricted freedom to leave any country, including their own, according to Article 12 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (McGregor et al., 2018).

Migration today is an increasingly complex phenomenon, considering who moves, why, and how. This has become an essential topic of discussion in the international community. Migration is not only a consequence of severe social, economic, and environmental stresses and changes but also because the often-dangerous movements of people worldwide involve fundamental human rights and responsibilities. Migrants,

especially those in irregular situations, are vulnerable to human rights violations, including discrimination, marginalisation, exploitation, violence, and xenophobia.

Migrant journeys are becoming longer, more fragmented, and more dangerous as border controls are tightened and regular routes of entry and residence are narrowed. Nevertheless, the human rights aspect of immigration is still largely ignored. Immigration is usually discussed in terms of economic development, security, and border control. Additional xenophobic debate against immigration helps politicians win votes, and in times of crisis, immigrants are convenient scapegoats to blame for social and economic hardship. The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) recognises the seriousness of the human rights challenges related to migration. This office is working to close the protection gap between the human rights norms enshrined in international law and the many human rights violations that occur in practice. OHCHR strongly advocates incorporating human rights perspectives into immigration policies and procedures and calls for the realisation of the human rights of all migrants, regardless of immigration status, in line with international human rights frameworks (Madi, 2024).

Das (2022) highlighted the persistent humanitarian crises arising from the increased number of people seeking refuge in the United States and the European Union (EU). The study pointed out that political leaders in both regions have struggled to find effective solutions to the border challenges caused by the influx of refugees and asylum seekers. These individuals, driven by fear of persecution or violence in their home countries, are understandably reluctant to return (Das, 2022).

The past decade has witnessed a significant surge in migration from the Middle East and Africa, with Europe being the primary destination. The peak of this wave in 2015 brought immigration to the forefront of public discourse, becoming a divisive issue that continues to shape societal debates. While data from various sources indicates a general trend of negative attitudes towards migration among Europeans, there are notable differences in perspectives between the older and newer EU member states (Bartoszewicz et al., 2022).

The root causes of economic migration from Africa are deeply intertwined with systemic inequalities. Issues such as unequal income distribution, limited access to healthcare and education, and the social exclusion of vulnerable populations are significant drivers. In particular, the growing number of people lacking access to adequate healthcare appears to have a substantial impact on migration flows. High mortality rates in regions with insufficient healthcare underscore the existing disparities. Consequently, many African

migrants seek to relocate to countries with higher incomes, strong healthcare systems, and comprehensive social security networks (Aslan, 2022).

3.2.1 The 1951 Refugee Convention

Countries around the world gradually developed a collection of principles to protect people who had to run away from their countries. They made a series of agreements and laws to make sure everyone gets treated fairly, especially people who are forced to leave because they're in danger. The big one of these is called the 1951 Refugee Convention. This Convention does a couple of things. First, it says exactly who counts as a "refugee." Second, it lists all the rights and help that refugees should get. There's also an organisation called the UNHCR, which is the main helper for refugees. They make sure countries follow these rules and turn them into their laws so refugees are safe. Normally, your country is supposed to protect you. Sometimes, things get so bad that people have to leave. Maybe they're being treated unfairly because of their beliefs, or there's a war, or things are just really dangerous. So, they have to go to another country to be safe (Das, 2022). That's why the world has these rules because refugees don't have their governments protecting them anymore.

The 1951 Convention says that if a country takes in refugees, they have to protect them and treat them fairly, according to international rules. The Convention defines a refugee as someone who's outside their home country and is scared to go back. They are scared because they might be hurt or killed because of their race, religion, nationality, or what they believe politically. Countries that sign this Convention have to do certain things to help these people. The 1951 Convention is like a rulebook for how to decide who's a refugee and how to treat them. It helps tell the difference between people who are just asking for a safe place (asylum seekers) and people who officially qualify as refugees. To be a refugee, you have to prove you have a real reason to be scared to go back home (Das, 2022).

The 1951 Convention also grants the following further rights:

- The prohibition against expulsion unless specific and regulated circumstances are met (Article 32).
- The freedom from punishment for entering a contracting state's territory without authorization (Article 31)

- Nondiscrimination is guaranteed by Articles 3 and 5.
- The right to decent work (Articles 17 to 19 and 24)
- The right to housing, land, and property, including intellectual property (Articles 13, 14, and 21)
- The right to education (Article 22)
- The right to freedom of religion (Article 4)
- The right to access to justice (Article 16)
- The right to freedom of movement within the territory (Article 26 and Article 31)
- The right to be issued civil, identity, and travel documents (Articles 12, 27, and 28)
- The right to social protection (Articles 23 and 24).

When talking about the 1951 Refugee Convention, it is really important to look at how it plays out in real-world situations. And one of the most heartbreaking examples is the Syrian crisis, which started back in 2011. Over 220,000 people lost their lives. Meanwhile, 6.5 million people were forced to leave their homes but are still trapped inside Syria, and 9 million people are in desperate need of help within the country itself. On top of that, thousands of people have been tortured while locked up. In addition, four million Syrians have fled to neighbouring countries, seeking any kind of safety (Abuzayd et al., 2015).

It is a complete humanitarian disaster. All the rules about how conflicts should be fought are being broken over and over again by everyone involved in the fighting. Now, those laws are supposed to help people during conflicts, but they just cannot keep up with the scale of the violence in Syria. Even basic human rights, such as the right to live safely, are being completely ignored. Because of this conflict, millions of Syrians have become refugees, forced to leave their country. Syrian refugees are now the largest group of people seeking asylum within the European Union (Relations, E.-I. 2023).

3.2.2 The impact of the Migration Crisis on Human Rights

The circumstances brought by globalisation and the disparity in living standards throughout the world have given human migration across borders new meanings, especially when human rights are considered. To determine how the migration crisis has impacted human rights within the European Union, Matveevskaya et al. (2021) focused on how fundamental human rights are upheld in the context of migration. The study pointed out that regarding the right to asylum as a fundamental tenet of human rights law, an unprecedented

level of integration has allowed the EU to set up a pan-European asylum system based on the principles outlined in the 1951 Geneva Convention and the 1967 Additional Protocol. The European Union's member nations are moving towards establishing a uniform stance on problems of international protection and immigration policy. As migrants entering the country illegally has been a long-standing issue, several scientific publications, media outlets, and political pronouncements have emphasised the mixed nature of the migration crisis, which began in 2015, when more than 1,800,000 migrants and refugees entered Europe (Matveevskaya et al., 2021). The increase in migration and the failure of the European Union member states to implement measures quickly and effectively to facilitate the burden on recipient nations, as well as the resulting social and political crises, are all referred to as “Europe's migrant crisis.” One of the significant difficulties in managing the refugee population is the different nature of the migration flows of prospective refugees travelling for economic or other reasons. The European nations in charge of processing asylum applications have discovered that these immigrants arrived in Europe for reasons other than humanitarian ones. Since each applicant needed to be treated individually, the situation in reception centres was complicated, and displaced people were treated as lawbreakers. Consequently, the mixed nature of migration to Europe in recent years has become one of the most significant barriers to controlling the migration flow (Matveevskaya et al., 2021).

Despite being protected by multiple international treaties and European laws, abuses of the right to seek refuge have increased in recent decades. By utilising strategies like tighter border controls, EU nations are preventing migrants from accessing their countries. Many nations send military or law enforcement personnel to the border to prevent migrants from crossing. Hungary is a prime example of keeping migrants out of their country, it built a barbed-wire barrier along its border with the Czech Republic for this reason. Even though European nations are combating immigration, more than 90% of asylum seekers do so illegally (Matveevskaya et al., 2021).

Collste (2015) pointed out that some European countries deny immigrants and refugees any structural protection, hence, refugees and migrants will rely on the kindness of the decision-makers instead. However, people in poorer countries are more likely to try to emigrate as awareness of their living conditions grows, as in the case with boats crossing the Mediterranean every day that are overflowing with African migrants and refugees trying to get to Europe, and also the migrants from Latin America who attempt to cross the border

between Mexico and the US. Of course, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights does not help in making immigration unrestricted, even though that is one of the rights of immigrants (Collste, 2015).

Prömel (2023) examines the impact of the 2015 European refugee crisis on the ethnic identity of resident migrants in Germany, using an experimental environment in which refugees are assigned to specific counties by state authorities without having a choice in where they go. The research stated that while local people remained worried about crime, xenophobia grew in places with more refugees who were more concerned about the locals' potential reaction (Prömel, 2023, p.19). In the same context, despite international laws, many migrants arriving in the EU are detained. This detention raises serious concerns about violating the European Convention on Human Rights, which prohibits wrongful detention. Furthermore, Article 26 of the 1951 Refugee Convention states that "Each Contracting State shall accord to refugees lawfully in its territory the right to choose their place of residence and to move freely within its territory, subject to any regulations applicable to aliens generally in the same circumstances" (Sharp, 2013). The widespread detention of migrants within the EU directly contradicts these fundamental legal protections.

The UN High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) highlights the particularly vulnerable situation of children within Europe's migration flows. They often lack access to essential care and are at a heightened risk of becoming victims of human trafficking. Ideally, children's rights should receive the maximum protection. Yet, the realities of migration often place children in overcrowded facilities and camps alongside adults, where they face the threat of violence (Matveevskaya et al., 2021).

On the other hand, European nations have adopted actions against international and European law to keep refugees from crossing their borders. It is evident that even fundamental human rights, which have long since been incorporated into customary law, no longer apply to everyone in times of emergency. Countries that do not uphold human rights generally commit the most unacceptable abuses, although even more democratic nations often fall short of their obligations in times of crisis (Matveevskaya et al., 2021). The EU countries' first focus was their security, and migrants were seen as a problem to be solved and a burden to be shared rather than individuals whose rights should be protected. Based on a comparison of the situation before and during the immigration crisis of 2015, it is possible to conclude that human rights violations have been primarily caused by ineffective immigration laws, the unpreparedness of the European Union asylum system, and the

significant lack of solidarity between European member states at the time when the system desperately needed reform. It is necessary to consider how the situation will change to guarantee the right to reunification, protection from discrimination, and enjoyment of all the refugees' rights, including the right to integration (Matveevskaya et al., 2021).

However, the enormous number of migrants has led to political conflict between some Member States of the European Union, which is evidence that the "migrant crisis" is more of a human rights problem and a crisis of European ideals. It is now possible to notice the politicisation of the immigration process, which results in the attention turning away from assuring and defending the life, health, and other fundamental rights of refugees and towards understanding migration as a "criminal phenomenon." The fact that a person's legal status still governs the exercise of fundamental rights is one of the leading human rights problems. Therefore, even refugees, a group entitled to mandatory international protection under international law, find themselves in a legal vacuum before they obtain official status (Allen et al., 2018). Additionally, some European nations tend to use a method of enforcing immigration regulations by weakening the provision of migrants' rights. Thus, European institutions must respond with new methodological approaches to detect and analyse the consequences of new immigration policies at various levels of migratory governance. These new immigration policies will have significant implications for preventing "undesirable" migrants from entering EU Member States or deporting them after they have arrived (Allen et al., 2018).

Taking into consideration that opening borders to free movement could threaten countries' ability to protect and advance domestic social justice in the current context of growing geographic mobility opportunities, removing borders could significantly increase personal mobility and freedom while dramatically redistributing income and opportunity globally (Bauböck, 2019).

It has been noted that the refugee crisis in Europe is also a crisis of European integration. EU Member States have unique obligations towards one another and general obligations to accept migrants, with sincere cooperation and a commitment to maintaining open internal borders. These obligations are connected, so the Member States' refusal to fulfil their general duties to admit refugees has resulted in the construction of fences, ongoing border controls, and a general decline in cooperation between the European Member States. According to Bauböck (2018), European countries should work together to build a refugee protection system. This requires accepting criteria for distributing refugees other than

income and state size, such as allowing states to relocate refugees to their territory or providing financial aid for their integration into different states. However, the international sphere lacks the relatively strong guarantees of compliance by the states engaged that are needed for a legitimate refugee protection system. Even if most states choose not to comply, the remaining states still have moral obligations to cooperate in a burden-sharing plan. The EU is in an almost ideal position to establish an effective burden-sharing system, including all its Member States, because it is a regional union of states with relatively solid supranational institutions (Bauböck, 2018).

On the other hand, asylum claims from migrants are currently evaluated throughout Europe using legal imaginaries of citizenship, which has the effect of criminalising many migrants' presence in Europe as "illegal" and creating a socio-legal framework that encourages exclusion. As "the presumably transparent consequence of unauthorised border crossing," deportation is justified for EU member states. The main political dispute between EU governments now centers on whether closing external borders must be coordinated at the EU level or can be more successfully achieved by independent actions of member states compelling others to do the same, including internal borders within the Schengen area (Crane & Lawson, 2020, p.2).

The influx of refugees has become a major challenge for the European Union. While the 1.3 million refugees and migrants who arrived in 2015 seemed like a huge number at the time, it is important to remember that countries like Jordan, Lebanon, and Turkey have been hosting significantly larger refugee populations for years (Bauböck, 2019).

The real crisis for the EU is not just about numbers; it is about unity. The EU countries are struggling to agree on how to replace the Dublin Regulation, which is the system for deciding which country is responsible for processing asylum claims. They also cannot agree on a fair way to share the responsibility of caring for refugees. This lack of agreement is a direct threat to the very existence of the EU itself. A big part of the problem is the rise of populist, anti-immigrant political parties across Europe. These parties are gaining more and more influence, and their ideas are even being adopted by mainstream political parties, who are afraid of losing voters. This creates a toxic atmosphere for refugees and makes it even harder to find humane and fair solutions (Bauböck, 2019)

On the other hand, migration is a contentious topic in Europe that impacts both the supranational integration process and the day-to-day policies of EU member states. Thus, the collection of EU immigration policies exhibits a security-oriented viewpoint (Aslan,

2022). The history of immigration to Europe can be examined in further detail to assist in understanding this problem. Although the crisis might have been expected and most human rights violations could have been avoided, the EU had no logical migration policy and was divided and uncertain (Grigonis, 2017, p.98).

The Member States are likely responsible for most of the abuses of the rights of migrants, and the EU did nothing to stop the violations due to internal disputes. The role of EU agencies (as well as coordination of the national police forces) should be reevaluated and clearly defined in terms of crisis management because these institutions could carry out crucial tasks to ensure the protection of human rights in a crisis (Grigonis, 2017, p.98).

Human trafficking is one of the other clearest forms of violations of international law and human rights. Italy is particularly impacted by human trafficking because of its location, as it serves as both a destination and a transit country for survivors who are later exploited in other EU Member States.

Esposito et al. (2016) looked into what happens to many Nigerian women who are tricked and forced into trafficking before they even get to Italy. The study stated that these women often end up in detention centers for people who don't have the right papers and come to Italy in irregular ways. The study found that because of stricter immigration laws, the way the media often portrays migrants as criminals, and also because of laws against prostitution in many Italian cities, things have gotten much worse for these women. Instead of focusing on helping women who have been victims of trafficking, the focus has shifted to just getting rid of them and hiding prostitution from view. These women are often just seen as "migrants," not as individuals who have been through terrible trauma. They miss out on getting the support they desperately need, and instead, they get caught up in the detention system and are at risk of being sent back to where they came from. The study also found that the whole system of immigration control is failing these women. It is not stopping human trafficking, and it is not protecting the victims. When some of these women go to the police to report the people who are exploiting them, they often end up getting an order to leave the country. Even worse, many of these women have been abused in other countries, like Niger or Libya, before they even get to Italy. Then, they are immediately locked up in detention centres when they arrive. So, they're survivors of a brutal system that spans across multiple countries, a system that is designed to exploit their bodies (Esposito et al., 2016).

3.2.3 Violence Against Migrants

According to Dempsey (2020), violence is the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or a group or community, that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, or psychological harm.

The 'War on Terror' paradigm has significantly influenced the perception of migration, framing it as a security concern and fostering narratives that exaggerate the perceived threats posed by immigrants. This securitisation of migration is enacted through governmental power structures and practices, which inform both legislation and policy implementation (Dempsey, 2020).

The merging of immigration and asylum policies with security concerns has resulted in heightened border security and law enforcement measures aimed at preventing irregular immigration into Europe. Consequently, transnational irregular migration is often portrayed as a challenge to state sovereignty and control over its borders and population. While migrant mobility can indeed strain state capacities for border management and population classification (citizens, foreigners, etc.), the implementation of border control measures has been observed to correlate with increased instances of violence and migrant deaths (Dempsey, 2020).

Since 2015, following the arrival of over one million refugees fleeing civil conflicts, armed violence, persecution, and economic hardship, border security has ascended to a position of strategic priority within the European Union (EU) and its member states. These migrants, driven by dire circumstances and the pursuit of refuge, encounter pervasive violence across their migration journey. This violence occurs in their countries of origin, during transit countries, and within host nations, indicating the transnational nature of violent phenomena and underscoring the complex challenges faced by migrants (Dempsey, 2020).

On the other hand, sexual and gender-based violence hurts a person's and their family's health as well as society. According to the World Health Organization, sexual violence is any sexual act, attempt to obtain a sexual act, unwanted sexual comments or advances, acts to traffic, or otherwise directed against a person's sexuality using coercion by any person regardless of their relationship to the victim, in any setting, and can include rape or other forms of assault involving a sexual organ. Sexual assault can have a very negative effect on both mental and physical health (Dempsey, 2020, p.5).

In the same context, Bradby et al. (2023) conducted semi-structured interviews with 166 displaced people who had experienced sexual and gender-based violence and 107 service providers for displaced people in Australia, Sweden, Turkey, and the UK. The study indicated that the failure to design and deliver services that help displaced people recover from such violence represents an ongoing failure to comprehend. Most of the time, services were difficult to get and did not give priority to migrants' needs (Bradby et al., 2023, p.5).

While there is violence in source countries where forced migration is common, irregular migrants travelling to and within Europe suffer a variety of violent crimes, detention, and even death. The efforts of EU nations to "securitise migration" and military border checks at their external borders have grown stronger over time. Violence against migrants is produced and encouraged by policy responses that strongly emphasise tighter border security as a prevention against irregular migration to Europe. Migrant women continue to confront difficulties in accessing health services globally due to a lack of financial independence, and the shame and embarrassment associated with female sexuality, or constrictive ideas about how and when women can lawfully seek care (Dempsey, 2020).

While men are often seen as the primary victims in conflicts, women also face significant harm, including sexual violence, forced displacement, and several other abuses. For example, women may be subjected to trafficking, forced prostitution, or even torture just because of their gender. Abuses of the sexual and reproductive health and rights of migrant and refugee women point to a "willful indifference" to their suffering. The women must first have access to their required services, and we must make sure to consider the context of the care we give to women's lives and the full consideration of their human and reproductive rights. This demonstrates that we are aware of women's needs and must fulfil those needs to uphold women's human dignity (Endler et al., 2020).

On the other hand, Kerwin (2020) investigated the potential impacts of immigration on future employment and labour market dynamics. The study posits that driven by factors such as violence, natural disasters, and state failures to uphold fundamental obligations, international migration flows are projected to increase. Additionally, dishonest politicians and media outlets will continue to blame immigrants. Thus, xenophobia will rise, and immigrants will face hostility in host communities (Kerwin, 2020). In other words, migration has become risky due to the rise in individuals being forcibly displaced and militarised border policing measures. Despite experiencing torture both on their route and at the frontiers of Europe, migrants and refugees continue to enter Western nations. At the same

time, the vulnerability migrants experience throughout their journey and at the border crossing is becoming more well-known due to the increased reporting on the negative impacts of displacement and related violence experienced during migrants' trips to host nations (Guarch-Rubio et al., 2020).

However, there are actors in Europe who are against immigration and who portray it as a threat to nation-states. Instead of focusing on how countries are dealing with the phenomenon of migration, coverage of the so-called "migration crisis" has therefore been criticised for giving a negative notion to the term migrants and refugees. Several studies have examined the prevalence of traumatic events experienced by migrants and refugees in transit and their home countries. Migrants and refugees have been subjected to various human rights violations, including inhumane and degrading treatment, during their travel and stay at EU borders. This provides insight into how politically supported and systematic violence is directed against refugees (Guarch-Rubio et al., 2020).

It is important to understand that people don't just decide to leave their homes easily. Moving to another country for a better life is a huge, difficult decision. It involves a lot of planning and hard work. Sometimes, people who are forced to leave their homes end up in refugee camps, waiting for a chance to move somewhere safer. We saw this, for example, with people who fled the war in Syria and ended up in camps in Jordan.

However, these camps often struggle to provide enough for everyone. When countries face economic problems, or when crime and danger increase in the camps, things get even harder. People might find it difficult to get basic necessities like clean water, food, and medicine. When things get this bad, some people feel they have no choice but to try and reach Europe. At the same time, many countries are trying to stop people from coming in. They're closing their borders and sending people back, even if those people are in danger. This practice of deporting people considered "unwanted" makes it even harder for them to move safely. It also pushes people to use dangerous smuggling networks, which can make their journey much more dangerous. So, the very actions meant to stop migration are making things worse for people who are desperate to find a safe place (Dempsey, 2020, p.5).

We're seeing more and more how migration pushes us to think about what it means to be human. In just one year, 2016, over 5,000 people trying to cross the Mediterranean Sea died or vanished. That's a shocking number, and it means that most of the migrant deaths around the world that year happened right there (Gammeltoft-Hansen, 2017, p.28).

As many migrants are in such a fragile situation, and because they're often trying to stay hidden, they face all kinds of violence and mistreatment as they travel. Sadly, as more people try to migrate without the right papers, there's also a rise in people trying to take advantage of them. Smugglers, criminal gangs, and even some governments or locals try to exploit these vulnerable people. It is like a cruel business that feeds on their desperation (Gammeltoft-Hansen, 2017, p.28).

Lori & Boyle (2015) highlighted how widespread migration occurs across Africa when violence or poverty forces people to leave their homes. This often involves people from nations like the Democratic Republic of Congo, Rwanda, Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Mozambique. These movements of refugees are frequently accompanied by serious human rights abuses, including violence against women. The study also examined the broader issue of forced migration, noting that people cross borders for many reasons, such as war, conflict, oppression, and natural disasters. As a result, the growing number of people migrating globally presents a significant challenge for the international community. Millions are leaving their home countries in search of safer and better lives because of unstable governments. Organisations like the UNHCR and WHO have provided guidance on how to prevent and address violence against women in these situations (Lori & Boyle, 2015).

On the other hand, Ghosn et al. (2019) investigated the situation of migrants and refugees in Lebanon, a country hosting over a million Syrian refugees. The study explored how experiencing violence during Lebanon's civil war (1975-1990) shaped people's attitudes and empathy towards these refugees. The research revealed that individuals who had personally endured the hardships and trauma of war were more likely to feel compassion for refugees and believe they should receive assistance. However, the study also found that personal exposure to violence or displacement did not directly predict whether someone would support welcoming refugees into the country (Ghosn et al., 2019).

3.2.4 Forced Deportation of Immigrants

Forced migration is a conceptual category within migration studies encompassing people experiencing human displacement, such as refugees, asylum seekers, and undocumented migrants (Huot et al., 2016).

Many countries have tightened immigration laws in response to the enormous rise in international migration to stem the flow of unauthorised immigrants into their territories.

Rozo et al. (2021) focused on the case of the U.S.A. and Mexico to explore how deportations from host nations affect violent crime in the countries of origin. The study also investigates how the geographical concentration of US deportation flows between 1998 and 2015 affected local Mexican violence. The results showed that with increased deportations, homicide rates significantly increase in communities with rehabilitation centres. Persistent deportations impact local crime rates over a more extended period. Additionally, longer-term effects may differ from immediate ones if deportees become criminals due to social isolation or poor reintegration into Mexican society (Rozo et al., 2021).

On the other hand, substantial differences exist in how different countries handle the presence of immigrants who have no legal basis for staying. Numerous studies have analysed the post-arrival immigration enforcement policies in European nations.

Leerkes & van Houte (2020) analysed the return of rejected asylum seekers from six European countries, looking at both forced and assisted returns. The research found that while most rejected applicants did not return, the policies and return patterns differed greatly between countries. This highlights the importance of considering the different ways European countries enforce post-arrival rules. Denmark and Norway, for example, tend to have stricter views on citizenship, making it difficult for undocumented immigrants to become citizens. They often house these immigrants in reception centres. Germany, while also focusing on citizenship, is more open to providing pathways to citizenship for undocumented immigrants. Sweden stands out with the most inclusive approach to citizenship, actively granting citizenship to certain groups of undocumented people (Leerkes & van Houte, 2020). Spain, on the other hand, has taken a more integration-focused approach. As early as 1985, Spanish law aimed to facilitate the integration of outsiders into Spanish society. By 1991, with increasing undocumented migration, the focus shifted to ensuring social integration between locals and foreigners living and working in Spain. Furthermore, the 1994 Plan for the Social Integration of Immigrants established the National Forum for the Social Integration of Immigrants to include immigrants' voices in discussions about their integration (Calavita, 2009).

It is interesting to note that Catalonia is often seen as a leader in immigrant integration (Calavita, 2009). The Catalan government created the Secretary of Migration position in 2000 specifically to develop a long-term integration strategy. For instance, many

Latin American workers arrive in Spain expecting to find a familiar culture, only to be surprised that Catalan, not just Spanish, is spoken in schools in Catalonia. To address this, schools hired cultural mediators to help Spanish-speaking students adapt, as teachers sometimes struggle to use Catalan effectively. Additionally, a Catalan government office dedicated to migrants provides guidance on various aspects of life, including work, leisure, health, family, housing, and living costs. Furthermore, Catalonia's Migration Plan from 2001 to 2004 served as a blueprint for integration. This plan focused on managing the multiculturalism that comes with migration, especially within Catalonia's strong regional identity. While acknowledging that integration would be a gradual process, the plan emphasised the importance of established integration principles (Calavita, 2009).

On the other hand, deportees may be at risk for various medical issues while lacking access to necessary medical care. Information about the health of returning migrants is required to inform programs aimed at their social integration.

Fernández et al. (2014) focused on examining the general health state and health treatment accessibility of Mexican migrants deported via the border between Mexico and the United States. The study started to document some health risks experienced by Mexican deportees. The results indicated that compared to voluntary returnees, deportees from the US had less access to healthcare. A difference was seen among individuals who received medical insurance coverage, perhaps reflecting working conditions associated with the migrants' unauthorised status. The findings also revealed a distinct and statistically significant link between deportation and the perception of one's health. Different factors can be involved, such as the possibility of worsening living and working conditions due to their undocumented status, which could account for the distinction between deportees and migrants who voluntarily return to their country of origin. (Fernández et al., 2014).

For a long time, policymakers did not focus on what happens when migrants are forced to go back home; however, researchers are starting to realise how big an impact this has. For instance, it can be tough for people who are forced to return to find a job or start a business. They might not know the local laws or customs, and they might not have friends or family there to help them out.

In this regard, David (2017) looked into Moroccan deportees. The research showed that returning home isn't usually the end of a migrant's journey but rather a really important part of deportee life. People who are forced to go back, either by outside circumstances or government rules, have a harder time making a living in their home countries. They also face

a colder reception from their communities because their migration can be seen as a failure. In addition, they might be less willing to adapt since the change was forced on them (David, 2017).

On the other hand, Huot et al. (2016) aimed to understand what kind of job experiences displaced people have. While everyone who moves to a new place has to deal with changes in their work life, people who are forced to move often lose their jobs or have to take lower-paying ones. Things like poverty, discrimination, and a lack of resources can make it hard for them to find new work and settle back in. On top of that, displaced people are often excluded from society, which makes it tough to access things like social support, cultural events, or even just basic economic opportunities. This can lead to them feeling lonely, isolated, and losing their sense of who they are, which can be incredibly discouraging (Huot et al., 2016)

Concluding Remarks

The geographical positioning of a nation significantly influences its political and social stance on immigration, which subsequently shapes media narratives. The media's coverage of the migration crisis, particularly in frontline states in Europe like Greece and Italy, reveals a tendency towards negative framing, potentially exacerbating anti-immigrant sentiment. This aligns with the hypothesis that national institutions may strategically utilize such portrayals to deflect responsibility for socio-economic challenges.

The contrast in coverage between countries like Greece and Italy, experiencing the highest influx of migrants, and those further removed from the crisis, such as Portugal and Spain, underscores this point. Furthermore, the dominant political ideology within a nation plays a crucial role. The prevalence of populist rhetoric, particularly in right-wing publications, often constructs the migration crisis as a cultural threat, exemplified by the portrayal of refugees as an "invasion" of a national identity. While some media outlets adopted a more humanitarian approach, particularly in Spain and Portugal, the overall trend leaned towards portraying migrants as either a burden or a threat.

On the other hand, some European news organisations frequently publish photographs of refugees and migrants, portraying them as victims. Nevertheless, there are also frames showing them as a possible burden or threat to European values. However, pictures of migrants and refugees are more likely to portray them as victims or in a positive

light when children are present than when they are not. The best example in this context is the photo of the drowned boy Aylan Kurdi, a Syrian boy whose boat capsized in the Mediterranean shortly after leaving shore. This photo is viewed as a humanitarian image because of the intention behind its dissemination in the mainstream media. The photograph caught the attention of the entire world, prompting compassion rather than the usual combination of fear and insecurity.

The persistent negative framing of migration raises serious concerns regarding its impact on human rights. The principle of non-refoulement, enshrined in the 1951 Refugee Convention, is increasingly challenged by restrictive border policies and the securitization of migration. These policies not only infringe upon the human rights of migrants and refugees but also contribute to a rise in human trafficking and violence against them. The challenges faced by migrants and refugees, including limited access to public services and potential exposure to further harm, call for a more humane and sustainable approach to migration management.

It is fascinating to see how differently European countries handle the integration of undocumented migrants. This patchwork of approaches shows how tangled up policy, social views, and what's in the news can be. While some countries, like Germany, Sweden, and Spain, have taken some pretty forward-thinking steps toward integration, it is an uphill battle. The constant negativity in the media can easily chip away at these good intentions and, sadly, deepen the divides in society.

The media's portrayal of the migration crisis reveals a systemic failure to adequately capture the multifaceted nature of this complex phenomenon. This failure stems from a combination of factors, including a lack of understanding, implicit biases, and potentially strategic manipulation by political actors. Addressing this requires a concerted effort by media organizations, policymakers, and academics to promote responsible reporting, foster intercultural understanding, and uphold the fundamental human rights of migrants and refugees. We need to explore solutions beyond simply opening borders to achieve global justice. There is a need to develop new immigration policies that offer safer alternatives for those who are risking their lives trying to cross dangerous borders like the Mediterranean or the US-Mexico border. Implementing more compassionate immigration and asylum policies, which allow greater entry for refugees and immigrants, would undoubtedly make huge steps towards global social equality and democracy, especially in the immediate future.

CHAPTER FOUR

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY

This chapter provides the theoretical framework and methodology used in this study. The study uses framing theory as a lens to investigate, using a mixed-methods approach to examine how immigration news was reported in Egyptian and European newspapers during the 2015 European immigration crisis. Hence, this chapter is divided into two sections. The first section is the theoretical framework, which reviews news framing and the framing theory concerning the research questions. The second section is the methodology, which refers to the methodological steps for data analysis to get accurate results.

Before providing the theoretical framework and the methodology, it is important to refer to the statement of the research problem, the significance of the study, and some previous studies on media coverage of immigration issues.

-Statement of the Research Problem

The contemporary geopolitical landscape has witnessed an unprecedented surge in migration towards the European Union. The year 2015 marked a critical point, characterised by a substantial influx of migrants and refugees, mainly those fleeing the Syrian conflict, who sought entry through Turkey. This influx caused a crisis, exerting considerable pressure on European member states and instigating debates concerning the principles of shared responsibility and burden distribution. Meanwhile, the increase in populist movements across Europe has intensified the politicisation of migration. These movements frequently capitalise on societal anxieties regarding migration and frame it as a threat to European culture, national security, and economic stability.

Over the past decade, scholarly and journalistic interest in media representations of migration has increased. However, a significant gap exists in the provision of platforms for migrants to articulate their narratives. Media discourse remains heavily reliant on official sources, primarily political figures at national, regional, and international levels, thereby favouring a focus on policy. Opinion leaders, particularly those with political ties, exert

substantial influence on public opinion, leveraging media platforms to shape perceptions and direct attention to specific issues.

A diversity of journalistic and news-framing perspectives characterises contemporary media coverage of migration. Journalists, operating within specific ideological and political paradigms, construct narratives that reflect their respective orientations. Common narratives include both positive representations, which emphasise sympathy and the benefits of migrant integration and portray migrants as victims of violence, and negative representations, which propagate the notion of migrants and refugees as threats to host communities.

This study aims to investigate the portrayal of immigration issues in Egyptian and European newspapers. Specifically, it seeks to analyse the media frames employed to characterise immigrants and refugees and to critically evaluate the advantages and disadvantages of prevailing press coverage.

- Significance of the Study

Due to the media's pivotal role in shaping public perceptions of migration, this study holds significant relevance as it analyses the coverage of immigration issues in European and Egyptian newspapers. The way news outlets present immigration issues directly influences how the public understands and reacts to them. By critically analysing the media frames employed by Egyptian and European newspapers and the language used to tell immigration stories, the study aims to illuminate the distinct narratives surrounding immigration issues. Specifically, it investigates the prevalence of security-centric framing within European newspapers. This framing, potentially driven by anxieties concerning increased refugee flows at EU borders, carries the risk of fostering hate speech and hostility and making successful integration harder within host communities. Negative portrayals can create prejudice and make it more difficult for migrants to build a new life.

This study also examines the humanitarian frame utilised by Egyptian newspapers, which focuses on the human suffering of migrants and refugees and depicts migrants and refugees as victims, potentially leading to the development of more compassionate and integrated migration policies. This approach could encourage

governments to create policies that focus on helping migrants and integrating them into society.

Recognising the inherent editorial biases, ideological orientations, and diverse agendas of both Egyptian and European newspapers and understanding that each newspaper has its political leanings and goals, this research seeks to provide a deeper understanding of the complexities of media representations of migration and how these biases influence the presentation of immigration news.

Furthermore, by identifying and promoting the most effective media frames that prioritise human rights and humanitarian perspectives, this study aims to explore the potential for newspapers to serve as bridges between local populations and migrant communities, fostering cooperation and solidarity. The idea is that media can help build understanding and connections between different groups. By conducting a comparative analysis of news frames employed by three Egyptian and two European newspapers during the 2015 European migration crisis, the study will determine how these specific newspapers covered immigration news and portrayed migrants and refugees.

- Previous Studies on Media Coverage of Immigration Issues

The media's influence on public perception of immigration is profound, shaping social attitudes, policy discourse, and the narratives surrounding immigrant communities. Media representations, particularly within newspapers, play a crucial role in constructing public understanding and interpretation of immigration. This section synthesizes key findings from prior research on media coverage of migration, focusing on recurrent themes, analytical frameworks, methodological approaches, and significant empirical outcomes.

Brosius (2019) investigated the news coverage of immigration and its effects on trust in the European Union. The study examined the impact of media coverage of immigration on political confidence in the European Union in 18 countries between 2012 and 2016, using the data from European social surveys and media claims to discuss how people with various beliefs react to media coverage of immigration. The results of the study indicated that over the duration of the migrant and refugee crisis, opinions towards immigration became a more significant predictor of trust in the EU. When immigration is discussed more frequently or more positively, left-wing citizens - who are normally more in favour of immigration and providing asylum - don't exhibit notable changes in their assessment of the European Union.

However, news that supports immigration may have a negative effect and decrease the trust of right-wing citizens in the EU.

Mccann et al. (2023) examined the dynamics of press coverage of widespread migration in Europe caused by conflicts using two case studies: the 2015 refugee crisis, which was largely caused by the influx of Syrian refugees, and the current displacement of Ukrainians. This study aimed to investigate how media discourse has influenced the narrative around these two influxes and the belief that race has had an excessive effect on how those narratives are framed. According to the study's findings, media narratives surrounding landings in Europe in 2015 and 2022, however, show notable disparities between how Syrian refugees and Ukrainian refugees have been covered. In both cases, civilians are escaping the complete devastation of their countries by some of the same enemies. However, the landscape that refugees from Ukraine and Syria faced in Europe in 2022 and 2015, respectively, was shaped by contrast in how refugees were portrayed in the media, including perceptions of threat, legitimacy as refugees, and economic contribution. These opposing narratives have surely been shaped by issues of race and ethnic background.

In the same context, some studies have mentioned that public opinion and policy decisions are greatly influenced by the way topics are presented in the media. To investigate the differences in media framing and tone of voice between the Syrian refugee crisis in 2015 and the Ukrainian refugee crisis in 2022, a study carried out by Maas (2024) performed a comparative content analysis of 200 news pieces from popular and high-quality Dutch newspapers. The two crises' media coverage varied significantly. According to this study, while the Ukrainian refugee crisis was portrayed in a largely positive light, the Syrian refugee crisis was mostly presented in terms of accountability, violence, and financial effects. It is crucial to take into account the larger geopolitical background when interpreting the study's findings. The Syrian and Ukrainian crises' varying political circumstances and temporal gaps probably affected how they were portrayed in the media. Editorial policies may have changed as a result of the coverage of the Syrian refugee crisis, which may have raised awareness and sensitivity to humanitarian issues. Examining these elements might yield a more thorough comprehension of how both crises were covered by the media.

Another significant study carried out by Jhunjhunwala & Verma (2024) clarifies how media organisations choose which stories to report on, how they present those stories, and how their language and tone affect how the public perceives them. This study aims to advance knowledge of the complex connection between media and public perception of

political issues. Through content analysis, the study examined how social media platforms and traditional news outlets impact public opinion differently; the role that agenda-setting theory plays in understanding media influence, how media outlets frame political narratives, the effects of biases within media organisations, the effects of tone and language in media coverage, and the difficulties media outlets face in striking a balance between objectivity and audience appeal. According to the study, media organisations have a significant impact on public opinion by choosing which topics to cover, how to present those topics and the language and tone of that coverage. These choices have the power to affect which topics are discussed and given attention and how the general public views them. For example, a news article regarding healthcare reform could be presented as either an economic issue, highlighting the expense of healthcare services, or as a public health issue, focussing on access to inexpensive care. Public opinions and perceptions of political issues can be influenced by the framing that media sources choose. The study also confirmed that media outlets have the power to affect what issues gain attention and discussion and to define the public agenda by giving some topics priority and framing them in particular ways. For instance, the public may view a political issue as more important or urgent if it receives a lot of coverage from news organisations.

Mancini et al. (2021) examined immigration coverage in a selection of Belgian, German, British, and Italian publications between January 2013 and April 2014. To answer the question of how and to what degree news media ownership concentration impacts coverage of such a major public interest topic, the study sought to identify which representations of immigration are disseminated through the news media. The results showed that immigration coverage is a complicated topic influenced by various frequently conflicting forces. Findings emphasise that the coverage of immigration cannot be interpreted and assessed from a single perspective. Therefore, it would be incorrect to attribute the coverage of such a major problem to a single component. The results also indicated that there is a clear difference between the Italian and British press regarding the immigration crisis. The Italian press takes a more global stance, emphasising that Italy cannot be left to handle immigration issues alone, focusing on centre management, and all the concrete and pressing issues that the influx of refugees brings up with its dramatic tales. British newspapers emphasise the economic and job issues that the immigration flow raises, deviating from the claims of national politicians. They do not concentrate on human interest stories or the administration of specific immigration regulations. Finally, the results

confirmed that the political orientation of publications has a significant impact on how immigrants are represented. According to the study, some articles explain local events in a balanced manner, primarily concerning the issue and the state of detention facilities and the number of immigrants in the nation. Additionally, several articles focus specifically on the connection between immigration, crime, and security.

Examining how the Syrian refugee crisis is portrayed in digital news and how readers' perspectives are reflected in Germany was the main goal of the research proposed by Ramírez Plascencia (2017). Data was gathered in this study by looking at German online news and reader comments about one noteworthy incident that occurred during the real European migration crisis: the note regarding a Syrian three-year-old child, Aylan Kurdi, who drowned off the coast of Turkey on September 02, 2015. The primary reasons why Aylan Kurdi was selected were its extensive global media coverage and its role as a representation of the deaths brought on by the conflict throughout the years. This study aimed to comprehend how media portrayals of crises affect German citizens' perceptions. According to the study, many news readers do not even identify as racists, but as the analysis of remarks indicates, it is easy to express the same ideological ideas against a certain minority. Syrian or African migrants are subjected to phrases such as "they do not share our values" or to an assumption that nearly all refugees are not in actual danger and merely wish to receive free aid.

By fostering an information environment that frames immigration as society's most important issue, extensive media coverage of immigration, or media salience, has been shown to increase anti-immigrant sentiments among natives. Nevertheless, there have been conflicting results in past studies regarding the connection between media visibility and anti-immigrant sentiments. While some studies have found that media salience has no noticeable impact, others have found that it boosts anti-immigrant sentiment.

Jin (2024) looked at the fundamental causes of these contradictory results and used the idea of public issue salience - the belief that immigration is the most significant issue or worry - to gather evidence. It argued that public issue salience and anti-immigrant sentiments are closely related since the immigration problem is a key point of political struggle. In contrast, the immigration issue stays neutral in a setting where political elites come to an agreement. Because of their similar immigration histories, the emergence of far-right organisations, and the different stances taken by their major political parties on the matter, the UK and Germany were chosen for a comparative examination in this study to investigate

the extent of media salience's influence and the similarities and contrasts among public concern salience and anti-immigration sentiments using a variety of methodologies. The findings indicated that in the UK, where the main political parties had different opinions on the matter, anti-immigrant sentiment is a direct outcome of public issue salience. In contrast, the relation between public issue salience and anti-immigrant sentiments was negligible in Germany, a nation whose key political figures agreed on a welcoming attitude early in the refugee crisis. Hence, media salience raised the importance of public issues but had little effect on anti-immigrant sentiments.

Since the "refugee crisis" in 2015, there has been intense discussion over migration from third countries within the European Union. Popular discussions on immigration-related topics are crucial, and arguably, media coverage may significantly impact popular perceptions of immigration's effects and attitudes.

Eberl et al. (2018) concentrated on how the media in Europe covered immigration and its impacts on immigration. Qualitative and quantitative studies relating media content to public opinion were included in this research. In order to construct the results and define the effect of media coverage on audiences, the study carried out a systematic review of English-language academic journal publications from January 2000 to June 2018. Eighty-nine journal papers examining the effects or content of immigration news coverage in a European nation were found. The study adopted two primary lines of research in this area: agenda-setting and framing. The first strand is predicated on the traditional claim that news gives us what to think about, while the second strand contends that news also instructs us how to think about things. The findings of the research revealed that opinions on the subject are highly varied. Although migrant groups are typically under-represented, when they do appear in the media, they are frequently portrayed negatively as dangers to the economy, culture, and security. The study also found that the format and political tilt of media sources can significantly influence the media discourses surrounding immigration in Europe.

In conclusion, previous studies on media coverage of immigration reveal the powerful role that the media plays in shaping public discourse. The narratives constructed through various media sources can significantly influence individual attitudes and broader societal perceptions of immigration. Understanding these dynamics is crucial for fostering informed discussions on immigration policies and promoting a more nuanced and compassionate understanding of immigrant experiences.

4.1 Theoretical Framework

The newspaper's frame shows and structures specific information to the audience. Media Frames are systems of interpretation that provide beliefs in a particular description and interpretation of a problem. Journalists use framing to explain a complex societal issue. In another sentence, the Frame is a news item's primary organising idea that explains or facilitates comprehension of the topic or occurrence being discussed. A key element of frames is the repetition of similar or identical word and symbol groupings. Journalists can create a tone for an event or topic," by giving it neutral, negative, or positive coverage (Heidenreich et al., 2018).

4.1.1 Framing Theory

Framing theory is widespread in media studies. News media usually frame the news and follow particular editorial lines, and it refers to the media's ability to direct attention to specific points of view and influence how people interpret them. This theory was initially developed by Goffman (1974) and contributed to popularising the study of framing as a mass communication theory. According to Goffman, people frame their experiences to understand problems better. Therefore, the framing hypothesis can explain why news outlets in other countries cover stories differently.

The framing theory assumes that the media selects particular news and puts it in a specific frame to deliver a particular meaning or understanding. This theory is based on the idea that how the news is covered and interpreted shapes the readers' opinion, so this opinion is what the newspaper wants to deliver to the public regarding news perception (Lukyanova, 2018).

Examining journalistic frames of immigration issues is important because of their impact on public attitudes. Unfavourable perceptions of migration in the media often lead to negative attitudes towards immigrants. Suppose these public attitudes are negative towards migrants or refugees; this will lead the local population to hate speech and hostility and may turn into violent crimes against anyone who is not a citizen. The increasing prevalence of

hate speech and rejection in social media and interactive spaces within mainstream media has become a priority of academic inquiry in recent years (Arcila-Calderón et al., 2021).

Vincze et al. (2021) suggested that frames play a crucial role by providing cognitive windows into a narrative and forming the basis of our understanding of news. They also presented the concept of "multiple and intersecting" frames. These frames can be effectively utilized to analyse large corpora, as they consistently call upon the same elements and characteristics, using similar language and symbols in a collection of related interactions (Vincze et al., 2021)

4.1.2 Common Types of Immigration News Frames

Kalfeli et al. (2022) argued that numerous studies on the way the media has covered immigration in various nations have shown that the issue has been framed in many ways, such as a threat to public order, security, and public health, or as a conflict, where immigration is seen as a source of ongoing conflict between political parties and various social groups. There is also the victim frame, where immigrants are seen as victims of injustice, violence, and war who need support and care (Kalfeli et al., 2022).

Vincze et al. (2021) found that securitisation is primarily associated with countries along the Balkan route. The literature study has demonstrated how the securitisation frame also dominates these countries' public discourse. It also illustrates how the prominence of these globally recurring frames may differ by region, reflecting the corresponding governments' public policy stances and potential public diplomacy initiatives (Vincze et al., 2021).

Klawier et al. (2022) concluded that the media nearly exclusively uses frameworks that depict immigrants as a burden or menace to their host nations. This specific frame also portrays immigrants as a threat to the economies or cultures of the receiving countries (Klawier et al., 2022).

Lecheler S., Bos, L., & Vliegthart R. (2015) stated that given that the victimisation frame highlights the unjust suffering that immigrants endure at the hands of society, we might hypothesise that it might lead to a rise in compassion. The emancipation frame, which speaks of independence and immigration as freed citizens, is an emotion that is unlikely to be significant. Similar to this, we would presume that all the frames will arouse anger rather

than fear because immigration is a topic that is frequently associated with threats (Lecheler, S., Bos, L., & Vliegenthart, R., 2015).

Media can significantly influence the public's opinion of a particular political, social, or economic issue by framing and salience. This study uses the framing theory as a lens to investigate, using content analysis, how immigration was reported in Egyptian and European newspapers during the 2015 European immigration crisis. Coverage was examined from March 1 to September 30, 2015. The sample comprised five newspapers, three Egyptian and two European. While the threat framing was more commonly used in most European newspapers, especially in conservative anti-immigration publications, the human rights frame was more commonly found in Egyptian newspapers.

4.2 Methodology

This section details the study's chosen methodological approach, employing a mixed-methods design that integrates both qualitative and quantitative analyses. Specifically, it draws upon in-depth interviews, content analysis, and focus group discussions to provide a comprehensive understanding of media coverage of immigration. The research commenced with in-depth interviews, a qualitative method, conducted with media professionals, including professors, journalists, judges, and media professionals. These interviews provided valuable insights into the perspectives and experiences of those shaping and influencing the public discourse on immigration.

Following the interviews, the study utilised content analysis to establish an analytical framework conducive to achieving its research objectives. This involved a systematic examination of published news articles retrieved from the online platforms of three Egyptian and two European newspapers, covering the period from March 1 to September 30, 2015, encompassing the peak of the European immigration crisis. This content analysis, employed as a quantitative method, aimed to identify and analyse the various media frames utilised by both Egyptian and European newspapers in their reporting on immigration during this critical period. This approach facilitated the comparison of framing strategies across different media systems and allowed for the exploration of potential variations in coverage of the same issue within a specific timeframe. The content analysis also involved a detailed

description of the resources and techniques employed for data collection, specifically outlining the process of extracting news articles from the selected newspaper websites.

Finally, the study incorporated focus group discussions, another qualitative method, with four groups of six migrants and/or refugees residing in Egypt. These discussions provided a platform for exploring and understanding the lived experiences and perspectives of migrants and refugees themselves regarding the portrayal of immigration in both Egyptian and European newspapers during the European immigration crisis. The focus groups offered a valuable counterpoint to the perspectives of media professionals and allowed for a richer, more nuanced understanding of the complex dynamics surrounding media representations of migration.

4.2.1 Research Questions

Research questions rather than hypotheses guide this exploratory research. The thesis established a framework to examine the news coverage concerning immigration issues, aiming to provide diverse perspectives to identify and examine familiar narratives about migrants entering Europe in 2015. This study aims to determine which frames newspapers use to shape public opinion on immigration issues. The content analysis, the interviews, and focus group discussions aim to answer the following research questions:

RQ1- How do the Egyptian newspapers cover immigration issues?

RQ2- How do European newspapers cover immigration issues?

RQ3: What suggestions do you have for improving and developing the Egyptian press's coverage of immigration issues to make it more effective?

The study aimed to answer these questions using a mixed methods approach of quantitative and qualitative methods to investigate the media frame coverage of immigration issues and the perception of migrants and refugees in three Egyptian and two European newspapers. The selection of the newspaper data samples for this study's analysis was the initial step in the research development.

4.2.2 Data Collection

This section presents the data collection tools, study samples of the universe, and data analysis, which the study will rely on. This study relied on a mixed approach combining quantitative and qualitative methods. This includes in-depth interviews, content analysis, and focus group discussions.

1- In-depth individual interviews with journalists, judges, media professors and media experts. It will be a purposive sample that will include interviewees from Egypt and abroad. An outline of questions will be prepared to ensure the interview flows logically and fulfils the research objectives.

2- The content analysis will be conducted on 381 immigration news articles published in Egyptian and European newspapers during the study period.

3- The focus group discussions will be conducted with 24 migrants and /or refugees from different nationalities and living in Egypt.

Data for the content analysis was collected with certain criteria to make the results more accurate. A qualitative descriptive study will be performed using content analysis with PSPP software. The following criteria were used for data collection for the content analysis:

Criteria 1: The newspaper source.

All immigration news published in three different Egyptian newspaper types in Arabic: *Al-Ahram*, a state-controlled national publication, *Al-Masry El-Youm*, a privately owned independent publication, and *Al-Wafd*, a partial publication. In addition, two European newspapers, one from Spain, *El-Pais* (English edition), and *Euronews*.

Criteria 2: The time frame in which news was published.

The news articles collected were published from March 1, 2015, to September 30, 2015.

4.2.3 Study Samples

The study carried out the content analysis on three different newspaper sources, including three Egyptian and two European newspapers. The study aims to explore the type of Egyptian and European newspaper coverage of immigration issues by examining the news published from March 1, 2015, to September 30, 2015, during the European migration crisis.

Study samples include:

- The sample of immigration news was extracted from three Egyptian newspapers: *Al-Ahram*, which is owned by Egyptian state, *Al-Masry El Youm*, which is a private independent newspaper; and *Al-Wafd*, which is a partial newspaper.
- A sample of news from two European newspapers: *El País* (English edition) and Euronews
- A sample of 24 migrants and/or refugees living in Egypt aged between 29 and 39, will be selected to conduct the focus group discussions.
- In-depth interviews will also be conducted with a sample of judges, journalists, professors, activists, and media experts.

Three Egyptian and two European newspapers were selected for the study samples

To analyse and examine Egyptian newspaper coverage of immigration during the 2015 European Immigration Crisis, three types of Egyptian newspapers were selected based on specific criteria. These included *Al-Ahram*, a state-owned publication reflecting the views and policies of the Egyptian government; *Al-Masry Al-Youm*, a privately owned newspaper; and *Al-Wafd*, representing the liberal popular movement of the Egyptian Al Wafd Party. These publications offered a range of perspectives within the Egyptian media landscape. In addition, two European news sources were chosen for comparative analysis: the English edition of the Spanish newspaper *El-País* and the international news network *Euronews*. These selections allowed for a comparison of coverage between Egyptian and European media outlets.

Data collection presented some challenges. While electronic resources at the UAB library were initially consulted, they did not provide access to the selected Egyptian newspapers. Consequently, alternative sources were utilised. News articles from *Al-Masry Al-Youm* and *Al-Wafd* were accessed and retrieved directly from their respective websites. *Al-Ahram* presented a further obstacle, as online access to its archives for the research period was unavailable. To overcome this, a visit to the newspaper's headquarters in Cairo was undertaken, enabling the researcher to access and archive relevant immigration news published during the study period. The resulting sample of news items from the three Egyptian newspapers comprised 235 articles published between March 1, 2015, and September 30, 2015. All articles were downloaded and saved in PDF format.

For the European newspapers analysis, the English edition of *El-País* and *Euronews* were selected. The data collection process for these sources was more straightforward. A total of 146 news items from these two European sources, covering the same period as the Egyptian articles, were collected and saved in PDF format. Therefore, the total corpus of news items analyzed in this study consisted of 381 articles, encompassing both Egyptian and European media coverage of the 2015 European Immigration Crisis.

The sample period for the content analysis, spanning from March 1 to September 30, 2015, was selected for several key reasons.

First, as documented in the Danish Refugee Council's Annual Report 2020, 2015 witnessed a dramatic surge in migration flows, with over 911,000 migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers reaching European shores via the Mediterranean. The vast majority of these individuals were fleeing conflict and war. The report also highlights the devastating human cost of these journeys, estimating nearly 20,000 lives lost in the Mediterranean between 2014 and 2019 (D.R.C. Annual Report, 2020).

Second, the ongoing Syrian conflict, which began in March 2011, had a significant impact on these migration patterns. By 2015, millions of Syrians had already fled their country, and many continued to risk perilous sea crossings in attempts to reach Europe (D.R.C. Annual Report, 2020).

Third, 2015 was marked by a series of tragic maritime disasters in the Mediterranean. Several instances of overcrowded boats sinking resulted in significant loss of life. For example, in April 2015, it is estimated that nearly 1,500 people perished at sea. Other similar tragedies occurred throughout the year, including one incident where over 600 people drowned and another where approximately 700 lives were lost off the coast of Libya (UNHCR, 2015). Concurrent with these tragedies, large numbers of Syrian migrants were arriving in Greece from Turkey, often undertaking the dangerous crossing between the Turkish coast and the Greek islands, particularly Lesbos (UNHCR, 2015).

Finally, the photo of the three-year-old Syrian boy Aylan Kurdi, whose body washed ashore on a Turkish beach in September 2, 2015, became a powerful symbol of the human cost of the crisis. The widespread dissemination of this image through social media, reaching an estimated 20 million people globally, sparked intense debate across Europe about the plight of those seeking refuge. By the time Aylan's body was recovered, over

200,000 people had risked their lives crossing the Mediterranean, and tragically, more than 2,600 had died (UNHCR, 2015). These factors combined to make 2015 a pivotal year in the European migration crisis, making it a crucial period for the study's content analysis.

4.2.4 Coding and Data Analysis

Coding, the process of assigning symbolic representations to responses to facilitate categorisation, is crucial for organising data into a manageable number of classes relevant to the research question (Dibekulu Bahir, 2020). The coding process began with the identification of significant excerpts from the transcripts and the development of initial codes. The subsequent analytical stage involved interpreting these data extracts by identifying emergent codes within the transcribed material (Peel, 2020).

According to Wimmer & Dominick's (2011), content categories can be created through various methods. This study used emergent coding. The classification of data was done after an initial look, which allowed for the step-by-step improvement of the coding system. Specifically, the coding sheet was finalised once the researcher had gained a deep understanding of the data, making it possible to create relevant and practical categories (Wimmer & Dominick, 2011). In the same context, Chong & Druckman (2007) point out the effectiveness of content analysis for looking at framing in communication, especially after a coding tool has been made for the articles being examined.

Data analysis is a key part of research, greatly increasing the validity and impact of the study's findings. After collecting the data, it must be go through careful processing and analysis, based on the already decided research plan. This is essential for maintaining the strictness of the study, allowing for significant comparisons and clear interpretations (Dibekulu Bahir, 2020).

The unit of analysis in this study consisted of news articles retrieved from Egyptian and European newspapers. All texts within these articles that referenced perceptions of migrants and refugees or described/evaluated immigration coverage were coded. The media sample comprised 235 news items from the three Egyptian newspapers (*Al-Ahram*, *Al-Masry Al-Youm*, and *Al-Wafd*) and 146 news items from the two European sources (*El País* [English edition] and *Euronews*), resulting in a total sample of 381 news texts. The PSPP software was used to analyse the coded data, identifying patterns, relationships, and trends to facilitate informed conclusions. Additionally, data collected through interviews and focus group discussions (in audio or video format) were transcribed, and the resulting text was analysed

to ensure data integrity. Relationships between identified data patterns and the research questions were explored, and the findings were contextualised within existing knowledge and research in the field.

To assess the various verbal news frames employed, each newspaper article, including any accompanying photographs, was thoroughly examined and coded. Framing patterns were then identified using the categories defined in the coding scheme, which included in (Appendix 2) of the study. The coding tool itself was developed after a careful analysis of numerous media articles. The coding process involved a close reading of each article to identify the main narrative frame and subsequently determine its specific type. With a focus on the language used to portray migrants and refugees, all 381 news articles were examined to determine the most prevalent news frames used in reporting on immigration issues from March 1 to September 30, 2015.

The Coding Categories Included:

- 1-The code “The perception of migrants” contained three subcodes: migrants as threats, migrants as victims, migrants’ integration.
- 2- The code “Migrant-receiving countries” contained six subcodes: Egypt, Germany, Spain, Hungary, Turkey, EU.
- 3- The code “Migrant’s voices” contained three subcodes: inclusion of migrant voices with dignity, exclusion of migrant voices, and inclusion of NGOs or other networks that work for migrants.
- 4- The code “Newspapers and national immigration policies” contained four subcodes: to enforce border control, to foreground assimilation of migrants, to foreground multiculturalism, new Integration policies.
- 5- The code “Type of coverage” contained four subcodes: human rights approach, economy approach, legal approach, human tragedy approach.
- 6- The code “Aylan Kurdi Photo” contained two subcodes: yes, no.
- 7- The code “Newspapers name” contained five subcodes: Al-Ahram (AH), Al-Masry Al Youm (AM), Al-Wafd (AW), El-País (EP), Euronews (EU)
- 8- The code “Photo included” contained two subcodes: yes, no.
- 9- The code “Month of the news issued” contained seven subcodes: March, April, May, June, July, August, September

4.2.5 Mixed Methods Approach

Many definitions of mixed methods research have been proposed over time. Although the variety and specifics of these definitions differ, almost all of them refer to the combination of qualitative and quantitative research techniques (Guest & Fleming, 2015). Research using mixed methodologies includes both qualitative and quantitative elements. In a single study that tackles the same research topic but calls for distinct methodologies, mixed-methods research may be able to provide answers to several research questions (Hadi et al., 2013).

According to Dawadi et al. (2021), there are many advantages to using mixed methods in the same study. For example, a mixed-method study methodology is required to investigate complex social phenomena and comprehend their details. A mixed-method research approach also helps a researcher answer both confirmatory and explanatory questions at the same time, particularly in collaborative and practical research. Additionally, researchers can explain potentially contradictory results that arise from the application of multiple approaches by using a mixed-method study design. Furthermore, combining data from many sources or employing data from numerous approaches provides more reliable results that may support research implications and conclusions (Dawadi et al., 2021).

The main research methods applied in this study are content analysis, in-depth interviews, and focus group discussions. This study is an example of a mixed methods approach. The study includes both qualitative and quantitative research components. Qualitative data are derived from in-depth interviews and focus group discussions, while quantitative data are derived from content analysis.

The In-depth Interviews

One of the most important techniques in social science research is the interview. Even though the technique is widely used, there are recognisable features that set good interviews apart from exceptional ones. Great interviewing is surprisingly challenging, on one hand, because it is a skill that must be developed over time and on other hand, because interviewers are often restricted by traditional rules of conduct that prevent them from having unrestricted access to the subjects of their interviews (Hermanowicz, 2002).

Any social scientist's methodological tool should include interviews, but researchers must use them appropriately. As qualitative methods have generally become more popular in the social sciences, researchers have also begun to combine qualitative and quantitative approaches in increasingly complex ways. The interview has emerged as the key element of a qualitative study that is increasingly being discussed in published assessments (Sayrs, 1998). Collecting a large amount of data from a small sample using simple methods allows researchers to obtain thorough information and a better understanding of the subject. The ability to examine the generated data while accounting for participants' social lives is one way that interviews and other qualitative techniques in social science research differ from quantitative methods (Moser & Korstjens, 2018).

The benefits of conducting interviews include allowing interviewees to talk in their own voice and convey their ideas and emotions, in addition to providing a comprehensive picture, analysing language, and reporting in-depth perspectives of informants (Alshenqeeti, 2014). However, interviews are valuable because they allow researchers to find information that is probably not accessible using techniques such as questionnaires and observations. Additionally, they note that interviews are a natural form of interaction that can occur in a variety of settings and are not only a means of gathering data (Blaxter et al., 2006).

On the other hand, research projects should strictly adhere to ethical guidelines while working with human subjects. Every step of the interview process should take ethical considerations into account. That is, before taking part in the interview, participants should give their informed consent; this is a crucial step that researchers should follow throughout the entire study. Therefore, researchers should guarantee that the data acquired will be completely confidential and anonymous in order to protect the participants' rights and prevent any harm from occurring. More significantly, participants should be informed that they are under no obligation to continue with the interview and can leave at any moment (Alshenqeeti, 2014).

According to this perspective, conducting in-depth interviews with media professionals, journalists, activists, and experts would be necessary to obtain a more thorough understanding of the significant relationship between news media and the framing of immigration issues in 2015 in Egyptian and European newspapers. This study involved conducting interviews with nine judges, media professionals, journalists, and media specialists who were chosen based on their qualifications and specialisations to gather their

opinions and experiences regarding newspaper coverage of the 2015 European migrant crisis.

Nine people make up the purposive sample that served as the basis for the in-depth interview: one media professor; one Professor of Practice of Global Affairs and Director of the Center for Migration and Refugee Studies, School of Global Affairs, The American University in Cairo; two Egyptian journalists, one Greek journalist, one researcher in the Egyptian National Council for Human Rights, the Chairman of the National Coordinating Committee for Combating and Preventing Illegal Migration and Trafficking in Persons (NCCPIMTIP), one Egyptian judge at the Appeal Criminal Court of Alexandria, and the director of the Independent Diplomat Organisation in Geneva office. Independent Diplomat (ID) is a non-profit diplomatic advising organisation that works to strengthen the diplomatic capabilities of democratic governments and marginalised people to establish more inclusive, successful, and long-lasting peace processes and international agreements to address the needs and priorities of people most impacted by crises and conflicts.

The In-depth Interview protocol is included in (Appendix 1) of the study.

The primary goal of mixed methods is to apply analysis by combining the collection of both qualitative and quantitative data in a study or research project. In this regard, the study's primary approach at the second level was content analysis, which examined the articles' existing content with an emphasis on the framing of immigration events

The Content Analysis

Content analysis is one of the most important quantitative methods, involving methodically examining the body of text to increase its validity and reliability for conclusions (Kamel, 2021).

Analysis of media content has become a popular research method among media and communication scholars and practitioners, as well as sociologists, political scientists, and critical scholars, due to the central role that mass media and, more recently, social media play in modern, knowledgeable societies. This is especially true given the intense interest in and frequent concern about the effects of media content on awareness, attitudes, and behaviour among media consumers (Macnamara, 2018).

One of the most trustworthy quantitative methods for examining news reporting and how social actors are portrayed in the media is content analysis. The studies of mass communication since the 1950s have given attention to content analysis, a qualitative or quantitative technique for methodically examining written, spoken, or visual evidence (White & Marsh, 2006). Books, manuscripts, drawings, photographs, conversations that have been recorded, events that have been videotaped, entries on blogs, comments on online forums and electronic mailing lists are just a few examples of the many different sources from which the content may be gathered. Analysing content involves dividing it into conceptual units, which are subsequently coded or given names. As the analysis is conducted, the categories are developed through qualitative analysis, and the conclusions on the text's messages are drawn from the findings (Koufogiannakis et al., 2004).

According to Macnamara (2018), content analysis has been defined and implemented as a quantitative research method for the majority of its history, and it frequently continues to employ this methodological approach today. Mixed method approaches are becoming more popular, nevertheless, as more scholars support content analysis as a qualitative technique (Macnamara, 2018). However, content analysis is an experimentally supported approach that goes beyond conventional ideas of symbols, contents, and intents and has been driven to create its methodology. Content analysis is a research method for drawing reliable and valid conclusions from texts (Krippendorff, 2019).

Since finding patterns is crucial and aids researchers in methodologically assessing news media and its framing, quantitative content analysis was selected as the approach for the thesis's study subject. As one of the issues of this study is the changes in media perspective towards migrants and refugees, content analysis is actually quite helpful in this regard. We can determine who is in charge of assisting in the construction of the messages, either governments, media owners, journalists, or editors, by using this incredibly helpful technique for detecting latent and manifest signals in media texts. Therefore, using content analysis techniques to describe the nature of the content and explore different variables to make interpretive assumptions is acceptable in this study (Kamel, 2021).

The content analysis of this study included 381 news articles published in Egyptian and European newspapers from March 1 to September 30, 2015. It involved three Egyptian newspapers, *Al-Ahram*, *Al-Masry Al-Youm*, and *Al-Wafd*, and two European newspapers, *El-Pais* (English edition) and *Euronews*. This approach will help highlight the roles of news

coverage and language use in migrant representations, including the perception of migrants and refugees, immigration policies, migrant voices, and the type of newspaper' coverage.

Focus Group Discussions

Focus group discussion is a qualitative research method that is very suitable for collecting data from a selected group of people who discuss their own opinions and experiences about specific topics provided by the moderator. This technique/tool is widely used in communication studies, and it allows interaction with the participants to share their thoughts, knowledge, and attitudes in a free and comfortable environment (Adler et al., 2019).

Focus group discussion has many advantages. It provides rich data that cannot be obtained through individual interviews or open surveys, as it relies on the interaction and discussion process within the group to generate data. On the other hand, interaction in a focus group encourages participants to express opinions and feelings they might not reveal in individual interviews, which provides the researcher with opportunities for a deep understanding of the issue. At the same time, the participants' interaction helps generate new ideas and formulate shared concepts that go beyond individual information. This technique aids the researcher in interpreting the data by providing insight into the group's interactions and the reasons for those dynamics (Catterall & Maclaran, 1997).

Methods of the Focus Group Discussion

The study used focus group discussions as a qualitative method to collect rich and in-depth data, enabling the collation of individual thoughts and feelings. This method was employed to explore questions about the experiences and perspectives of the participants on how Egyptian and European newspapers cover immigration issues.

This methodology aims to explain the nature of this research and the theories underpinning the data collection methods. The data collected through this method cannot be quantified or measured. Techniques used in qualitative research comprise "small-group discussions" to examine beliefs and attitudes about normal behavior (Hammarberg et al., 2016).

The steps involved in the focus group discussion included planning, participant recruitment, facilitating discussions, analysing participants' answers, and reporting findings. The researcher prepared a list of pertinent questions for the focus group discussions based on the research goals and the literature analysis, and these questions evolved into themes.

Participants and Data Collections

In qualitative research, the sampling process is a vital phase because it significantly impacts the overall quality of the study (Tuckett, 2004). Therefore, 24 participants were chosen according to specific criteria: Migrants and/or refugees, males and females, aged 29 to 39 years old, living in Egypt, to share their experiences about how Egyptian and European newspapers cover immigration issues. The discussions focused on the tone, accuracy, type of coverage, media frame, and portrayal of immigration in Egyptian and European newspapers during the immigration crisis in 2015.

The function of the moderator is critical for the effectiveness of the focus group. The moderator clearly explained the purpose of the discussions and the related expectations of the group, guided discussions by specifying the subjects to be covered and steered the flow of the dialogue. Additionally, the moderator ensured that the discussion stayed on track and that the group focused on the important topics of interest. Therefore, the use of prepared questions during the focus group session is recommended (Blackburn & Stokes, 2000).

The approach used to recruit the participants for the research was through contact with the administration responsible for the Saints Church located in Alexandria, Egypt, which is the place where some migrants and refugees live. A total of 24 participants were selected from 30 migrants and refugees because they fit the research criteria. All groups were presented with a previously prepared introduction and questions.

The focus group sessions took place in the main room of the Saints Church in Alexandria, Egypt, a location with which all participants were familiar. Each focus group session lasted for one hour.

Four focus groups were formed for this study, each composed of six individuals who knew each other. All of them were migrants and/or refugees based in Egypt. Each participant was contacted personally and asked to participate, and all agreed and signed the informed consent.

Participants Profiles

Table (2) shows the participant's profiles of the four focus group discussions.

Table (2) Participant's profiles

Information	Focus Group (1)	Focus Group (2)	Focus Group (3)	Focus Group (4)
Numbers	6 Participants	6 Participants	6 Participants	6 Participants
Aged	29-36 years	33-34 years	33-38 years	30-39 years
Gender	5 males 1 female	4 males 2 females	4 males 2 females	4 males 2 females
Nationality	Syria, Yemen, Sudan	Syria, Yemen, Sudan, Lebanon	Syria, Yemen, Somalia, Sudan, Morocco	Syria, Yemen, Sudan
Time in Egypt	2-7 years	6-10 years	3-7 years	1-8 years

Analytical Method

Thematic analysis was used to analyse the data for this study. According to Braun & Clarke (2006), thematic analysis should be regarded as a fundamental technique for qualitative research analysis. It is the primary qualitative analysis method that the researchers must consider initially because it provides them with the essential skills that will be beneficial for performing various other types of qualitative analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). As a result, thematic analysis was used to identify, analyse, and describe thematic areas.

Maguire & Delahunt (2017) suggest that thematic analysis involves recognising patterns or themes within qualitative data. Unlike numerous qualitative methodologies, it is not restricted to a specific theoretical standpoint. One major advantage of the theme analysis was its flexibility, which made it possible to choose the best research approach for the phenomenon being studied. Finding important themes and patterns in the data and using

them to make observations about a certain topic is the aim of thematic analysis (Maguire & Delahunt, 2017). Furthermore, by using an inductive approach to extract themes from the original data, the researcher can avoid forcing a predetermined conclusion. It is recommended that foundational analysis and data collection take place in parallel, with the analysis growing more concentrated as the study progresses (Peel, 2020).

Focus group discussions for this study aimed to explore the perspectives of samples of migrants and refugees living in Egypt about how Egyptian and European newspapers cover immigration issues and what is necessary to improve this coverage. The discussions also explored the role of newspapers in shaping public attitudes towards migrants and refugees, as well as the role that newspapers can play in integrating them into host societies. The focus group discussions' protocol was included in (Appendix 4) of the study and the answers of all participants in the four focus group discussions were recorded very accurately.

Ethics

Every step of the research process needs to take ethical considerations into account (Clarke, & Braun, 2013). As a result, the focus group component of this study was on professional and ethical frameworks.

Ethical guidelines for the focus group aligned with those of the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. Before the session started, all participants were provided with complete information regarding the study's objectives. The participants' confidentiality was upheld by ensuring that individuals would not be identified in any published materials. In addition, those who agreed to participate in the research were informed about the study's goals and objectives. Before beginning the focus group interview, the researcher and the participant signed a consent form, which is included in (Appendix 5) of the study. These forms are necessary to protect the anonymity and identification of participants.

The researcher made concrete efforts to ensure that the participants were not harmed. Nevertheless, the risks associated with these focus group discussions were reduced due to the face-to-face nature of the interviews. Additionally, the participants were made aware that they could choose to withdraw from the focus group session at any time if they felt uncomfortable or unsafe. This information was communicated to the participants before starting the group discussions to reduce the risk of any potential harm.

The participants were informed that if they decided to take part in this study, their identity would remain confidential, and only members of the research team would have

access to the study data. Pseudonyms would always be used if case studies need to be presented. The participants were also informed that the informed consent form would be kept safe by the principal investigators and destroyed five years after the end of the study. When the research was over, and all data had been analysed, the whole database will be anonymised and available to other interested researchers.

CHAPTER FIVE

FINDINGS

This chapter includes three sections:

- 5.1 Findings of In-depth interviews.
- 5.2 Findings of Content Analysis.
- 5.3 Findings of the Focus Group Discussions.

5.1 Findings of the In-depth Interviews

Media coverage of immigration is a complex process, especially within national borders, which poses unique challenges for journalists as they deal with this phenomenon. However, Immigration coverage can be used as a political tool because it provokes emotional reactions in public attitudes towards immigration and migrants. It shapes the public's perceptions of migrants, reflected in migrants' integration into host countries.

The In-depth interview is considered one of the qualitative methods. It enables researchers to gain comprehensive information and an understanding of the topic by gathering extensive information from a small sample through uncomplicated procedures. The sequence of interviews is determined by the respondents and the way the interviews progress. Interviews entail exchanges between the interviewer and the responder based on interview questions (Moser & Korstjens, 2018). The ability of interviews and other qualitative methods to assess the data while accounting for the social lives of participants sets them apart from quantitative methods in social science research (Alshenqeeti, 2014).

This study examines the coverage of Immigration issues in three Egyptian and two European newspapers. To conduct this analysis, in-depth interviews were conducted with nine media professionals at various levels, including a Media Professor Specialising in Mass Communications from the Arab Academy for Science, Technology, and Maritime Transport, Egypt; a Professor of Practice of Global Affairs and the Director of the Center for Migration and Refugee Studies, School of Global Affairs, The American University in Cairo; two Egyptian journalists, one from *Al-Ahram* newspaper, and the other is the Editor-in-Chief of Nile TV Egyptian Channel; one Greek journalist and communications manager at UNICEF, one Egyptian judge at the Appeal Criminal Court of Alexandria; a researcher at the Egyptian National Council of Human Rights; Former Egyptian Ambassador/Chairman of the National

Coordinating Committee for Combating and Preventing Illegal Migration and Trafficking in Persons; and Director of the Independent Diplomat Organisation in the Geneva office.

The media professors included Sally Tayie, a professor of mass media at the Arab Academy for Science, Technology and Maritime Transport, Cairo, and Ibrahim Awad, Professor of Practice of Global Affairs and Director of the Center for Migration and Refugee Studies, School of Global Affairs, The American University in Cairo. The Egyptian journalists included Mohamed El Kazaz, who was chosen because he works for state-owned Al-Ahram newspapers and is one of the most important specialists in reporting immigration issues, and Hamed Mahmoud, the Editor-in-Chief of Nile TV Egyptian Channel. Egyptian Judge Mohamed Shoaib, the President of the High Criminal Appeal Court of Alexandria, specialised in Immigration cases; Ahmed Abd Elgayed, a researcher at the Egyptian National Council of Human Rights; Former Ambassador Naela Gabr, Chairman of the Egyptian National Coordinating Committee for Combating and Preventing Illegal Migration and Trafficking in Persons (NCCPIMTIP); Greek Journalist Anna Pantelia, award-winning photojournalist and humanitarian communications expert with 12 years of experience in non-profit communications and media work, such as Doctors Without Borders and now she is working as a communications manager UNICEF. Her work was published in major media outlets such as CNN, Al Jazeera, Newsweek, BBC, The Telegraph, The Guardian and more. Finally, Guillaume Charron, Director of the Independent Diplomat (ID) Organisation in the Geneva office.

Certain steps were taken to conduct these interviews and achieve the objectives of this research. Firstly, the names of media professors, journalists, and immigration experts were carefully selected. Secondly, the interviews were conducted online by Zoom and recorded for accuracy. Each interview lasted approximately 40 minutes. Thirdly, after recording the interviews, it is essential to transfer them to a written format to facilitate the analysis

Specific Significant Issues Were Discussed Through the Interviews, Including: (These issues were taken as the interviews' categories)

- The perceptions of migrants and refugees in Egyptian and European newspapers.
- Migrants' voices in immigration news.
- The newspaper's role in raising awareness about immigration issues.

- Characteristics of Egyptian newspaper's coverage of immigration issues.
- Suggestions to improve Egyptian newspaper coverage of immigration issues.

The Perceptions of Migrants and Refugees in Egyptian and European Newspapers

When asked about the perceptions of migrants and refugees in Egyptian and European newspapers, it was argued by **Ibrahim Awad**, Professor of Practice of Global Affairs and Director of the Center for Migration and Refugee Studies, School of Global Affairs, The American University in Cairo, that migration is not a problem but a subject that must be managed wisely. Migration is a natural thing, not a problem for Egypt, for Europe or in general. The overwhelming majority of European experts do not consider what happened in 2014 until 2016 as a crisis, but it is said to be a crisis among European countries in how to accommodate refugees who began moving to Europe in 2014 rather than earlier. The revolutions in the Middle East, known as the Arab Spring phenomenon, began in 2011 and caused millions of people to emigrate, for example, Lebanon was filled with migrants, as well as Jordan and Turkey, though not a large number compared to the European continent's population. At this time, media coverage in European countries developed according to their geographical location. Countries bordering the European Union that have received more refugee flows, such as Greece and Italy, have had a crisis in how to regulate the reception of these refugees. On the contrary, a country such as the Czech Republic found very few refugees, yet its political attitude towards refugees from the Arab region and the Middle East was an expression of unwillingness to receive them, while that attitude differed when receiving Ukrainian refugees, for example. In addition, the press is not unified even within the same country. We cannot say that there is a French press, but we can say there are press outlets that expresses the far right or the left, and the newspaper's trends vary depending on its political position. In general, the theory of security and threat prevailed in most of the European press's coverage of migration topics, and the Egyptian press imported this tender and adopted its security media framework. Indeed, some Egyptian academics are talking about the threat of migration to European culture just as European academics do.

According to **Sally Tayie**, professor of mass media at the Arab Academy for Science, Technology and Maritime Transport, Egypt, much European press tends to associate

migration with crime, economic threats, and security risks. For instance, when an immigration-related crime is reported, the media often highlights the involvement of non-natives, thereby reinforcing the narrative that links migration with criminality and potential economic or security concerns. At the same time, the choice of language to depict migrants and refugees, such as “invasion”, waves of migrants, and cockroaches, dehumanises them. Such rhetoric can incite hate speech against immigrants and refugees. However, it is important to note that segments of the European press focus on migration as a humanitarian crisis, advocating for policymakers to respond decisively to these pressing issues.

On the other hand, the Egyptian media often prioritizes factual information and statistics over a deeper exploration of the causes of migration and the challenges faced by migrants. Recently, there has been considerable coverage of the influx of Sudanese migrants into Egypt, particularly in Cairo. The press highlights the efforts of the Egyptian government and international organizations such as UNHCR to facilitate their settlement. However, there is a noticeable lack of reporting on the lived experiences and daily struggles of these migrants. This pattern is not exclusive to the Egyptian press; it is a broader trend observed in news outlets worldwide, which frequently overlooks the personal narratives and realities that underpin migration stories.

From the perspective of **Mohamed El Kazaz**, who is a journalist specialising in immigration coverage at Al-Ahram newspapers, the Egyptian and European newspapers display contrasting approaches reflecting border, social, and political contexts. Recently, in Egypt, immigration issues have received limited attention, and when covered, they often reflect a state-sponsored narrative that minimises the gravity of the crisis. The Egyptian media tends to frame migrants and refugees who live in Egypt, not as individuals facing horrible circumstances but rather as “guests”. This terminology downplays the challenges these individuals face and ignores their status as refugees, often leading to a discourse that fosters hate speech. At the same time, Egyptian media has focused on security concerns related to migration, especially with the ongoing conflict in Syria. This has led to narratives that paint migrants as potential threats to social stability, further promoting fear and hostility towards them. Media discourse in Egyptian newspapers, when talking about migration issues, has shifted from extreme sympathy to a kind of economic threat. There is a need to have a so-called press of sympathy when dealing with migration issues. There has been a growing trend of hate speech towards migrants and refugees in Egypt, with media suggesting that they are responsible for the economic difficulties, such as raising housing rents. This

discourse often aligns with anti-refugee sentiments expressed on social media, which challenge the state's more neutral or positive framing of migrants.

Contrastingly, certain European journalists adopt a more compassionate approach, utilising what might be termed the “Press of sympathy”. These journalists strive to empathise with migrants by highlighting their tragic journeys, struggles, and the humanity behind their circumstances. This coverage often seeks to place readers in the shoes of the immigrants, shedding light on the harsh realities they endure, including violence and exploitation. Taking into account that Europe's atmosphere is not always sympathetic, the spread of hate speech and anti-immigrant attitudes in certain media channels is a concerning trend that has aided in the emergence of far-right ideology. For example, the narratives presented in the European newspapers contributed to public fear and hostility towards migrants, influencing the view of refugees as security risks rather than people in need of aid.

According to **Journalist Hamed Mahmoud**, the Editor-in-Chief of Nile TV Egyptian Channel, the Egyptian press did not have its terminology when dealing with migration issues. Some European newspapers express the far-right wing in European countries such as Germany, Austria, England and others that portray migration issues as a major crisis because they put pressure on the social security network. Unfortunately, some Egyptian journalists have turned to the translation of this news and articles expressing the far right in Europe, although the proportion is small compared to the rest of society. The translation of this news and the use of the terminology used by the European press is a trap in which some Egyptian journalists who do the transcription and paste these articles, portraying to the Egyptian readers that there is a crisis in Europe because of migration, while we have, for example, the German model that has absorbed more than 800,000 Syrian refugees during the crisis in 2015. In the past, Egyptian newspapers had correspondents working around the world to convey the true picture of any problem, but now newspapers rely on translating news published in foreign newspapers, which may not reflect the true portrayal of the issue in different countries because the journalist relies on conveying the news by copying and pasting.

In the same context, **Ambassador Naela Gabr**, Chairman of the Egyptian National Coordinating Committee for Combating and Preventing Illegal Migration and Trafficking in Persons (NCCPIMTIP), mentioned that Egyptian media largely track the official government stance, referring to migrants and refugees living in Egypt as “guests” and refraining from criticising their presence in the country. This aligns with the Egyptian

president's view, which aims to project a welcoming image. Despite the official policy, there is an underlying tension due to the economic crisis in Egypt. The presence of migrants and refugees is contributing to limited job availability, particularly in the informal sector, which is the primary employment venue for many Egyptians. While media outlets avoid direct criticism, they may recognise the frustrations of the local population regarding competition for jobs. On the other hand, there are expressions of dissatisfaction on social media platforms like Facebook and WhatsApp, where some Egyptian citizens call for migrants to return to their home countries this reflects a division between the official narrative and the sentiments of some of the population. Egyptian media exercise caution in discussing immigration issues to avoid backlash, as public attitudes could lead to consequences for journalists. The media landscape remains regulated, emphasising the importance of adhering to government messaging.

According to European newspapers, their approach to migration is linked with the security lens, viewing the influx of migrants as a potential threat. This perspective is closely tied to the policies and actions of agencies like "Frontex" which focus on border control and security measures. The discourse in European media reveals a contradiction in how different groups of migrants and refugees are treated. While some migrants, particularly those from conflict zones like Syria, are treated with flexibility, others are often labelled as illegal or problematic. This double standard points to a border politicisation of immigration issues. Although there are instances of media adopting a humanitarian approach using language that emphasises the need for support and protection of migrants and refugees, this is not the dominant narrative. The focus remains on the challenges posed by migration rather than on the humanitarian needs of refugees and migrants themselves. In general, the European political landscape reflects concerns over migration, leading to policies aimed at limiting arrivals and reinforcing security measures. Media coverage tends to reflect this broader political narrative, often emphasising fears associated with migration rather than opportunities for integration or assistance.

This was confirmed by **Ahmed Abd Elgayed**, a researcher at the Egyptian National Council of Human Rights, who said that the majority of Egyptian newspapers portray immigrants and refugees who are living in Egypt in a positive light, emphasising their integration into Egyptian society while framing them as "guests" rather than burdens. This approach reflects a commitment to safeguarding the dignity and feelings of refugees and migrants, which has contributed to a relatively welcoming environment for many Sudanese

and Syrian refugees. However, this favourable portrayal may overlook the challenges faced by Egyptian citizens, including rising housing costs and the strain on resources due to the influx of refugees, particularly in Cairo. The media's emphasis on a sympathetic narrative may mistakenly hide the complexity of this circumstance, emphasising the need to find a careful balance between locals' concerns and empathy for migrants. The recent focus on regulation in Egypt stems from its significant economic impact on the country and its citizens. This situation has attracted attention from both traditional media and social media platforms, reflecting the pressing concerns of Egyptian society. As the discourse on migration continues to evolve, it will be essential for the Egyptian press to address both perspectives more comprehensively, ensuring that the voices and challenges of all communities are adequately represented.

On the other hand, **Judge Mohamed Shoaib**, the President of the High Criminal Appeal Court of Alexandria, mentioned that the coverage of immigration issues in both European and Egyptian media has evolved significantly since the 2015 migration crisis, with notable differences in approach and perception.

European media initially provided extensive coverage of the 2015 migration crisis, driven by international attention and the scale of events. However, since then, there has been a decline in both the quantity and quality of reporting on immigration issues. Many reports fail to provide an in-depth analysis of the root causes of migration or the experiences of migrants and refugees themselves. Meanwhile, European newspapers often use language that portrays migrants and refugees in a negative light, employing terms like "illegal immigrants", "burden" or "influx of people invading Europe" or even "animals". This dehumanising language can create fear and obsession rather than understanding and empathy.

On the other hand, the approach in Egyptian newspapers to immigration differs significantly from that of European outlets, particularly between state-owned and independent newspapers. State-owned newspapers tend to provide less extensive reporting on immigration issues, and when immigration is covered, it is often framed in terms of financial difficulties and security concerns for receiving countries. In addition, the stories of migrants are typically told from the journalist's point of view, which can lead to stereotypes and misunderstandings; there are a few spaces for migrants and refugees to tell their own stories from their point of view. While independent newspaper outlets are more likely to portray refugees as victims of tragic circumstances, they often highlight the reasons behind

migration, such as war, persecution, discrimination or racism. Independent media also tends to report on physical violence and human rights violations experienced by refugees and migrants.

From the perspective of **Journalist Anna Pantelia**, communications manager at UNICEF, due to the right-wing media in many European countries, including Greece, when European newspapers talk about single men coming to Europe for work, they frame it as if it is an invasion of people who don't deserve asylum. Nobody is talking about the fact that these are asylum seekers in the media. Of course, some media did long stories about specific cases of asylum seekers, but the language was very problematic. For example, “when I'm writing press release articles about refugees, I try to be extra careful with the language that I am using, so I avoid words like migration crisis or refugee crisis”. Unfortunately, newspapers use words like “waves, migration waves, flows, something that you cannot control the waves, it is a bit like violence coming to you, a huge mess is coming to you”. These kinds of words that they're using, and this kind of vocabulary makes you feel worried, you feel attacked, or you feel threatened, and even when you say migration is a refugee crisis, again, the crisis is something negative. “Actually, it was a kind of humanitarian crisis because people were crossing the sea, people were dying, and the conditions were terrible in the reception facilities in Greece, Italy, and other countries that were receiving refugees, while the headline news talked about the crisis coming to your country, not a humanitarian crisis that refugees and migrants are facing. Also, the fact that they call it a migration crisis, while most of the people, the vast majority of people were asylum seekers, coming from countries that are either war-torn or experiencing conflict in their country.

According to **Guillaume Charron**, Director of the Independent Diplomat Organisation in the Geneva office, initially, there was a sympathetic response to the crisis, with many governments and media outlets expressing support for the Syrian opposition and welcoming refugees. The publication of photos, such as the image of a dead Syrian boy, Aylan Kurdi, on a Turkish beach sparked a wave of public sympathy and calls to help those fleeing conflict. However, right-wing media outlets, such as The Sun and The Daily Telegraph in the UK, were less sympathetic and often used scaremongering tactics to portray migrants and refugees as a threat. Despite this, there was a sense of solidarity among Europeans, with many recognising that the European system was broken and in need of reform. The left-wing criticism argued that Western countries were using their power and resources to manage and control refugee flows, replicating colonialism and imperialism. On

the other hand, the right-wing narrative emerged, arguing that the system was broken, and that the solution lay in closing borders and stopping migration. Overall, the media portrayal of migrants and refugees during the 2015 crisis was complex and multifaceted, reflecting a range of different perspectives and narratives. While there was some sympathy and support for those fleeing conflict, there were also strong criticisms and fears about the impact of migration on European societies.

Considering Egyptian newspapers, During the 2015 migration crisis, the Egyptian media portrayed migrants and refugees with a mix of lack of understanding and secondary visibility. The media did not explicitly present negative stereotypes but rather reflected a lack of clarity about what a refugee is, perpetuating the notion that Syrians were not considered refugees due to their Arab nationality. Unlike other host countries like Lebanon, Turkey, and Jordan, Egypt's diplomatic and media efforts were less prominent, and the country appeared to play a secondary role in supporting Syrian refugees.

Migrants' Voices in Immigration News

When asked about the migrants' voices in immigration news, Professor Ibrahim Awad stated that the voices of immigrants and refugees are rarely heard in the media in general. This is not only true of the Egyptian press but also the European press, first because of the refugees' fear of security consequences and prosecution if they speak to the press and second because the Egyptian press adopts a security perspective imported from Europe when covering migration issues, and therefore the State's view prevails in disregarding the components of the State. This is a realistic school theory in international relations that looks at the state as if it is a billiard ball with no components. For example, not all in Germany are against migrants and refugees, and not all in Spain welcome them, and therefore, if Egyptian newspapers use only the security perspective when addressing the issue of migration, the result will be that migrants' stories and voices are not heard.

According to **Professor Sally Tayie**, two key levels must be considered when examining the inclusion of migrant voices in newspapers. First, media studies theories, specifically framing and agenda-setting, play a significant role in covering immigration issues. Framing theory posits that each newspaper operates under a distinct editorial direction. This editorial direction may potentially be faced with political or economic

pressures according to the newspaper's ownership, whether it is a state-owned newspaper or independently owned. While agenda-setting theory suggests that newspapers actively select and prioritise the specific ideas and issues related to migration that they present to the public. These theoretical frameworks significantly shape the nature and content of migration coverage.

Second, practical challenges faced by journalists in including migrant voices in migration reports are crucial. These challenges include whether the press institution will provide the resources necessary for journalists to travel and conduct interviews with migrants or not. Furthermore, the professional training of journalists covering migration issues is the other challenge. Journalists should be adequately equipped to report on these complex topics that influence the quality and depth of migrant representation. Ultimately, a newspaper's approach to these practical considerations often aligns with its chosen theoretical framework for reporting on immigration.

On the other hand, **Journalist Mohamed El Kazaz** demonstrated that the issue of migrant and refugee voices being absent in media coverage is a critical concern, as it creates stereotypes, silences under-represented groups and prevents a deeper understanding of migration issues. Immigration issues are frequently discussed by journalists and their directors rather than given a chance to migrants and refugees to speak for themselves and be active participants in their own stories. Migrants and refugees are depicted as passive victims or dangerous, creating a system of power in media narratives where journalists and politicians control the conversation. However, many barriers prevent migrants and refugees from speaking to journalists. For example, if they openly discuss their experiences, they can be punished and deported. Migrants and refugees are afraid to interact with the media in countries like Egypt because of their fear, which gets worse due to the possibility of being arrested. For migrants to share their stories, trust must be established with journalists. This requires time, training, and consistent efforts to create safe spaces where migrants and refugees feel secure in sharing their experiences. Addressing this issue involves improving journalistic practices through workshops and training that emphasise with ethical reporting and include migrant voices. Newspapers can also play a role in bridging the gap between refugees and locals by facilitating access to migrant perspectives.

In the same vein, **Journalist Hamed Mahmoud** agreed with this point of view. He said that the voices of immigrants and refugees are not given enough room in Egyptian newspapers. On the one hand, this is due to a lack of interest in matters that affect public

opinion, even if the growing number of refugees in Egypt is a significant issue for the Egyptian people. However, refugees would rather avoid speaking with the media to avoid having problems with the Egyptian authorities. “We would see refugees in significant demonstrations if the UNHCR in Egypt stopped providing aid to them for two or three months. Because it occurred in Egypt's capital, the media started to take notice of this. However, once the issue is resolved, the media stops reporting on it, even while the number of refugees is rising, which leads to social and economic issues for Egyptian society”. This is the role of the press. It conveys refugees' problems and concerns so as not to reach a health, political or security crisis. At the same time, these refugees need to communicate greatly through the Egyptian press so that they can know the instructions of the Egyptian authorities and official bodies and take them into account in the context of their living, life and movements. The State also must have complete data on these refugees, regardless of their nationality, so that it can communicate with them to solve their problems and provide them with the required social and health services. In addition, the editor of the newspaper may see that news of the refugees is not published as long as there is no crisis. Newspapers are not interested in hearing refugee stories, although there is an opportunity for journalists to attend cultural events that take place in refugee social clubs. The State can open the doors to communicate with them to serve the Egyptian State in security, politics, health, and society in general. The press officer's lack of horizon and perception is a major reason why journalists are directed not to publish refugee stories as long as there is no crisis with them.

According to **Ambassador Naela Gabr**, despite migrant voices being underrepresented in most of the newspapers all over the world, many efforts are being made by Egyptian civil society organisations to create spaces for alternative perspectives and support migrants in having their voices heard through media training and engagement with journalists.

This was confirmed by **Ahmed Abd Elgayed** who stated that the website Cairo 360 and other applications provide a lot of information and workshops for migrants and refugees, primarily from Syria and Sudan, and sometimes conduct interviews with them to explain the issues they face. Additionally, social media is interested in conducting interviews with refugees and migrants who have lived in Egypt for a long time. A part of these interviews, in which they describe the hospitable reception they received in Egyptian society, which welcomed their presence and integration, was previously published by the Egyptian press. According to this perspective, this is the clearest example of communication with Syrian

refugees who have been in Egypt for over a decade and have documented their experiences with Egyptian society.

From the perspective of **Judge Mohammed Shoib**, there is a lack of migrant voices in Egyptian newspapers. Several complex interacting variables contribute to this lack, including fear among migrants and refugees of potential punishment from Egyptian authorities, limited access to migrant communities, the time-consuming process of building trust between journalists and migrants, and the language barriers for non-Arabic speakers. To address this issue and increase the representation of migrants and refugees in Egyptian newspapers, there are many suggestions in this field. For example, providing specialised training for journalists on reporting immigration stories sensitively and ethically, investing time and resources in building relationships with migrant and refugee communities, Employing translators to overcome language barriers, collaborating with NGOs and community organisations that work closely with migrants and refugees, implementing ethical guidelines for reporting on immigration issues, and finally encouraging independent journalism to allow for more in-depth coverage of migrant experiences. By implementing these strategies, Egyptian newspapers can work towards more inclusive and representative reporting on immigration issues, providing a more accurate and neutral portrayal of the migrant experience in Egypt.

On the other hand, **Journalist Anna Pantelia** fully agreed with journalist Mohamed El Kazaz regarding the lack of space in the newspapers to tell the stories of migrants and refugees by interviewing them in person. This is simply because newspapers are not interested in hearing the opinions of migrants and refugees, although they are the key to understanding the dimensions of migration. Newspapers care more about ridiculous and superficial news. On the other hand, refugees feel afraid to speak to journalists because they lack the necessary protection from local authorities' tracking and punishment for speaking to the press. This is due to the lack of trust in the media in general. Nevertheless, there are many ways to overcome this, including protecting these migrants and refugees when they speak to journalists by concealing their identity and personal data.

According to **Guillaume Charron**, despite several examples of journalists interacting with refugees, particularly concerning Mediterranean crossings, there are several reasons why the voices of migrants are not heard in media coverage. The viewpoints of refugees themselves are frequently left out of the larger media narratives, even though a small number of journalists have reported on the migrations and experiences of migrants.

The unstable legal and social circumstances that migrants encounter, especially in host nations like Egypt, where refugees live in a state of legal uncertainty and fear of arrest, are a major contributing factor to the lack of well-known migrant voices. Many people are deterred from expressing their personal stories in this setting since doing so could put them in danger due to security issues. Although some journalists and organisations have attempted to give migrant voices more prominence, the complexity of their circumstances and the media's preponderance of political concerns have made it difficult for them to be included in many media narratives.

The Newspaper's Role in Raising Awareness about Immigration Issues

Concerning the role of the press in raising awareness of migration issues, **Professor Ibrahim Awad** mentioned that the press should first be free and investigative, meaning not only to talk about the sinking of a compound that transports Egyptians to Europe but also to explain to the newspapers why Egyptians try to migrate disorderly to Europe. There are often economic reasons and perhaps also political reasons. No press in the world attacks Egyptian immigrants like Egyptian newspapers, which is incomprehensible, but only from the point of view that no one is allowed to leave the state without voluntary permission. We have not heard of Mexico attacking its citizens who are trying to migrate to America, but rather they are expressing their regret about it and explaining the reasons for their citizens' migration.

According to **Professor Sally Tayie**, it is undeniable that the media plays a huge role in shaping public opinions and controlling their thoughts in one way or another.

Given the constant exposure of the public to media content, the press bears a significant responsibility to educate and foster understanding of diverse issues, particularly sensitive ones like immigration. Professional journalism, in particular, must prioritize accuracy and balance in its coverage of migration, as inaccurate or biased reporting can have detrimental consequences for both society and migrants, whose successful integration is essential.

Covering migration effectively requires acknowledging its inherent complexity. Journalism often frames migration through various perspectives, each conveying a distinct message. For instance, labelling migration as a "humanitarian crisis" promotes a different response than characterising it as a "refugee crisis." Likewise, focusing on "illegal migration" and "border problems" generates yet another set of impressions. The power of media to shape public perception is evident in the widespread dissemination of images like that of Aylan

Kurdi. This tragic event shifted stereotypical coverage, often based on fear and threat narratives, towards a more humanitarian framework when reporting on migration and refugee issues, demonstrating the power of media in shaping public opinion.

On the other hand, **Journalist Mohamed El Kazaz** stated that we did not pay attention to the fact that the Egyptian State passed a law about a month ago, the Law on Asylum of Foreigners, which requires press work showing the benefits of the law on the families of immigrants and refugees present in Egypt. This did not happen because the Egyptian press is going through a huge stumble, which needs to conduct more workshops, seminars and conferences for journalists, as well as training courses on how to deal with migration issues, which is so important that they are explained in the end as Humanity. Humanity above all. This role is often absent because social media always talk about frequent economic or social crises and fears that there will be security crises due to migrants and refugees.

According to **Journalist Hamed Mahmoud**, the press can play a pivotal role in raising awareness of immigration issues if it has professionally trained journalistic cadres who do not wait for instructions and directions from the leaders of the press institutions in which they work. There are many issues related to immigration that journalists should focus on. For example, about two months ago, the Egyptian state passed a law on foreigners living in Egypt, which is very important. Unfortunately, the press has simply referred to the promulgation of the law without discussing its articles, its advantages and its effects on refugees and migrants in Egypt. This is the press's role in raising awareness of complex issues, such as the topic of migration.

In the same context, **Ambassador Naela Gabr mentioned that** the Egyptian media plays a significant role in shaping public perception and awareness regarding migration. Through various initiatives, they are effectively highlighting the dangers associated with illegal immigration while also promoting alternatives and opportunities within Egypt. The media in Egypt emphasises the risks and hardships faced by those who attempt to migrate illegally. This includes sharing the testimonies of Egyptian returnees who have experienced “trips to hell” and encountered severe difficulties during their journey and upon arrival in destination countries. National awareness campaigns, such as “Your Family, Your Dream, Your Life”, utilise a combination of digital and traditional media to make Egyptian people more aware of the risks of illegal migration journeys. While focusing on the dangers, the media also highlights alternatives to irregular migration and opportunities available within

Egypt. This approach aims to encourage young Egyptians to consider local options for improving their lives. It is important to note that the media's stance is not against migration itself because freedom of movement is a basic human right, but it especially targets human trafficking. By addressing these issues, the media helps to combat human trafficking networks and raises awareness about the consequences of engagement with smugglers. This approach aligns with the efforts of the Egyptian government and international organisations to prevent illegal migration while promoting safe and legal alternatives.

According to **Ahmed Abd Elgayed**, numerous studies have been conducted by the Egyptian government and academic institutions in order to identify certain areas of the Egyptian state with high rates of poverty. Due to the shortage of job possibilities, these areas are thought to be a source of young people migrating to Europe. To solve economic issues and try to discourage youth migration through alternative employment options, 34 regions have been identified within the Egyptian state under the supervision of the National Coordination Committee for Combating Illegal Migration and Human Trafficking, which is led by Ambassador Naela Gabr. This committee provides practical solutions for young people to find alternative jobs. There are now significantly fewer Egyptian migrants from these regions. Ahmed Abd Elgayed stated that since 2016, no boats carrying migrants have sailed from Egypt to enter Europe illegally because of the multiple workshops that the National Commission conducted with young people in these poor areas to increase their awareness of the risks associated with illegal migration. The workshops explained the situations of those who risked their lives to migrate illegally to Europe and then returned to Egypt after the experiment failed. These efforts help in preventing the dangers of migration, which puts at risk one of the most important human rights- the right to life. The media was invited to all of these workshops and meetings, and all of the projects mentioned above were presented in the media, especially on TV channels. Therefore, the media plays an essential role in attracting attention to concerns related to immigration topics.

From the perspective of **Judge Mohammed Shoaib**, the public's perceptions and information are greatly influenced by the press. Newspapers may contribute to increasing public awareness of the complexity of immigration, including the causes of migration, the difficulties faced, and the contributions made by migrants to society, by offering thorough and neutral coverage. Effective journalism has the power to change public opinion positively by promoting empathy and cooperation with migrants and refugees. Newspapers may also play a vital role by presenting truthful and balanced news, highlighting migrants' personal

successful stories and offering background information on the reasons behind and consequences of migration. Participating in public discussions and conversations can also promote a deep understanding of this complex phenomenon. On the other hand, Journalists must also work to establish good communications with politicians and decision-makers because they need voters' votes during elections, and therefore, journalists must express people's suffering and deliver their voice to the government.

In the same context and emanating from the role of the press in raising awareness of immigration issues, press reports related to immigration should focus on the issue of integration of refugees and immigrants into Egyptian society. It is worth noting that the Egyptian governments have succeeded in implementing effective policies in this regard, as evidenced by the presence of millions of Syrians and Sudanese in Egypt for decades. Egyptian society has always welcomed them, but I believe that there are many ideas that, if newspapers focus on them, will achieve amazing results in the issue of integration. For example, publishing cultural events related to Egyptian society, as well as celebrations of national holidays, and inviting representatives of refugees and immigrants to attend them. Newspapers can also publish programs to teach the Arabic language to foreigners living in Egypt for free so that the largest number of them can learn the Arabic language, this will break down the barriers between Locals and foreigners and encourage the idea of integration and cooperation, and that the nation can include everyone, and thus hate speech and hostility towards migrants and refugees will disappear.

In the same context, **Journalist Anna Pantelia** also highlights the challenging situation of 140 children with chronic diseases in Moria camp on the island of Lesbos in Greece, who were not receiving proper medical care due to government neglect. Through advocacy efforts, including a press release and media exposure on Aljazeera news, the issue gained public attention. As a result, the government responded by agreeing to relocate the most severe cases of children with chronic illnesses, including the child mentioned in Aljazeera news, to a safer place where they could access the necessary medical treatment. This demonstrates the power of advocacy and media engagement in creating positive change for vulnerable populations. For example, children in refugee camps suffer from severe psychological trauma; they stop eating, close their eyes and avoid opening them all day, which decreases the body functions, leading to disabilities, organ failure, and even death. There was a child with this syndrome, and after publishing his story in the media, every day, someone from the government came to ask about this child. It means that while the media

can bring attention to important issues and even prompt short-term actions, like when Aylan Kurdi's story led some countries to accept more refugees, long-lasting policy changes are more difficult to achieve through media alone. The media point out that specific cases may have some impact, but overall, changing policies through media is not straightforward.

From the perspective of **Guillaume Charron**, to raise public awareness about immigration issues, media coverage should aim to present a balanced narrative that highlights the historical context of migration and the contributions of refugees to society. This includes publishing the positive aspects of hospitality, such as Egypt's long tradition of welcoming refugees from various conflicts throughout history. Journalists can focus on personal stories of integration rather than the challenges or conflicts associated with migration, which can contribute to a more empathetic public perception.

Characteristics of Egyptian Newspaper's Coverage of Immigration Issues

From the perspective of **Professor Ibrahim Awad**, the Egyptian press consumes sources from the European press and transmits them in the same media framework used by the European press. For example, you may find news in European newspapers about the Syrian refugee crisis in Germany. The Egyptian press then receives and publishes it with the concept that refugee flows represent pressure and danger to European culture and a danger to Germany's labour market. Of course, most of this is not true because ten years later the German labour market was able to accommodate Syrian refugees and others. On the other hand, Egypt would like to have good relations with European Union countries, and something good is that there have been no vessels carrying migrants from Egypt to Europe since October 2016, but when Egyptian newspapers address a topic such as the emigration of Egyptians abroad, they deliberately use the term "illegal migration", as if such migration were against the will of the Egyptian State. Political rhetoric has an impact on what newspapers write. The press is not free to write, and the journalist is influenced by the Government's speeches and the political environment in general. In addition, the Egyptian press is not investigative. It does not analyse and explain important topics in depth, at the same time, it is linked to the event, and the coverage ends once it ends.

On the other hand, **Professor Sally Tayie**, the very important thing for the press to provide balanced coverage that includes the whole picture is to present different perspectives

when covering a particular issue. The Egyptian press addresses the issue of migration from the perspective of security and economic threat on the one hand, and the Egyptian government's efforts to eliminate the phenomenon of illegal migration on the other hand, but the press does not cover migrant's point of view, and why would they want to migrate. For example, as Egyptian newspapers covered the problem of increasing numbers of Sudanese immigrants in Egypt from a security perspective or as an economic threat, there are many Egyptians now who believe that Sudanese are not welcome to be in Egypt. However, this is not a comprehensive coverage of the case because the investigative press does not exist in Egypt anymore, in addition to the lack of complete freedom of the Egyptian press due to government censorship of what the newspaper presents. This censorship exists in all the world's newspapers, which are subject to the kinds of political and economic pressures that determine what and how newspapers should talk. Moreover, the movement of most newspapers to social media has created a new challenge for journalists as information sources have become multiple.

According to **Journalist Mohamed El Kazaz**, the press has been suffering from serious troubles for years, both generally and in Egypt especially. Egyptian newspapers are at a complete stumble, a professional and material dead end therefore, this stumble consumed Egyptian journalists. If the press were as we had experienced it in the last decade and the first half of the current decade, we would certainly find an association of journalists in Egypt as we see in Morocco and Europe. Material crises and occupational crises dominate the profession of journalism, and the existing lack of freedom makes journalists think a lot before writing. “Unfortunately, there are no specialised journalists in migration in Egypt except me and another colleague. I addressed the policy of integration or resettlement as it is now prevailing in Europe in some depth. I tried to do it, but he addressed it from afar by sending messages; Europe surrendered to the far right and started to draw up laws to expel migrants. Here we send a message from afar: Is the political climate in Egypt permitting debate on these issues in light of the limited freedom enjoyed by journalists? The idea that the Egyptian state is never wrong, and the Egyptian government is never wrong makes debate and analysis almost possible.” Journalist Mohamed El Kazaz also stated that “In November 2024, there were conversations between President El-Sisi and officials in Denmark that dealt with immigration issues, but no one could give an opinion or investigate. The same about the events in Gaza. No one wants to talk about it even though we know the details, but you can't write those details, you can't analyse those details, and you can't

criticise. Why? Because there is certainly not enough freedom in Egypt". However, the real treatment of these issues and the reasons that prompted migration, as well as the reasons that brought these migrants to Egypt, how they live, how they learn and how to eat, are negligible. However, this week, the Journalists held a three-day conference across several sessions that spoke only of the need to give freedom to journalists. A researcher asked when the national press would come back, and the answer was when the press come back to the citizens and not to the state power. For example, there are a lot of multiple governments in Libya. One of these governments filmed more than 1,000 Egyptians in a very large place walking barefoot. This news was not published in the Egyptian press but found in the Middle East newspaper. Unfortunately, when I wanted to document it through the website, I didn't find it. The reason why the Egyptian newspapers did not publish this news is due to the limited freedom ceiling and the fear of criticising the Egyptian administration in dealing with this file. However, the real treatment of these issues and the reasons that prompted migration, as well as the reasons that brought these migrants to Egypt, how they live, how they learn and how to eat, are negligible.

Journalist Hamed Mahmoud agreed with **Professor Ibrahim Awad** about the characteristics of Egyptian newspapers' coverage of immigration issues. He stated that in Egyptian newspapers, migratory issues are briefly covered. For instance, when a gang is caught smuggling Egyptians or other African migrants across the Egyptian border or when a boat full of migrants sinks, Egyptian publications report on immigration-related stories. In other words, because the press doesn't always focus on migration, there is temporary coverage of particular events related to immigration issues. The coverage is present when the event happens, but it decreases and becomes quite weak after the cause or event passes. There are many causes behind this. The press's shifting focus in recent years is the first explanation. More routine issues are now covered than significant ones that are of great relevance to Egyptian society. The second reason is that specialised journalists have made the transition from national press organisations to private journalism or media programs. As a result, they cover themes like immigration that are more superficial or weak, without depth in dealing with a topic such as immigration, which requires research to obtain accurate information, such as communicating with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Immigration Affairs, as well as communicating with sociology professors to analyse the phenomenon of migration. There is also a need to communicate with figures who used to work, for example, in the Ministry of Interior or Interpol, to know the procedures that eliminate immigration

networks. The third reason is the slow adaptation to digital journalism. People no longer buy printed newspapers. According to *Al-Ahram* newspaper, in 2010, the distribution of the newspaper was as large as one million copies per day. This figure has progressively decreased to 30,000 copies now, although Egypt's population is more than 100 million people. The transition from traditional institutions of national journalism to digital journalism can have a greater impact on the coverage of subjects like migration, especially among young people who are the main demographic involved in the migration.

According to **Ambassador Naela Gabr**, the media in Egypt is, of course, following the official policy of Egypt. The Egyptian president said, “Those our guests” when referring to migrants and refugees, and the media has avoided opening Pandora’s box by openly criticising their stay in Egypt. Otherwise, journalists risk losing their jobs because the Egyptians are dissatisfied with this situation. The question of job opportunities is already limited due to the economic crisis, which boost the challenge, particularly in the informal sector — the largest sector absorbing manpower in Egypt. This is the current situation in the media; so far, the media is remains calm regarding this situation. However, Facebook, WhatsApp groups, and other modern communication platforms are open, and many reactions urge migrants to return to their home countries.

From the perspective of **Ahmed Abd Elgayed**, although the Egyptian press reflects what matters to Egyptian citizens, it is very sympathetic to migrants and refugees. This attitude has facilitated the smooth integration of many Sudanese and Syrian refugees into the Egyptian society. The main problems faced by migrants and refugees in Egypt are finding housing and obtaining residence documents. Civil society institutions play a very important role in assisting refugees and migrants, and therefore, journalists are always present to cover events organised by the Egyptian authorities related to migration.

The media’s treatment of the phenomenon of migration in Egypt tries not to hurt the feelings of refugees and migrants. However, some believe that the Egyptian media does not adequately cover the challenges faced by Egyptian citizens as a result of the increasing number of refugees. I believe that this is also due to the media's sympathetic stance on the issue of migration.

On the other hand, **Judge Mohammed Shoaib** mentioned that the Egyptian media lacks freedom. There is government censorship on what newspapers publish in general, not only on immigration news. It is easy to bring criminal charges against journalists who publish information that the authorities do not want to publish. Often, a journalist who may

publish information that we all know is true could be charged with spreading false news. Therefore, restrictions on the practice of journalistic work must be lifted, and a law must be issued prohibiting the imprisonment of journalists for their opinions. Instead of imprisoning journalists, financial fines could be imposed on the newspapers they work for. This would prevent journalists from facing an uncertain future, starting with criminal investigations and possibly ending in prison. These restrictions prevent journalists from working objectively and from criticising the government or proposing new policies.

According to **Journalist Anna Pantelia**, many journalists only pay attention to the news. And they don't focus on how policies are changing, either positively or negatively. To report on how immigration policies are changing in Europe, for instance, when it comes to migrants, you have to pay close attention to politics in general. For Europe, it is becoming more and more difficult across the borders. In Greece now, there is a situation where asylum seekers who are caught at the backside of the boat are being wrongfully accused of being smugglers by authorities such as coast guards and police officers, leading to innocent people being arrested and blamed for murders they didn't commit. However, the media shows little interest in covering these stories. They prefer covering news like someone is making a cake in a refugee camp more than topics more serious and important issues faced by asylum seekers.

From the perspective of **Guillaume Charron**, Egyptian media coverage is heavily regulated and controlled by the government, which has an impact on the stories that are told. While some media outlets operate on the margins with little room for critical opinion, others may respond to the preferences of their audience by adopting extreme or fear-driven tactics. Nevertheless, Egypt has a long history of taking in refugees, such as Sudanese, Palestinians, and Armenians, a fact that is sometimes overlooked in the media. Without fully recognising Egypt's historical role and the effective absorption of refugees into society, coverage frequently focuses on the difficulties posed by government policies and the legal uncertainty that refugees suffer. Therefore, the media could be extremely helpful in shifting the focus from a problem-centric narrative to one that emphasises the positive contributions of migrants and refugees in host societies.

Suggestions to Improve Egyptian Newspaper Coverage of Immigration Issues

When asked about the suggestions to improve Egyptian newspaper coverage of immigration issues, **Professor Ibrahim Awad** argued that Egypt's press coverage of migration issues is event-driven, often linked to specific incidents such as the sinking of a boat carrying refugees in the Mediterranean. The coverage ends with the end of the event. The newspapers do not seek to cover the matter more deeply and do not attempt to analyze the phenomenon of migration and determine its causes and motives because Egypt does not have investigative journalism. For example, newspapers have not talked about the migration of Egyptian minds and competencies such as doctors and computer engineers to Europe in the last period, although it has been a widespread phenomenon since 2018. This raises important questions about who determines which topics the press is allowed to cover, as well as the level of freedom journalists are granted. Of course, it is the political administration of the country that determines what allows the press to talk about it, but I don't think anyone has an interest in not publishing Egyptian newspapers about the news of Egyptian doctors migrating to England and other European countries.

From the perspective of **Professor Sally Tayie**, there is no investigative journalism in Egypt. The absence of investigative journalism has a significant negative impact on press coverage of migration issues. Additionally, there are not enough professionally qualified journalists who can convey the full picture of the immigration phenomenon and include the voices of immigrants. Improving journalists' competence is crucial. They must be trained regularly and continuously because the media and political landscape change daily. This requires the integration of modern technology into investigative journalism. Journalists must present news in an interesting way to capture the readers' attention, preventing them from seeking other potentially inaccurate sources of information. Journalists must also be given the necessary resources to travel to locations where migrants and refugees are present, enabling them to conduct interviews and share migrants' and refugees' experiences. These interviews require building trust with migrants who may prefer not to speak to the press in a foreign country, due to fears of security-related consequences.

Journalist Mohamed El Kazaz mentioned that Egypt seeks to reconcile the situation of migrants. Therefore, the Egyptian State passed a law about a month ago, the law on Asylum of Foreigners. It is subsequently necessary to publish press articles demonstrating the advantages of the law for the families of immigrants and refugees living in Egypt. However, this has not happened, which El Kazaz attributes to the serious difficulties currently faced by the Egyptian press. These challenges require significant effort to

overcome, including workshops, seminars, and conferences for journalists, as well as training courses on how to address migration issues. Such training is essential so that journalists can explain migration issues in a humane way. Humanity above all. This role is often absent because social media always talk about frequent economic or social crises and fears that there will be security crises due to migrants and refugees.

From the perspective of **Journalist Hamed Mahmoud**, It is crucial to set up professional training for Egyptian journalists on how to use appropriate and respectful language when conducting investigations and writing articles about migration challenges. This includes teaching them how to report truthfully and create a professional article rather than copying and pasting content from the Internet. Additionally, unless there is a fundamental shift in the way journalists understand and approach a serious issue like immigration, it is crucial to implement translation courses to reduce their reliance on tools like Google Translate, which are often inaccurate. Moreover, it is crucial to provide journalists with data analysis training so they can identify misinformation and determine which sources they use when sharing information. Many journalists now work on TV shows and post news on YouTube. If they are not competent and professional in evaluating the credibility of their information, they risk spreading misleading content to millions of people who depend on television and online sources for news. Unfortunately, in recent years many journalists have been accredited without access to these specialized journalism courses and have therefore become unqualified to carry out their professional responsibilities.

On the other hand, **Ambassador Naela Gabr** stated that “Egypt has a vision concerning the question of the smuggling of migrants”. The smuggling of migrants and illegal migration is not only a transnational organised crime but also a violation of basic human rights, including individual rights, the rights of the person’s safety and to live in a safe environment, and the right to live in peace without any threats from smugglers. Smugglers pose a threat to families and communities. “When you go to villages, and you see what they are doing, knocking on the doors to try to convince people to send their children abroad with them, etcetera. So, this is a violation of human rights, and of course, this crime constitutes a crime of corruption and is linked to corruption and money laundering”. Egypt began in 2014 by establishing the Ministerial Committee to Combat Illegal Immigration and Human Trafficking. “Based on the work of this interministerial committee, I had the honour of presiding over it. Since the first day, we drafted the law “Combating and Preventing Illegal Migration and Trafficking in Persons, **law 82 of 2016**,

which is the first law in the MENA region, defining the crime of smuggling people and the relevant penalties”. Egypt is working according to an institutional basis by establishing the interministerial committee, which operates under the leadership of the Egyptian Prime Minister, the head of this committee has the status of minister because “I’m presiding over 30 ministries and the national councils for human rights. So, this is an institutional part, and the legislative part is the law”. According to this law, Egypt established a fund for migrants last year. The fund assists Egyptian returnees coming from abroad by providing moral and financial support, helping them to receive training, start a new life, and reintegrate into their communities. The fund supports returnees whether they return voluntarily or are forcibly repatriated.

At the same time, the fund also provides support to foreigners residing in Egypt who wish to return to their home countries. If the International Organization for Migration (IOM) is not in a position to finance their return, the fund can step in to help them. Journalists must follow these efforts and initiatives closely and contact those responsible for their implementation to find out what has actually been achieved. The press can publish these details to increase public awareness of immigration issues and the dangers of illegal immigration. This is the journalist's role, and the government can support this role by offering training programs for journalists to help them cover immigration issues effectively and responsibly.

According to **Ahmed Abd Elgayed**, UNHCR in Egypt must hold ongoing meetings with journalists to provide an objective media analysis of the phenomenon of migration because the Egyptian media adopts the theory of compassion and the framework of sympathy when publishing immigration-related news but is not interested in analysing the phenomenon in depth to know its causes and motives in general as well as its economic impacts on Egyptian citizens in particular. Egypt has the General Information Authority, which provides very important and distinct reports in the field of migration. Egypt also has the Centre for Criminal Research, which provides numerous academic studies on the subject of migration. However, I believe the media has a great role to play in analysing the phenomenon more deeply in order to achieve transparency in this regard. Journalists should focus on publishing accurate news containing the full facts about the issue of migration. The National Council for Human Rights (NCHR), as well as researchers interested in the issue of migration, are giving reports to journalists to publish.

From the perspective of **Judge Mohammed Shoaib**, more in-depth reports and background information on the challenges faced by migrants could enhance coverage of immigration issues. Additional materials and viewpoints can be obtained through corporative efforts with NGOs and civil society organisations. However, programmes for media literacy can also help the public in understanding immigration topics. Journalists should be trained by media institutions on migration challenges and the value of ethical reporting. The complex reality of migrants' lives can be revealed by supporting independent journalism and providing tools for neutral and respectful coverage, ensuring that migrants' stories are presented with dignity.

In other words, newspapers should also strive to include the voices and opinions of migrants themselves. Finally, journalists should be granted enough freedom when doing their work. I believe freedom is lacking in many areas in Egypt, and newspapers must free themselves from government censorship or blindly following political trends and official directives regarding what should be published and what should not be discussed.

According to **Journalist Anna Pantelia**, journalists can't be completely neutral because, as human beings, they are shaped by their culture and upbringing, which influence their sensitivities. For this reason, truly neutral coverage does not exist. Many journalists come up with specific ideas on what they want to do, and they tweak the stories to resemble what they had in mind. However, if they approach stories with an open mind and no assumptions, they can uncover countless untold stories they never imagined existed.

From the perspective of **Guillaume Charron**, increased confidence in reporting on Egypt's attitude to hosting refugees is required in the recommendations for good immigration coverage in Egyptian newspapers. Moving away from defensiveness, which might indicate shame or the hiding of weaknesses, the media should take a more active approach. The media should highlight Egypt's achievements in aiding refugees and portray them as admirable in comparison to Western countries. The idea that the West manages refugee challenges better than Egypt is being opposed by calls for the decolonisation of thinking. The fact that Egypt is responding to regional problems and not just to please Western interests should emphasise Egypt's historically major role in protecting refugees. The local capabilities and strategies that have enabled Egypt to successfully manage refugee populations - often with less foreign assistance than other nations like Jordan or Turkey - should be recognised by the Egyptian media. The Egyptian media is urged to adopt a new positive narrative of immigration,

acknowledging that all countries, even those in the West, have shortcomings, while also taking into account Egypt's humanitarian efforts and its history of aiding refugees.

Summary of the In-depth Interviews

Nine in-depth interviews were conducted with experts, including a media professor, a global affairs professor and director of a migration and refugee studies center, three journalists, a judge, the chairman of the Egyptian National Coordinating Committee for Combating and Preventing Illegal Migration and Trafficking in Persons, and a researcher from the Egyptian National Council of Human Rights. Participants shared their perspectives on various issues, including perceptions of migrants and refugees in Egyptian and European newspapers, the inclusion of migrant voices in news, the newspapers' role in raising awareness, the characteristics of Egyptian immigration coverage, and suggestions for improvement.

Regarding perceptions of migrants and refugees, all interviewees agreed that most Egyptian newspapers present a positive view of immigrants and refugees, emphasising their integration and portraying them as "guests" rather than burdens. However, social media discourse in Egypt has recently shifted from compassion to portraying migrants as a potential economic threat, often using hate speech to blame them for economic problems like rising housing costs. This contrasts with the positive newspaper portrayal and frequently aligns with anti-refugee sentiments on social media.

In contrast, the interviewees noted that European newspapers often frame migration through a security lens, viewing the influx of migrants as a potential threat. This perspective is often linked to the policies and actions of organisations like Frontex, which prioritise border control. European media also appear to differentiate between migrants, with those from crisis areas like Ukraine being viewed more favourably than others who are often labelled as undesirable or illegal. This inconsistent treatment suggests a politicisation of immigration issues.

Regarding migrant voices in the news, all interviewees agreed on their underrepresentation. Migrants and refugees face numerous barriers when trying to communicate with journalists, including the risk of punishment and deportation for speaking publicly about their experiences. In countries like Egypt, this fear of potential detention discourages engagement with the media. Furthermore, despite their crucial role in

understanding migration dynamics, publications often show little interest in migrant and refugee perspectives.

Concerning the newspapers' role in raising awareness, interviewees acknowledged the significant influence of Egyptian media on public perception and understanding of migration. They noted the media's success in highlighting the dangers of illegal immigration and promoting opportunities within Egypt. However, they stressed the need for a free and investigative press that goes beyond simply reporting incidents like migrant boat sinkings. They argued that newspapers should explore the underlying political and economic factors driving irregular migration.

One interviewee pointed out the apparent contradiction of Egyptian publications criticising Egyptian emigrants, suggesting a possible implication that emigration from Egypt requires official consent from the government. They contrasted this with other countries, like Mexico, which advocates for their citizens' rights even when they migrate to other countries. The interviewees suggested that the Egyptian press needs improvement and recommended more conferences, workshops, and training for journalists on handling migration issues ethically and comprehensively.

Regarding the characteristics of Egyptian immigration coverage, most participants agreed that the Egyptian press operates under significant restrictions due to a lack of independence. They asserted that the media adheres closely to the official government line, and not just on immigration but across all news content. Interviewees noted the ease with which journalists can face legal repercussions for publishing information the government deems unfavourable.

Finally, regarding suggestions for improving coverage, interviewees recommended more in-depth reporting and background information on the challenges faced by migrants. They suggested collaborations with NGOs and civil society organizations to broaden resources and perspectives. They also emphasized the importance of media literacy programs to educate the public about migration issues. Furthermore, they recommended training for journalists on the complexities of migration and ethical reporting, the inclusion of migrant voices, and ensuring journalistic freedom.

5.2 Findings of The Content Analysis

This study aimed to examine how Egyptian and European newspapers covered and framed immigration-related issues during the immigration crisis in 2015 and highlighted the diverse news frames employed by Egyptian and European newspapers.

Al-Ahram, *Al-Masry Al-Youm*, and *Al-Wafd* are the three Egyptian newspapers that make up the first group. From these sources, 235 news articles were collected, including 34 news articles from *Al-Ahram*, 183 from *Al-Masry Al-Youm*, and 18 from *Al-Wafd*. The second group comprises two European newspapers: *El País* (English edition) and *Euronews*. A total of 146 news articles were gathered from these sources. *El País* provided 22 news articles, while *Euronews* provided 124 news articles. As a result, 381 news articles were examined.

Following the completion of data collection from the content analysis of the five newspapers, the researcher initiated the subsequent phase, which involved the data analysis process, utilising PSPP software for the sampled data analysis. The outcomes will be categorised into four sections: First, counting the extracted samples from Egyptian and European newspapers. Second, examining the media frame of the selected samples. Third, exploring the research questions. Fourth, discussing the strengths and weaknesses of the Egyptian newspapers' coverage of immigration issues.

6.2.1 Counting the Extracted Samples from Egyptian and European Newspapers

Table (3) and Figure (1) show the number and the percentage of immigration news published in the five newspapers. Among the Egyptian newspapers, *Al-Ahram* published 34 news articles (8.9%) of the total sample, *Al-Masry Al-Youm* accounted for 183 news articles (48%), and *Al-Wafd* published 18 news articles (4.7%) of the total sample under investigation. Regarding the European newspapers, *El País* (English edition) published 22 news articles (5.8%) of the total sample, while *Euronews* published 124 news articles (32.5%) of the total sample.

Table (3) Newspapers Article Samples

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	AH	34	8,9	8,9	8,9
	AM	183	48,0	48,0	57,0
	AW	18	4,7	4,7	61,7
	EP	22	5,8	5,8	67,5
	EU	124	32,5	32,5	100,0
	Total	381	100,0	100,0	

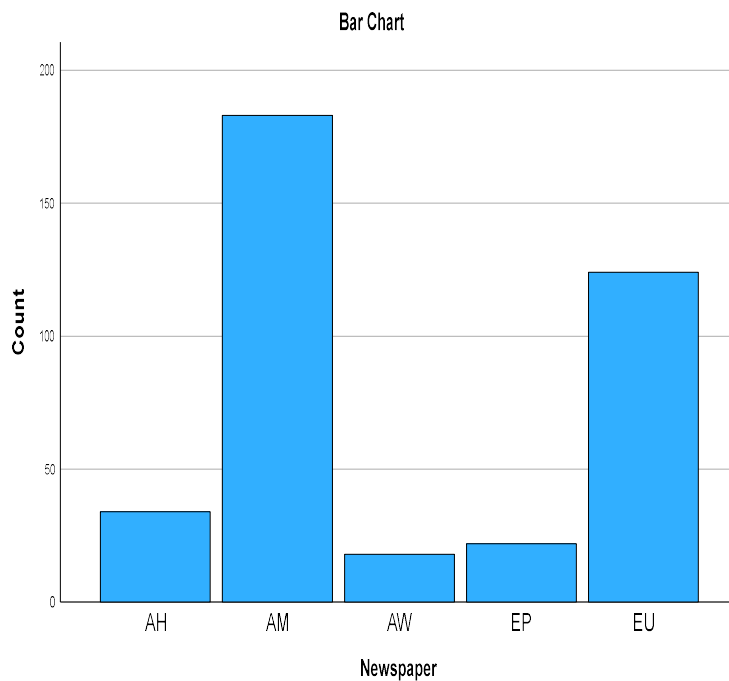


Figure (1) Newspaper Article Samples

Comparing the percentage of newspaper coverage through the table data counting in the Egyptian and European newspapers reveals that *Al-Masry Al-Youm* and *Euronews* held the prevalent share of coverage. Hence, they published 307 news items (80.5%) of the total sample, significantly more than the coverage provided by *Al-Ahram*, *Al-Wafd*, and *El País*, which published 74 news articles (19.5%) of the total sample. The results show the difference between the amount of news published by *Al-Masry Al-Youm* newspaper, which

is considered the most independent Egyptian newspaper, and *Al-Ahram*, which is a state-owned newspaper and presents the viewpoint of the Egyptian government.

6.2.2 Examining the Media Frame of the Selected Samples

The Perception of Migrants and Refugees in Selected Newspapers

Through comparative analysis, we can effectively pinpoint the differences between how Egyptian and European newspapers depict migrants and refugees when reporting on immigration issues. This approach sheds light on the contrasting perspectives in Egyptian and European media portrayal. By delving into this comparison, we aim to gain deeper insights into how migrants and refugees were depicted in each newspaper. Table (4) and Figure (2) compare the five selected newspapers' perceptions of immigrants, whether they are a threat, victims, or part of the integration process into host societies.

Table (4) Newspaper and the Perception of Migrants Crosstabulation

		Migrants as Threats	Migrants as Victims	Migrants' Integration	
Newspaper	AH	15 (3,9%)	19 (5%)	0 (,0%)	34 (8,9%)
	AM	30 (7,9%)	143 (37,5%)	10 (2,6%)	183 (48%)
	AW	5 (1,3%)	13 (3,4%)	0 (,0%)	18 (4,7%)
	EP	6 (1,6%)	16 (4,2%)	0 (,0%)	22 (5,8%)
	EU	31 (8,1%)	93 (24,4%)	0 (,0%)	124 (32,5%)
Total		87 (22,8%)	284 (74,5%)	10 (2,6%)	381(100%)

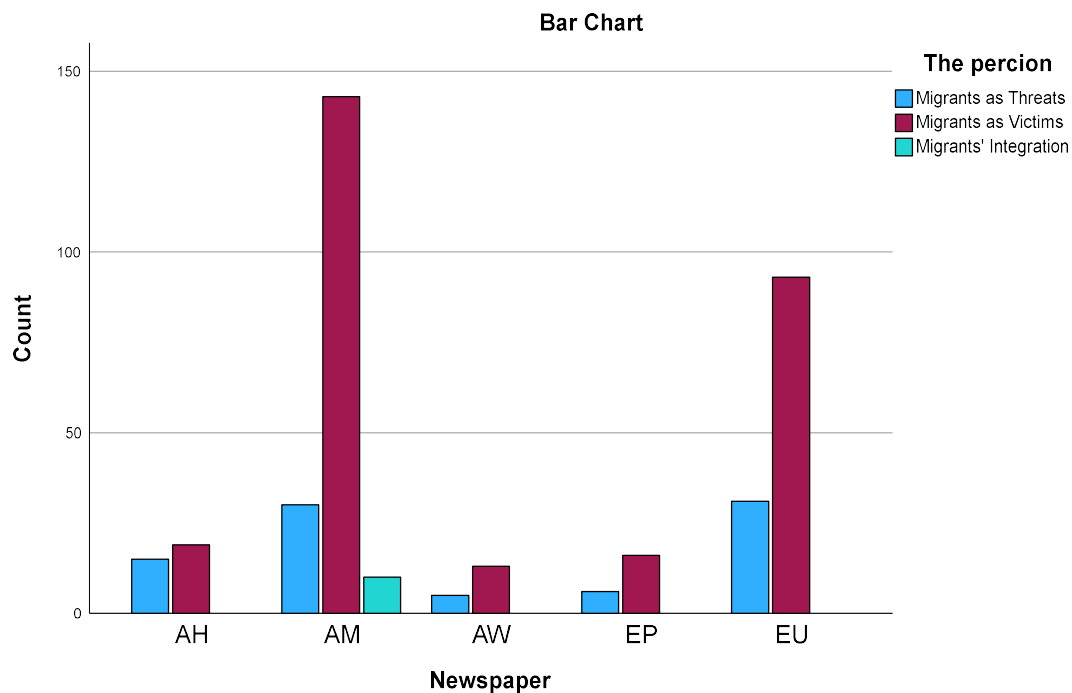


Figure (2) Newspaper and the Perception of Migrants

The previous results confirm the extent to which newspaper ownership is linked to the idea of choosing the perspective with which the problem is addressed. *Al-Masry Al-Youm* newspaper, which is independent of the state, adopted the perception of migrants as victims rather than a threat, followed by *Euronews*, with a slight difference. This can be understood in the context of the fact that the European migration crisis in 2015 was primarily composed of Syrian immigrants and refugees, who found great sympathy among the Arab people in particular.

The results also indicates that *Al-Masry Al-Youm* newspaper predominantly portrays immigrants as victims, with 143 news items (37.5%) of the total sample. Considering *Al-Wafd* newspaper, 13 news articles used the victim frame (3.4%), and 5 used the threats frame (1.3%) of the total sample. At the same time, *El Pais* used the victim frame with 16 news articles (4.2%) and the threats frame with 6 news items (1.6%) of the total sample. Additionally, *Al-Masry Al-Youm* newspaper is the only one addressing immigrant integration, with 10 published news pieces (2.6%) of the total sample on this topic.

On April 21, 2015, *Al-Ahram* newspaper published an article entitled **“Reports of 950 migrants drowning in a shipwreck, including 200 women and 50 children.”** The article talked about the sinking of a fishing boat carrying 950 migrants near the Libyan coast. The incident occurred 120 miles from the Italian island of Lampedusa. Among the

passengers, there were 200 women and 50 children. This news indicates that the incident is considered one of the worst disasters in the Mediterranean, and the EU faced pressure to address the issue of illegal immigration more effectively. The tragedy amplified debates in Europe over how to handle immigration. The news highlights the desperate conditions faced by migrants trying to reach Europe and, at the same time, the severe political and humanitarian challenges involved in addressing this crisis. The news mentioned Spanish Prime Minister Mariano Rajoy's declaration: "We Europeans risk losing our credibility if we fail to avoid tragic situations that occur every day." Matthew Renzi, the Italian Prime Minister, called on the European Union to quickly hold an expanded summit conference to discuss ways to provide partnership rules between the EU countries to confront illegal immigration. (Al-Ahram, April 21, 2015)

On the other hand, Table (5) shows the frequency of perception of immigrants in the selected newspapers. We can notice that 284 news articles were published in the newspapers chosen to depict migrants and refugees as victims, at a rate of (74.5%). In contrast, they were portrayed as a threat in 87 news articles, at a rate of (22%) of the total sample. Meanwhile, the 10 news articles that adopted the issue of immigrant integration were at most (2.6%) of the total sample.

Table (5) Frequency Perception of Migrants

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Migrants as Threats	87	22,8	22,8	22,8
	Migrants as Victims	284	74,5	74,5	97,4
	Migrants' Integration	10	2,6	2,6	100,0
	Total	381	100,0	100,0	

These findings indicate that most news coverage across the five selected newspapers addressing the migration crisis in Europe in 2015 tended to depict migrants primarily as victims. This portrayal can be understood in light of the ongoing war in Syria, which resulted in the displacement of millions of Syrians seeking refuge in Greece and Turkey, and ultimately aiming to reach Europe in pursuit of safety.

Moreover, the widespread publication of the photograph depicting the drowned Syrian child, Aylan Kurdi, discovered on a Turkish beach on September 2, 2015, played a significant role in garnering global sympathy toward the migrant crisis. This event contributed to the widespread adoption of the victim framework in most news reports concerning immigration during that period.

Immigration Policies

The content analysis of immigration policies across multiple countries revealed that the five chosen newspapers primarily focused on elucidating these policies within specific nations implicated in the immigration challenge: the European Union Foundation, Germany, Spain, Hungary, Turkey, and Egypt.

Notably, *Al-Masry Al-Youm* newspaper emerged as the leading performer covering immigration policies across various nations. Table (6) demonstrates that *Al-Masry Al-Youm* newspaper published the highest number of articles concerning European Union immigration policies, totalling 47 articles, followed by 31 articles on Germany's immigration policy, 18 on Hungary's, 17 on Turkey's, and 10 on Egypt's. Securing the second position, *Euronews* published 28 news reports concerning the European Union's immigration policies, 18 news reports on Turkey's immigration policies, and 9 news reports addressing Hungary's policies. Additionally, *El Pais* newspaper highlighted 20 news pieces specifically discussing immigration policies in Spain.

Table (6) Newspaper and Immigration Policies Crosstabulation

		Egypt	Germany	Spain	Hungary	EU	Turkey
Newspaper	AH	11	0	0	0	4	1
	AM	10	31	2	18	47	17
	AW	3	1	0	0	3	3
	EP	0	0	20	0	0	0
	EU	0	11	0	9	28	18
Total		24(6,3%)	43(11,3%)	22(5,8%)	27(7,1%)	82(21,5%)	39(10,2%)

A thorough examination of news coverage detailing various countries' responses to the migration crisis in the European Union in 2015 reveals that Germany and Turkey's immigration policies, which implemented open-door policies, significantly contributed to the plight of migrants. Germany facilitated the influx of migrants, prompting other European Union nations to shoulder their share of the crisis. They advocated for a system wherein each European Union member state would commit to accepting a specific number of refugees based on a quota system. Conversely, the news featured in the Spanish newspaper *El País* (English edition) centred on immigration policies and Spain's efforts to manage the migrant crisis, accommodating thousands of migrants and facilitating their integration into Spanish society.

By the same token, *Al-Masry Al-Youm* newspaper published news on September 15, 2015, entitled: **“Spain plans to receive 35,000 refugees during 2015”** The news included the statement made by Spanish Interior Minister Jorge Fernández and reported by the Spanish News Agency:

“Spain’s decision is part of the Brussels proposals on the redistribution of refugees. It included the hosting of 17,000 refugees who have already arrived in Madrid. Spain will keep to the European Commission’s decision, which includes accepting 15,000 refugees as part of a border plan to redistribute 120,000 refugees across Europe.”

Spanish Prime Minister Mariano Rajoy confirmed Spain’s commitment to the European Commission’s refugee distribution plan. In the same context, on September 9, 2015, *El País* (English edition) published the news titled: **“Spain will accept quota of 15,000 refugees allocated by Brussels.”**

“Spain will accept the nearly 15,000 refugees that the European Commission is asking it to take in, the government said on Wednesday. Deputy Prime Minister Soraya Sáenz de Santamaría confirmed the news but said there was still no arrival date for the 14,931 asylum seekers who will benefit from the decision”.

“We are working intensely to ensure that these people are guaranteed not just entry into our country but also the kind of mid- and long-term integration that they deserve,” said Sáenz de Santamaría. This group of refugees is part of a larger contingent of 120,000 people whom Brussels is distributing throughout various member states. Germany, France and Spain have been asked to make the largest burden-sharing effort.” (El País- English edition, September 09, 2015)

In contrast, Hungary opposed this approach and advocated for stricter border controls within the European Union to deter migrant crossings. On July 7, 2015, *Euronews* published the news titled: “**A Hungarian fence creates new front in Europe's migrant crisis.**”

“Swifts darted in and out of nesting holes in the scrubland around an old brick factory in northern Serbia. In the shade of the trees, Syrians and Afghans rested amid the rubbish of those who came before them, waiting for nightfall to walk across the nearby Hungarian border and into the European Union. Thirty-year-old Mohammed, from the devastated Syrian city of Aleppo, said it had taken him just two weeks to come this far. We are quick, he said. We are quick to beat the fence. A month from now, Hungary says it will seal its border with Serbia with a 4-metre high, 175-km barrier to keep out migrants streaming through the Balkans, fleeing war, poverty and upheaval in the Middle East and Africa for a better life in western Europe. The move, with its Cold War echoes in ex-Communist eastern Europe, threatens Serbia with disaster, creating a new migrant bottleneck, one of several on European fringes, in a country woefully ill-equipped to cope. One migration expert compared the likely outcome to the French port of Calais, where nine migrants are believed to have died since June trying to breach the entrance to the tunnel that runs under the channel to Britain. Nonetheless, Serbia "will be on a far greater scale," said Rados Djurovic, head of the Asylum Protection Centre, a local non-governmental organisation. In Calais, some 3,000 migrants are camped out trying to cross the water to Britain; in the Balkans, well over 100,000 are believed to have entered illegally into Hungary so far this year.” While the fence is unlikely to stop many of them, it will slow them down, likely creating vast squats in northern Serbia as winter approaches and temperatures drop below freezing”. (Euronews, July 07, 2015)

On the other hand, Table (7) highlights the frequency of references to news articles including immigration policies across multiple countries.

Table (7) Frequency of news including Immigration policies

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Percent
Valid	Egypt	24	6,3	6,3	6,3
	Spain	22	5,8	5,8	13,9
	EU	82	21,5	21,5	38,3
	Germany	43	11,3	11,3	57,0
	Turkey	39	10,2	10,2	73,2
	Hungary	27	7,1	7,1	86,4

Notably, the European Union's immigration policies received the highest ranking, with 82 news items (21%) of the sample, followed by Germany's immigration policies, with 43 news items (11.3%). Turkey featured 39 news pieces (10.2%), and Hungary had 27 news

items (7.1%). Moreover, there were 24 news pieces discussing immigration policies in Egypt (6.3%) of the total sample.

Migrant Voices

The analysis results indicated a difference between the Egyptian press and its European counterpart regarding the issue of conducting personal interviews with immigrants to hear their stories. Although most of the immigrants are Syrians and speak Arabic, the results indicated a lack of hearing their stories in the Egyptian press, unlike *Euronews* newspaper, for example, which ensured that its immigration news included hearing the voices of immigrants, as they are the main element in news coverage of this phenomenon.

The analysis presented in Table (8) and Figure (3) regarding the extent of the selected newspapers' engagement with immigrant voices and direct storytelling from them revealed that *Euronews* newspaper ranked highest with 37 news stories (9.7%) of the total sample, followed by *Al-Masry Al-Youm* newspaper with 13 news items (3.4%) of the total sample. In terms of news that didn't incorporate immigrant voices, *Euronews* published 80 news pieces (21%), while *Al-Masry Al-Youm* newspaper published 57 news items (15%) of the total sample. Additionally, *Al-Masry Al-Youm* newspaper led in coverage related to aid provided to non-governmental organisations and other networks assisting migrants, with 113 news items published on this topic (29%) of the total sample.

Table (8) Newspaper and Migrant Voices Crosstabulation

Newspaper		Inclusion of migrant voices with dignity/%		Exclusion of migrant voices/%		Inclusion of NGOs or other networks that work for migrants/%		
Newspaper	AH	0	(0, 0%)	19	(5%)	15	(3, 9%)	34 (8, 9%)
	AM	13	(3, 4%)	57	(15%)	113	(29, 7%)	183 (48%)
	AW	1	(0, 3%)	11	(2, 9%)	6	(1, 6%)	18 (4, 7%)
	EP	4	(1, 0%)	7	(1, 8%)	11	(2, 9%)	22 (5, 8%)
	EU	37	(9, 7%)	80	(21%)	7	(1, 8%)	124(32,5%)
Total		55	(14, 4%)	174	(45, 7%)	152	(39, 9%)	381 (100%)

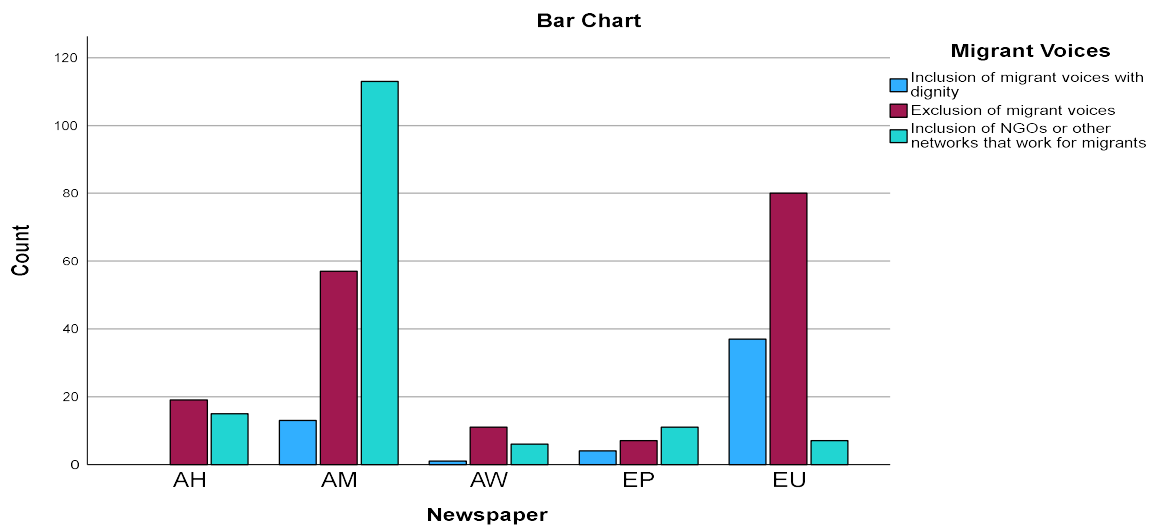


Figure (3) Newspaper and Migrant Voices

On the other hand, *El Pais* newspaper published 4 news stories (1%) of the total sample including migrant voices, and 11 news stories (2.9%) included aid provided by non-governmental organisations and other networks assisting migrants.

According to *Al-Ahram* newspaper, no news that included migrant voices was found, and 15 news stories (3.9%) of the total sample related to aid provided by non-governmental organisations and other networks assisting migrants. Regarding *Al-Wafd* newspaper, only 1 piece of news that included migrant voices was found, and 6 pieces of news pieces (1.6%) of the total sample related to aid provided to non-governmental organisations and other networks assisting migrants.

The only news published in *Al-Wafd* newspaper during the period from March 2015 to September 2015 that included the voice of migrants was related to the tragic story of the drowning of the Syrian child Aylan Kurdi. On September 3, 2015, *Al-Wafd* published news entitled: **“The father of the drowned Syrian child tells the tragic story.”**

“We were 12 people on a Viper fishing boat, only about five meters long. After a short distance, the waves began to rise significantly. The Turkish smuggler jumped into the sea and fled, leaving us to fight the waves alone. The boat capsized, and I held on to my two sons and my wife, and we tried to cling to the capsized boat for an hour. My children are still alive. The first one died as a result of the high waves. I had to leave him to save my second son.” Abdullah burst into tears and continued: “My second son died. I left him to save their mother, but I found my wife had also died, after that, I stayed in the

water for 3 hours until the Turkish Coast Guard arrived and rescued me”. (Al-Wafd, September 3, 2015)

On the other side, Table (9) revealed that 174 news items, accounting for (45.7%), were not inclusive of interviews with immigrants to share and publish their narratives. Conversely, the number of news pieces featuring immigrants' voices amounted to 55, constituting (14.4%) of the total sample. Furthermore, the number of news highlighting assistance provided by non-governmental organisations and networks to migrants totalled 152, making up (39.9%) of the total sample.

Table (9) Frequency Migrant Voices

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Percent
Valid	Inclusion of migrant voices with dignity	55	14,4	14,4	14,4
	Exclusion of migrant voices	174	45,7	45,7	60,1
	Inclusion of NGOs or other networks that work for migrants	152	39,9	39,9	100,0
	Total	381	100,0	100,0	

These findings suggest that most news in the five chosen newspapers lacked personal interviews with migrants, failing to convey their experiences and hardships, particularly those escaping conflict zones. Given that migrants are pivotal in understanding the causes and effects of migration, there should be more accurate representation of their voices in European Union newspapers. This would foster a more profound comprehension of the ongoing migration phenomenon, which shows no signs of abating amidst persisting conflicts, notably in African nations and developing economies. However, the analysis results also reveal a worldwide inclination toward aiding migrants via non-governmental organisations and civil society networks to mitigate their hardships. This assistance garnered significant attention in dissemination, as evidenced by the 152 news articles published in the newspapers under study, comprising (39.9%) of the total sample.

Practices in Border Control and National Migration Policies

The results of a comparison between the selected newspapers on the issue of national immigration policies according to border control showed that *Al-Masry Al-Youm* newspaper is the newspaper most inclined to welcome immigrants and propose new policies to address the immigration issue. In contrast, *Al-Ahram* and *Al-Pais* newspapers have adopted the idea of tightening border controls. On the other hand, the coverage of *Al-Wafd* and *Euronews* newspapers was balanced between tightening borders and welcoming immigrants at the same time.

Examining national immigration policies regarding border control practices, as presented in Table (10) and Figure (4), revealed that *Euronews* led the list with 66 stories (17.3%) focusing on tightening borders. Following closely, *Al-Masry Al-Youm* newspaper published 36 news items (9.4%) on this topic, followed by *Al-Ahram* newspaper with 24 news pieces (6.3%) of the total sample.

Table (10) indicated that in terms of proposing new immigration policies, *Al-Masry Al-Youm* newspaper stood out among the selected newspapers, publishing 79 news items on this subject (20.7%), followed by *Al-Ahram* newspaper with 11 news pieces (2.9%) of the total sample. On the other hand, concerning narratives about welcoming immigrants, *Al-Masry Al-Youm* newspaper took the lead with 61 news items (16%), followed by *Euronews* with 49 news items (12.9%).

Table (10) Practices in Border Control and National Migration Policies Crosstabulation

		To enforce border control/%	To foreground assimilation of migrants /%	To foreground multiculturalism /%	New Integration policies /%	
Newspaper	AH	24 (6.3%)	3 (0.8%)	4 (1%)	3 (0,8%)	34 (8.9%)
	AM	36 (9.4%)	61 (16%)	7 (1.8)	79 (20.7%)	183 (48%)
	AW	8 (2.1%)	7 (1.8%)	0 (0.0%)	3 (0.08%)	18 (4.7%)
	EP	6 (1.6%)	3 (0.8%)	2 (0.5%)	11 (2.9%)	22 (5.8%)
	EU	66 (17.3%)	49 (12.9%)	1 (0.3%)	8 (2.1%)	124(32.5%)
Total		140 (36.7%)	123 (32.3)	14 (3.7%)	104 (27.3%)	381(100%)

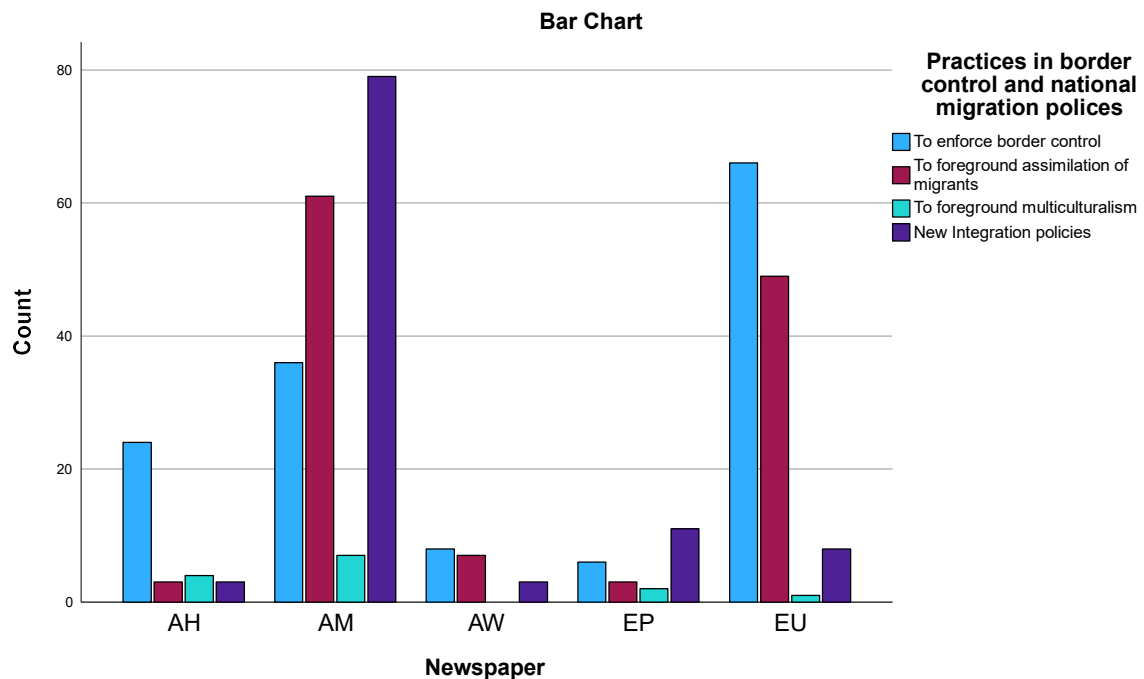


Figure (4) Practices in border control and national migration policies

Despite the large financial support from the European Union to member states for each country to agree to receive a specific number of refugees because of the migration crisis, some European countries, including the UK, Hungary, and France, for example, were calling for tightening borders and proposing a new law to prevent the entry of refugees. By the same token, on August 11, 2015, *Euronews* published news entitled: ***“Varying reactions around Europe to new migrant wave.”*** To illustrate:

“As Europe struggles to cope with a surge in the number of migrants, the European Commission has approved 2.4 billion euros of aid over six years for member countries. Italy is to receive the most aid, nearly 560 million euros, while Greece will receive 473 million. Britain has already received 27 million euros, while France gets 20 million later this month. "We are now able to disperse the funding for the French national programme. The UK has already received the first disbursement of their funding, and so both of these sums go to, amongst other things, dealing with the situation in Calais," said EU Commission spokeswoman Natasha Bertaud. The northern French port of Calais has become one of the frontlines in Europe's wider migrant crisis alongside the Italian and Greek islands. More than 3,000 migrants and refugees are there. Many try to enter Britain illegally through the Eurotunnel to claim asylum. This situation has caused at least 10 migrant deaths since the beginning of June. The French and British governments have responded by erecting new fences near the tracks. In the UK, where anti-immigrant sentiments are on the rise, the government has promised a new law to tighten immigration rules...Elsewhere, Hungary has attracted criticism for attempting to stop migrants by building a 100-mile-long razor-wire fence which runs along its border with Serbia. Every day, some

1,500 refugees, mostly Afghan and Syrian, stream out of the woods into Hungary” (Euronews, August 11, 2015).

On the other hand, Table (11) revealed that among the selected newspapers, 140 news items focused on tightening border controls (36.7%) of the total sample. Conversely, 123 news items highlighted welcoming immigrants (32.3%) of the total sample. Additionally, 104 news items focused on new immigration policies (27.3%) of the total sample.

Table (11) Frequency of Practices in Border Control and National Migration Policies

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Percent
Valid	To enforce border control	140	36,7	36,7	36,7
	To foreground assimilation of migrants	123	32,3	32,3	69,0
	To foreground multiculturalism	14	3,7	3,7	72,7
	New Integration policies	104	27,3	27,3	100,0
	Total	381	100,0	100,0	

These findings highlight a significant aspect of this domain: the prevailing emphasis on tightening border controls among European Union countries despite the evident failure of this policy to curtail migration. This failure is underscored by the surge in incidents involving the sinking of dilapidated migrant boats and the resultant loss of lives, particularly in the Mediterranean in recent years. For instance, the eruption of war or internal conflicts in developing countries compels people to seek refuge elsewhere, as witnessed in 2015 when millions of Syrians fled the conflict in their homeland, precipitating the European migration crisis.

Type of Coverage

Data analysis revealed that media coverage of the immigration issue encompassed various frames, including human rights discourse, economic discourse, legal/security discourse, and human rights tragedy discourse.

The results indicated that *Al-Masry Al-Youm* newspaper most frequently used the human rights and human rights tragedy frames when covering immigration issues. This is consistent with what was previously mentioned: *Al-Masry Al-Youm* newspaper adopted the portrayal of migrants as victims and, therefore, adopted the use of human rights discourse and the discourse of human rights tragedy to a greater extent than other frameworks.

Meanwhile, *Al-Ahram* newspaper clearly chose the legal/security discourse. However, both *El Pais* and *Al-Wafd* newspapers sided with the human rights discourse to a lesser extent. On the other hand, *Euronews* balanced its human rights and security/legal discourse coverage on immigration issues.

According to Table (12) and Figure (5), *Al Masry Al Youm* newspaper used the human rights approach the most frequently in its coverage of immigration and migrants, with 86 news items (22.6%), followed by *Euronews* with 38 news items (10%) of the total sample. Conversely, *Euronews* newspaper adopted an economic approach in publishing 26 news items (6.8%), while *Al-Masry Al-Youm* newspaper only published 8 news items in this category. (2.1%) of the total sample.

In terms of the legal/security approach, *Euronews* took the lead with 34 news items (8.9%), followed by *Al-Masry Al-Youm* newspaper with 25 news items (6.6%) and *Al-Ahram* newspaper with 22 news items (5.8%) of the total sample. Furthermore, it was observed that *Al-Masry Al-Youm* newspaper mostly utilised the human rights tragedy framework compared to other newspapers, with 64 news items (16.8%), followed by *Euronews* with 26 news items (6.8%) and *Al-Wafd* newspaper with 8 news items (2.1%) of the total sample.

Table (12) Newspaper and Type of Coverage Crosstabulation

		Human Rights Approach /%	Economic Approach /%	Legal / Security Approach /%	Human Tragedy Approach /%	
Newspaper	AH	6 (1,6%)	2 (0,5%)	22 (5,8%)	4 (1%)	34 (8,9%)
	AM	86 (22,6%)	8 (2,1%)	25 (6,6%)	64 (16,8%)	183 (48%)
	AW	4 (1,0%)	1 (0,3%)	5 (1,3%)	8 (2,1%)	18 (4,7%)
	EP	9 (2,4%)	3 (0,8%)	4 (1,0%)	6 (1,6%)	22 (5,8%)
	EU	38 (10%)	26 (6,8%)	34 (8,9%)	26 (6,8%)	124(32,5%)
Total		143 (37,5%)	40 (10,5%)	90 (23,6%)	108 (28,3%)	381(100%)

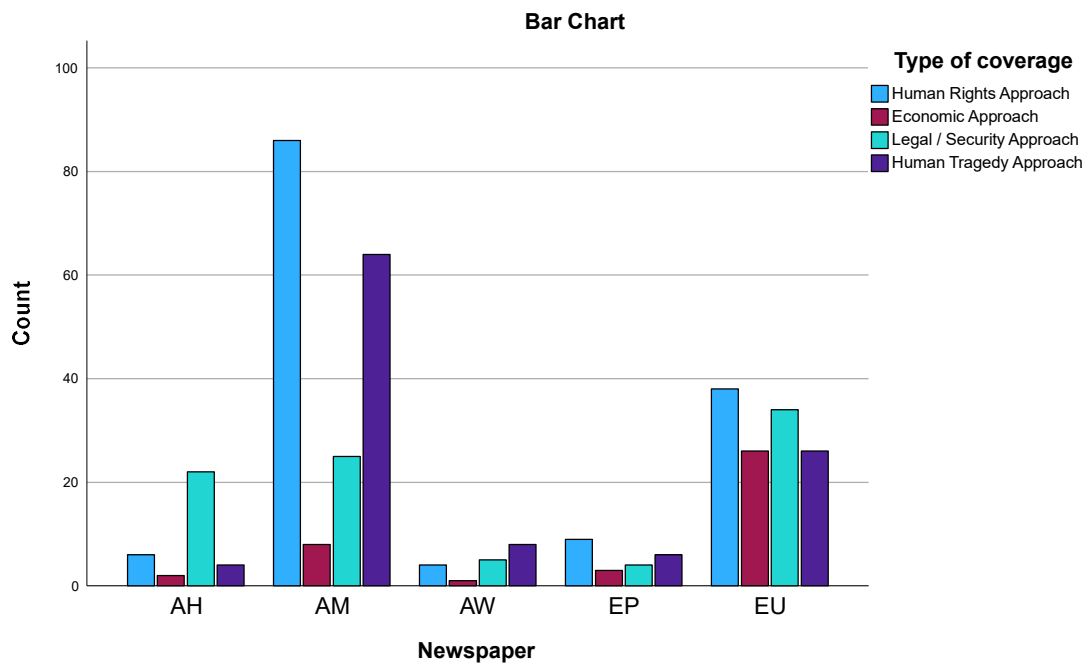


Figure (5) Newspaper and Type of Coverage

On the other side, Table (13) presents the distribution of the four types of media coverage mentioned above across the selected newspaper samples analysed. Human rights discourse emerged as the most prevalent, appearing in 143 news items, accounting for (37.5%) of the total sample. Following closely, human rights tragedy discourse ranked second with 108 news items, making up (28.3%) of the total sample, while legal/security discourse secured third place with 90 news items, constituting (23.6%) of the total sample. Lastly, economic discourse accounted for 40 news items, representing (10.5%) of the total sample.

Table (13) Frequency of Type of Coverage

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Percent
Valid	Human Rights Approach	143	37,5	37,5	37,5
	Economic Approach	40	10,5	10,5	48,0
	Legal / Security Approach	90	23,6	23,6	71,7
	Human Tragedy Approach	108	28,3	28,3	100,0
	Total	381	100,0	100,0	

It is noteworthy that 90 news items (23.6% of the total sample) tended to approach the crisis through a legal or security framework. This tendency was particularly evident in the coverage of this crisis by Hungarian press outlets. However, these findings indicate that a significant portion of media coverage in the selected newspapers centred around the human rights perspective. This emphasis can be attributed to the escalation of the Syrian conflict in 2015 and the widespread dissemination of images depicting Syrian migrants attempting to cross borders, particularly following the publication of the photograph of the drowned Syrian child, Aylan Kurdi, which elicited global sympathy for the migration crisis. In the same context, on July 9, 2015, *Al-Masry Al-Youm* newspaper published a news article entitled: **“United Nations: Number of Syrian refugees exceed 4 million.”**

This news story reported that the UN refugee report (July 2015) indicated that the ongoing Syrian crisis has led to over 4 million refugees fleeing the country. The report did not include the 270,000 Syrians who have sought asylum in European countries. This figure represents an increase of 1 million refugees within the previous ten months. In addition to refugees, 7.6 million Syrians have been displaced within Syria, living under harsh conditions. However, Antonio Guterres, The UN High Commissioner for Refugees, criticised donor countries for not providing enough support to nations hosting large numbers of refugees. According to host countries, Turkey hosts 1.8 million Syrian refugees, Lebanon hosts 1.2 million, Jordan hosts 630,000, Iraq hosts 250,000, and Egypt hosts 130,000 refugees. (Al-Masry Al-Youm, July 9, 2015)

Photos Included

The analysis, as demonstrated in Tables (14) and (15), revealed that every piece of news published in the five newspapers comprising the selected sample incorporated a photograph. These photos depicted migrants, the vessels they travelled in, European leaders, and other relevant figures discussing the migration crisis. This underscores the significance of including a photograph alongside news articles to convey the intended message to readers effectively.

Table (14) Newspaper and Photo Included
Crosstabulation

		Yes	Total
Newspaper	AH	34	34
	AM	183	183
	AW	18	18
	EP	22	22
	EU	124	124
Total		381	381

Table (15) Frequency of Photo Included

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	381	100,0	100,0	100,0

Aylan Kurdi's Photo

On September 2, 2015, a Syrian child named Aylan Kurdi tragically drowned in the Mediterranean Sea when his boat capsized shortly after departing from the shore. Later that same day, Peter Bouckaert, the director of emergencies at Human Rights Watch, shared a photograph of Aylan Kurdi on his Twitter account. This tweet caused the image to spread rapidly across social media platforms and mainstream news outlets (Mattus M., 2020).

Due to the intention behind its widespread distribution in mainstream media, disseminating Aylan Kurdi's photograph was perceived as a humanitarian act. The publication of images depicting deceased children may primarily serve humanitarian purposes, aiming to help individuals understand the plight of refugees, particularly the harsh realities faced by refugee children. The photograph of Aylan Kurdi captured the world's attention, eliciting feelings of compassion rather than the usual blend of fear and indifference toward those who have fled their homes in search of safety on European shores. Analysis of the data, depicted in Table (16) and Chart (6), revealed that *Euronews* newspaper featured the photograph of the

drowned child, Aylan, in 20 news items (5.2%) of the total sample. In comparison, *Al-Masry Al-Youm* newspaper published this image in 11 news pieces (2.9%), *Al-Wafd* newspaper in 5 news items (1,3%), and *Al-Ahram* newspaper published the child photo in 4 news items (1%). Lastly, *El País* newspaper featured it in one news item (0.3%) of the total sample.

Table (16) Newspaper and Aylan Kurdi's photo

Crosstabulation

		No	Yes	
Newspaper	AH	30 (88,2%)	4 (1%)	34 (8,9%)
	AM	172 (94%)	11(2,9%)	183 (48%)
	AW	13 (72,2%)	5 (1,3%)	18 (4,7%)
	EP	21 (95,5%)	1 (0,3%)	22 (5,8%)
	EU	104 (83,9%)	20(5,2%)	124(32,5%)
Total		340 (89,2%)	41(10,8%)	381 (100%)

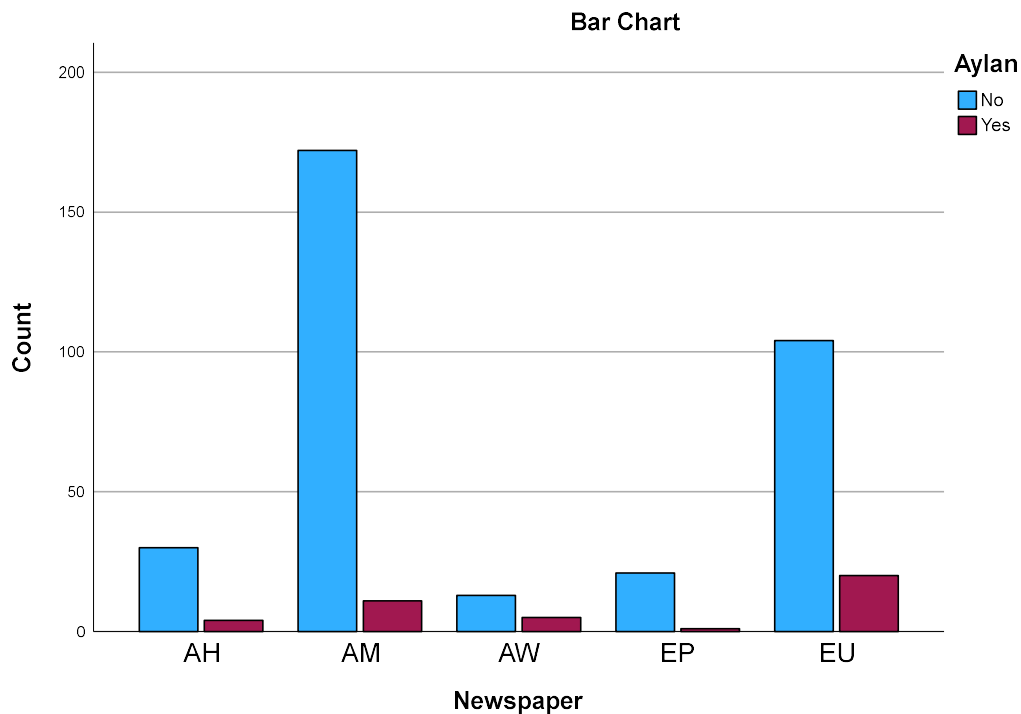


Figure (6) Newspaper and Aylan Kurdi's photo

The publication of the image of the drowned child brought global attention to the plight of migrants and refugees, prompting a shift in countries' stances and policies regarding the migration crisis. It shed light on the suffering experienced by migrants and the challenges they face during their complex journeys. Steering the discussion more toward *Al-Ahram* newspaper, which published news on September 4, 2015, entitled; **“The image of the Syrian child shocks the world, and an imminent international decision to stop the migration tragedies.”**

“The image of a drowned Syrian child, Aylan Kurdi, on a Turkish beach deeply shocked the world and highlighted the ongoing refugee crisis in Europe. A UNICEF report revealed that conflicts in the Middle East and North Africa have deprived over 13 million children of education. Violence has severely impacted schools in Syria, Iraq, Libya, and Yemen. The UN Security Council was preparing to issue a decision allowing the European Union to intervene in the Mediterranean Sea to combat Illegal Immigration and human traffickers, especially in the International Waters. According to the Canadian newspaper National Post, the child’s family attempted to migrate to Canada but failed. The child’s father was the sole survivor of the tragic incident, having lost his wife and two sons. Due to the intention behind its widespread distribution in mainstream media, disseminating Aylan Kurdi's photograph was perceived as a humanitarian act. The publication of images depicting deceased children may primarily serve humanitarian purposes, aiming to help individuals understand the plight of refugees, particularly the harsh realities faced by refugee children. The photograph of Aylan Kurdi captured the world's attention, eliciting feelings of compassion rather than the usual blend of fear and indifference towards those who have fled their homes in search of safety on European shores.”
(Al-Ahram, September 4, 2015)

On the other hand, Table (17) demonstrates the frequency of publishing a photograph of the drowned Syrian child Aylan Kurdi. It is observed that this image appeared in 41 news items, accounting for (10.8%) of the total sample. While this percentage may seem modest, it is crucial not to overlook the profound impact of publishing this image. It portrayed the humanitarian crisis effectively and also attracted attention to the challenges faced by migrants and refugees who were fleeing the ravages of the Syrian war. This conflict resulted

in the displacement of millions, driving them towards Turkey in a quest to find a route to reach the European Union.

Table (17) Frequency of Aylan Kurdi's Photo

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Percent
Valid	No	340	89,2	89,2	89,2
	Yes	41	10,8	10,8	100,0
	Total	381	100,0	100,0	

The Month of the News Issued

Analysis of the sample data revealed fluctuations in the frequency of publishing news concerning immigration and immigrants across the five newspapers during the seven months from March to September 2015. Table (18) illustrates that September had the highest incidence of migrant news coverage and European migration crisis reporting, totalling 224 news items, accounting for (58.8%) of the total sample. This trend is unsurprising, notably following the publication of the photograph of the drowned Syrian child, Aylan Kurdi, on September 2, 2015, which will remain immortalised in the memory of history. This image attracted the attention of the global community to the issue of the migrant crisis and created a great deal of sympathy for migrants. Many European countries called for approval of a plan to share the burdens of receiving immigrants, led by Germany, which received the largest number. August ranked second with 59 news items, constituting (15.5%) of the total sample.

Table (18) Frequency of the Month of the News Issued

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Percent
Valid	March	12	3,1	3,1	3,1
	April	32	8,4	8,4	11,5
	May	18	4,7	4,7	16,3
	June	14	3,7	3,7	19,9

July	22	5,8	5,8	25,7
August	59	15,5	15,5	41,2
September	224	58,8	58,8	100,0
Total	381	100,0	100,0	

6.2.3 Exploring of the Research Questions

This study investigates the framing of immigration issues in Egyptian and European newspapers. Employing content analysis, the research examines 381 immigration-related articles published between March 1 and September 30, 2015, across three Egyptian and two European newspapers. The analysis aims to elucidate the diverse media representations of immigration and identify prevailing perceptions of migrants. Specifically, the study addresses the following research questions:

- RQ1: How are immigration issues framed within Egyptian newspapers?
- RQ2: How are immigration issues framed within European newspapers?

RQ 1: How do the Egyptian Newspapers Cover Immigration Issues?

A corpus of 235 news articles (61.6% of the total sample) was analysed, drawn from three Egyptian newspapers: *Al-Ahram*, *Al-Masry Al-Youm*, and *Al-Wafd*. The study focuses on identifying and examining the prevailing frames employed by these newspapers to understand their specific coverage patterns.

Concerning the type of coverage each newspaper used, some different patterns were included.

It seems *Al-Ahram* tended to focus on the legal and security side of immigration. *Al-Masry Al-Youm*, on the other hand, leaned heavily into the human rights angle. Then there's *Al-Wafd*, which often framed immigration as a human tragedy. Why do these papers take such different approaches? It probably comes down to who owns them and what their underlying viewpoints are. *Al-Ahram*, being state-run, is going to prioritise the official line. *Al-Masry Al-Youm*, being independent and owned by entrepreneurs, has more freedom to

highlight human rights. And *Al-Wafd*, as the voice of a political liberal party, is naturally going to push its particular perspective.

When it came to how these newspapers portrayed migrants and refugees, the findings indicated that all three publications tended to depict them as victims. A total of 175 articles (45.9%) of the sample show migrants as people in need rather than as a threat. Only 50 articles (13.1%) of the total sample used the “threat” perspective. Taking into account that most of the migrants and refugees at that time were Syrians escaping the conflict, so it is natural they would be seen as victims.

Regarding border control and immigration policies, findings varied among the three newspapers. *Al-Masry Al-Youm* clearly advocated for a more welcoming approach, calling for migrant integration and proposing policies to facilitate this process. *Al-Ahram* leaned more towards endorsing a policy of stricter control and tightening borders. On the other hand, coverage in *Al-Wafd* newspaper fluctuated between these two approaches (refer to Table 10 for more details).

Concerning the inclusion of migrants’ voices and personal stories through interviews, the Egyptian newspapers showed limited engagement. Only 14 articles (3.7%) across all three newspapers included migrants’ voices.

Al-Masry Al-Youm was the clear exception, publishing 13 of those 14 articles (3.4%), demonstrating a genuine effort to highlight the struggles and hardships migrants faced. Conversely, *Al-Ahram* published no news stories featuring migrants’ voices, suggesting a significant omission in its coverage. *Al-Wafd* published only one news story including migrants’ voices, which was a personal interview recounting someone’s journey crossing the border.

On the other side, when it came to talking about NGOs and other groups helping migrants, all three newspapers were on board with that. They published 134 news articles (35.2%), highlighting the aid being provided.

To sum it all up, these Egyptian newspapers generally adopted a compassionate approach towards migrants and refugees, mostly showing them as victims needing help. The three publications were pushing for new policies to welcome them and help them settle in. However, the degree of emphasis on this stance varied between the newspapers. *Al-Ahram*, being the state paper, was more cautious, reflecting the government's official line. *Al-Masry Al-Youm*, the independent one owned by Egyptian business, was much more vocal about

helping out. And *Al-Wafd*, as a liberal newspaper, tended to adopt both welcoming and security-oriented approaches.

While the three publications published immigration news about immigrants and refugees, they barely let them speak for themselves. Personal interviews were scarce, despite the fact that such stories are crucial for truly understanding the experiences and hardships faced by migrants and refugees.

RQ 2: How do the European Newspapers Cover Immigration Issues?

The second research question investigates how Immigration is portrayed in European newspapers. The samples were extracted from *Al País*, the Spanish newspaper (English edition) and *Euronews* newspaper from March 1 to September 30, 2015. A total of 146 news articles (38.3%) of the total samples from these European newspapers were examined.

The findings revealed a notable difference in **the quantity of news published** by the two newspapers examined. *Euronews* published 124 news items (32.5%) of the total sample, whereas the English edition of *El País* released 22 news items (5.2%) during the research timeframe.

According to the **type of coverage**, the findings indicated that in the coverage provided by *El País (English edition)* newspaper, it was evident that 15 news items (3.9%) framed immigration news around the discourse of human rights and human tragedy, while 3 news items (0.8%) centred on economic discourse and 4 news adopted on legal or security frame. On the other side, *Euronews* featured 64 news (16.8%) focused on the human rights and human tragedy discourse, alongside 26 news (6.8%) emphasising the economic frame and 34 news (8.9%) highlighting the legal or security frame.

Regarding the **perception of migrants** in European newspapers, most of the news in both newspapers employed a human rights frame and depicted migrants and refugees as victims. The two European newspapers published 109 news stories (28.6%) using the victim frame, while 37 news stories (9.7%) adopted the threat frame (refer to Table 4 for details). These results demonstrate that the European press was heavily influenced by the escalating conflict in Syria, which intensified the migration crisis. There is a clear tendency to depict migrants as victims, especially following the publication of the photograph of the drowned Syrian boy Aylan Kurdi in early September 2015. This tragic image drew the international community's attention, highlighting the severity of the European migration crisis.

On the other hand, regarding **border practices and national immigration policies**, the findings revealed that both newspapers addressed calls for tightening borders, and proposing new immigration policies. *Euronews* published 66 news articles (17.3%) on restricting border controls, compared to *El País* with 6 news articles (1.6%). *Euronews* also featured 49 news stories (12.9%) on the integration of migrants, while *El País* had only 3 news items (0.8%) of the total sample.

Regarding news that contained proposals for **new immigrant integration policies**, *Euronews* published 8 news items (2.1%), and *El País* published 11 news items (2.9%) (Refer to Table 10 for more details). These findings suggest a degree of balance in the coverage of immigrant news by the two newspapers concerning border practices and national immigration policies.

Regarding **representing migrant voices** and narrating their experiences through personal interviews, the findings revealed a noticeable decline in the representation of immigrant voices in both newspapers. *Euronews* included the voices of immigrants in 37 news stories (9.7%), while *El País* did so in only 4 news stories (1%) of the total sample. On the other hand, *Euronews* published 80 news stories (21%), and *El País* published 7 news pieces (1.8%) that did not involve interviewing migrants or presenting their narratives. These findings point to a general hesitancy on the part of the European press to interview migrants directly in order to learn about their experiences of hardship while migrating. On the other hand, 7 news items (1.8%) of the total sample were found in *Euronews* newspaper, including aid provided by NGOs to support the migrants, while *El País* published 11 news pieces (2.9%) of the total sample.

6.2.4 Discussing the Characteristics of the Egyptian Newspapers' Coverage of Immigration Issues

The study aimed to examine Egyptian newspapers' coverage of the 2015 European immigration crisis, as newspapers in Egypt hold a significant influence on public perception and understanding of immigration issues.

The investigation extended beyond the content of reporting to determine the methods employed, analysing the narrative media frame, the portrayal of migrants, the representation of border control practices, and the inclusion of migrant voices. Furthermore, the study considered the impact of the Aylan Kurdi photograph on migration debates.

The coverage of the Egyptian newspapers was characterised by several critical points, perhaps the most important of which is the newspapers most often used to portray migrants and refugees as victims. Egyptian newspapers published 175 news articles, representing (45.9%) of the total sample, using the victims frame, which reinforces the importance of looking at the human tragedy experienced by immigrants who were forced under the threat of conflict to leave their homeland and search for a safe place for their families, which is in line with international treaties and conventions in that matter.

The Egyptian media also published 134 news items (35.2%), indicating the aid extended by NGOs and other support networks dedicated to assisting migrants. This underscores the Egyptian press's dedication to advocating for increased support for migrants as victims, emphasising the crucial role of providing essential aid to migrants as an integral aspect of covering immigration issues.

Similarly, within this media frame, the Egyptian newspapers embraced the initiative to suggest new immigration policies, publishing 85 news articles, accounting for (22.3%) of the complete sample. This news discussed the policies advocated by the international community for the integration of immigrants into host nations, which undoubtedly serves as a significant step towards resolving the challenges posed by immigration.

Additionally, it has been noted that Egyptian and European newspapers cover the subject of immigration in various types. When covering immigration issues, certain European newspapers have a tendency to focus on economic or security perspectives, portraying migrants and refugees as a threat or a burden. Conversely, the Egyptian press primarily discussed migrants' human rights in 96 news items (25.2%) and the tragedy of human rights in 76 news items (19.9%) of the total sample. This choice aligns with the Egyptian press's perception of immigrants as victims who should receive more substantial aid and support, highlighting the significance of considering new immigration policies to reduce negative immigration impacts.

On the other hand, findings from the content analysis revealed notable weaknesses in the Egyptian press's treatment of immigration, especially the lack of inclusion of migrants' voices through individual interviews. Egyptian newspapers published only 14 news stories (3.7%) that included personal interviews with migrants, allowing them to share their experiences of hardship, challenges faced during migration, and struggles with integration into host societies.

The Egyptian press's lack of personal interviews in its coverage of immigration issues primarily stems from insufficient funding and a lack of necessary resources for journalists to travel to crisis zones, engage with the story's heroes, and document their experiences to present a comprehensive understanding of this complex problem.

Summary of the Content Analysis

A comparative content analysis of immigration coverage in Egyptian and European press revealed notable disparities. The Egyptian press demonstrated a greater degree of empathy towards the migration crisis than its European counterparts. The 2015 Syrian crisis, which resulted in millions seeking refuge at the European Union's borders, was a key driver of the European migration crisis. Egypt's shared Arab identity and geographical proximity to Syria likely influenced this empathetic approach, reflecting Egypt's historical engagement with Arab affairs, particularly concerning the plight of Syrian refugees. Furthermore, Egypt's established role as a host country for millions of immigrants, primarily from African nations, positions it as a crucial transit destination.

Within the Egyptian newspapers, *Al-Masry Al-Youm* stands out as the dominant source of immigration news, publishing 183 articles (48%) of the sample. This contrasts sharply with *Al-Ahram's* 34 articles (8.9%) and *Al-Wafd* 18 articles (4.7%). These discrepancies can be attributed to variations in editorial policies and ownership structures. *Al-Ahram*, as a state-owned publication, reflects governmental perspectives. *Al-Masry Al-Youm*, an independently owned newspaper, enjoys greater editorial freedom. *Al-Wafd*, owned by the Al-Wafd Party, likely faces resource constraints that limit its capacity for extensive coverage.

Regarding the framing of migrants in Egyptian newspapers, the analysis indicates that 175 news stories (45.9%) employed the "victim frame." This suggests a tendency towards positive coverage, portraying migrants as vulnerable individuals in need of international assistance and emphasising the humanitarian imperative of welcoming them into host countries.

Regarding coverage of national immigration policies, Egyptian newspapers published 151 articles (39.6%) of the total sample. This indicates a strong interest in highlighting both current and proposed policies related to migration. The analysis also revealed coverage of European Union Commission immigration policies in 82 news stories

across the selected newspapers. Furthermore, 43 stories focused on German immigration policies, while 39 explored Turkish policies. This emphasis on Germany and Turkey likely reflects their significant roles as primary reception countries for millions of refugees during the 2015 European migration crisis, suggesting their active engagement in addressing the issue.

Regarding the inclusion of migrant voices, the two European newspapers incorporated interviews with migrants and their families in 41 articles (10.7%) of the total sample, offering insights into their migration journeys. The three Egyptian newspapers, by contrast, included such interviews in only 14 articles (3.7%) of the total sample. Migrant narratives are crucial to understanding the complexities of immigration, providing valuable perspectives on the root causes and informing effective responses. Giving space to these voices is essential for a deep understanding of the issue and for developing policies that respect migrants' human rights and facilitate their integration.

Recognising migrants as often forced to move in search of safety underscores the importance of their perspectives in shaping informed immigration approaches. The 2015 European coverage of the immigration crisis, however, was largely defined by concerns about increasing refugee numbers at EU borders, with a dominant "threat frame." While this framing prevailed across much of Europe, a shift towards portraying migrants and refugees as victims was observed, particularly after the publication of the image of the drowned Syrian boy Aylan Kurdi in early September 2015.

5.3 Findings of Focus Group Discussions

Focus group discussions for this study aimed to explore the perspectives of samples of migrants and refugees living in Egypt about how Egyptian and European newspapers cover immigration issues and what is necessary to improve this coverage. The discussions also explored the role of newspapers in shaping public attitudes towards migrants and refugees, as well as the role that newspapers can play in integrating them into host societies. The responses from all participants in the four focus group discussions were carefully recorded and analysed to ensure accuracy. To present conclusions drawn from this qualitative data, a thematic analysis of the participants' answers (migrants and refugees) to the topics raised during the discussions was conducted. This resulted in the identification of six main categories:

- 1- The portrayal of migrants and refugees in Egyptian and European newspapers.
- 2- Type of newspapers' coverage of immigration issues.
- 3- Migrants' voices in the newspapers.
- 4- The role of newspapers in shaping public attitudes towards migrants and refugees
- 5- The role of media in integrating migrants and refugees into host societies.
- 6- The essential issues that newspapers should focus on when reporting immigration news.

1- The Portrayal of Migrants and Refugees in Egyptian and European Newspapers.

Media studies frequently examine frames, which are the frameworks of interpretation that support a specific problem description. (Heidenreich, T., et al., 2019). During the immigration crisis in 2015, the depiction of migrants and refugees in Egyptian and European newspapers varied according to the framework used by those newspapers to describe immigration issues. European newspapers securitised immigration, tending to adopt a threat frame when reporting on migrants. In contrast, Egyptian newspapers more commonly used the victim frame. Therefore, participants were asked for their opinions on how migrants and refugees were portrayed in Egyptian and European newspapers.

The focus group discussions highlighted diverse perceptions. Most of the participants expressed their disappointment with European newspapers' negative portrayal as threats and criminals invading Europe during the immigration crisis due to the fear of the increasing number of migrants. One of the participants from Yemen in his early thirties shared his opinion on this topic:

“The European countries were afraid of the waves of immigration to Europe, and the press was influenced by this, especially with the increasing number of refugees and migrants due to the war in Syria. Newspapers depicted refugees as criminals who seek to invade Europe, and this, for me, is unfair because those victims lost everything in the war”. (P8- Group2)

Another participant from Sudan, in his early thirties, mentioned the metaphors used to depict migrants and refugees.

“Some European newspapers used words like “wave of refugees, invasion, animals” to describe migrants and refugees. For me, it was horrible to read these words describing people in tragic situations. It was a human crisis, and those refugees were fleeing from the Syrian war. I was very disappointed by the poor press coverage of the disaster”. (P4 – Group 1)

Another participant from Morocco, in his middle thirties, explained his point of view:

“I felt so bad because of the negative perceptions of refugees in most of the newspapers. It was obvious that the EU member states failed to find effective immigration policies to receive these homeless people and end their human crisis.” (P18- Group 3)

Another participant from Sudan, in his early thirties, described his migrant journey from Sudan to Egypt because of the war in Sudan:

“My journey from Sudan to Egypt was very difficult and carried a lot of hardship. I travelled with my family, and we were being searched by the army. This happened 2 years ago because of the war in Sudan. However, I noticed that the media focused on the negative aspects of migration. Refugees were portrayed as a burden rather than victims. The press tends to use security frames when reporting immigration issues.” (P20 – Group 4).

On the other hand, some participants felt that migrants and refugees were portrayed as helpless victims in need of saving, emphasising the humanitarian tragedy and showing great sympathy for them. One participant from Syria in his middle 30s stated:

“In Egyptian newspapers, I felt that migrants and refugees were portrayed as helpless victims in need of saving. I saw a hundred people drown in sea while many countries refused to receive them or to provide necessary Aid for them, however, their human rights were totally abused.” (P19- Group 4)

Another female participant from Yemen, in her early thirties, shared her feelings about this issue:

“I felt that newspapers focus on dramatic stories of migrants, which dominated the coverage of the difficulties these people face in searching for a safe place to live”. (P24- Group 4)

Another Syrian participant, 33 years old, shared his experiences:

“The portrayal of the immigration crisis in 2015 was balanced. The crisis was a humanitarian tragedy because of the large number of refugees, and the news showed great sympathy for them” (P13 – Group 3)

Another female participant from Syria, 34 years old, explained the type of Egyptian coverage of immigration issues:

“Most Egyptian newspapers showed great sympathy for the Syrian refugee crisis, especially with the spread of photos of hundreds of boats full of them trying to cross the sea to reach Europe. Some of these migrants drowned during migration. I think this was also the case for European newspapers, with some exceptions. For example, some European press during the immigration crisis in 2015 showed a lack of welcome and adopted a position supportive of tightening immigration policies to prevent migrants and refugees from crossing the border.” (P12 – Group 2)

2- Type of Newspapers’ Coverage of Immigration Issues.

The portrayal of migrants in European newspapers, most of the time, is negative, focusing on the problems and disorders that migrants could potentially cause. The media often exploits people’s fear of migrants by portraying them as a disaster and a threat rather than explaining their tragic situation. Stereotypes of news coverage do not allow for a full understanding of the complexity of immigration as it is based on one-sided views. On the other hand, Egyptian newspapers used the victim frame to portray migrants and refugees and explain the challenges faced by migrants.

Most of the participants expressed that the tone used in newspapers’ coverage of immigration is often negative, with a focus on potential security, economic, and cultural threats caused by migrants and refugees. One participant from Sudan in his early thirties shared his thoughts:

“I think the portrayal of migrants is negative in the media, focusing on crime and problems rather than the human side of the issue”. (P 20- Group 4)

Another participant from Yemen, in his middle thirties, described the type of European newspapers' coverage of immigration:

"I think migrants and refugees were portrayed negatively. European news mentioned security and threats in most of the publications. However, some journalists are working to change the typical negative portrayal of migrants and highlight their positive impact on the host communities." (P10 – Group 2)

Another female participant from Yemen in her late 20s stated:

"The overall feeling was quite negative. The press kept talking about how migrants would lead to more violence and crime. It seemed like migrants were being treated as just another crisis on top of everything else." (P3 – Group 1)

Another female participant from Syria, in her middle 30s, shared her perspective on the portrayal of migrants in European newspapers:

"The portrayal of migrants in European newspapers was negative. They used the language of fear of migrants' arrival and considered them an economic and security threat to European culture. Of course, most of these migrants do not speak foreign languages, and the European press did not encourage their integration into host societies. It considered them a threat to the labour market, as well as linking them to crime and terrorism" (P 12 – Group 2)

However, some participants believed that newspapers used a positive frame when reporting on immigration issues and an advocacy tone to support migrants' rights and call for changing immigration policies. One of the participants from Somalia explained the newspaper's coverage during the immigration crisis in 2015:

"Press coverage during the 2015 crisis was largely sympathetic to refugees' tragedy because of the large number of them on the border. At the same time, numerous humanitarian organisations were involved in extensive media advocacy initiatives, seeking to persuade European countries to increase their efforts in providing assistance to migrants and refugees". (P16 – group 3)

Another participant from Lebanon, in his middle 30s, explained the coverage of Egyptian newspapers during the immigration crisis 2025:

"During the immigration crisis in 2015, Egyptian newspapers mostly portrayed migrants and refugees in a positive way. You can find a lot of sympathy and feeling for the tragedy of these refugees. Most of the immigration news explains the problems faced by the migrants and calls on the international community to find a solution to their suffering, unlike the European news, which focuses on the crisis and does not give enough attention to the people living through it. Unfortunately, after 2015, it is rare to find immigration news in Egyptian newspapers." (P 11- Group 2)

Another female participant, 30 years old from Syria, stated:

“I felt that there was sympathy for migrants and refugees because the crisis was in the headlines in the whole world, and it was truly disastrous”. (P 21 – Group 4)

Other participants believed that the type of newspaper coverage on immigration issues was mixed between negative and positive. One participant from Morocco, in his middle 30s, explained how migrants and refugees were portrayed in the newspapers:

“Depictions of migrants and refugees, especially Africans, are often associated with crime and drug dealers. This, for sure, is a negative frame. The press usually ignores publishing the successful migrant models. On the other hand, there are a few newspapers that adopt a positive perception of migrants, such as the Egyptian press, which shows a lot of sympathy for them and calls for implementing new immigration policies that ensure the absorption of these victims”. (P 18- Group 3)

Another participant from Syria, in his middle 30s, shared his perspective on the portrayal of Syrian refugees compared with Ukrainian refugees:

“Most of the reports were negative. However, there were some positive and sympathetic images of migrants, but they were not enough. Syrian refugees were largely depicted negatively through threat frames, while more positive humanitarian and victimisation frames were employed in the framing of Ukrainian refugees, for example.” (P2- Group1)

Another participant, 31 years old from Sudan, mentioned another perspective of newspaper coverage:

“For me, the coverage seemed to be a mix of positive and negative. While there was a lot of negative coverage, there were also some balanced perspectives. It is possible that the type of coverage varied depending on the political orientation of the newspaper.” (P4 – Group 1)

Another female participant from Sudan, in her late 30s, shared her opinion on this topic:

“The coverage was a mix between negative and positive. On one hand, it is because of the fear of receiving migrants in some European countries for economic and other reasons. On the other hand, some newspapers used a positive frame to portray refugees as victims and were calling on European countries to share the burden of the crisis and receive them from a human rights perspective.” (P 17 – Group 3)

3- Migrants’ Voices in the Newspapers

Migrants and refugees are rarely given the chance to tell their own stories. The narratives are often shaped by journalists, who may not fully understand migrants’ backgrounds or experiences, rather than allowing them to speak. In addition, there is a huge gap between the reality and what has been published about migrants’ lives.

Some of the participants believed that migrants and refugees are often underrepresented in mainstream media. One participant from Syria, 33 years old, shared his opinion:

“I do not think migrants and refugees are often given the opportunity to tell their own stories in newspapers. Our experiences and perspectives are sometimes overlooked in favor of stereotypical coverage. At the same time, the assistance that migrants receive from the UN or civil society organisations will stop if one of them speaks to the media or raises any complaint.” (P13 – Group 3)

Another female participant from Syria, 30 years old, explained her feelings:

“I feel that migrants and refugees are not represented enough in newspapers, there is a strong desire among them for opportunities to tell their own stories. The barriers they face - such as a lack of proficiency to tell their stories in a second language, which limits their ability to engage with media outlets directly – highlight the need for more inclusive practices within journalism.” (P21 – Group 4)

Another participant from Yemen expressed the difficult reasons for conducting interviews with migrants:

“There is difficulty in conducting interviews with refugees regarding financial matters. For example, Egyptian newspapers require logistic issues like training the journalists and sending them to the location where the news exists to conduct interviews with people affected by the accident.” (P10- Group 2)

Another Somalian participant, in his middle 30s, summarised the topic and mentioned the absence of space given to migrants’ voices in Egyptian newspapers:

“It is disappointing that migrants are rarely given this chance. Some newspapers consider migrant voices, but most of them ignore the fact that real stories only come from people who suffer. In Egypt, no media platform represents the voice of refugees, in addition to the refugees’ inability to communicate with the Egyptian media due to the language barrier or for fear that refugees will talk about political problems occurring in their country that may harm them in Egypt.” (P 16 – Group 3)

On the other hand, few participants believe there is a space for migrants and refugees to tell their own stories in the newspapers. One participant, 36 years old, from Morocco, said:

“I think there is a chance to hear migrants’ voices. Three years ago, I did an interview with Al-Masry Al-Youm newspaper in Cairo. They asked me how I arrived in Egypt and what happened to me after that. I told them my story and the difficulties I have faced to be part of Egyptian society. As a Moroccan living in Egypt, it was not easy at all. I had to find a room and search for job opportunities in a country with a high unemployment rate. I hope to leave Egypt and migrate to Greece one day, like many Egyptians”. (P18- Group 3)

Another female participant from Yemen shared her experience with migrants’ voices:

“I think that there is a reasonable space for migrants to explain their position and highlight the challenges they face, especially in independent newspapers that are not

directed by the government. Some newspapers interview migrants and allow them to speak freely to change the widespread negative stereotypes about them". (P3–Group 1)

Another female participant from Syria, in her 30s, shared her opinion about Egyptian coverage:

"I saw Egyptian newspapers publishing investigations about Syrians' success in establishing economic projects, especially restaurant projects. I also watched several satellite channels host Syrian businessmen discussing their economic plans in Egypt." (P7-Group 2)

Another participant from Sudan, in his late 30s, described the topic:

"I have personally seen a few stories in the last few years, but they are rare. There should be more opportunities for migrants and refugees to express their own experiences. However, there is a small chance for migrants' voices in Egyptian newspapers." (P5- Group 1)

Another participant from Syria, in his middle 30s, explained including migrants' voices in Egyptian newspapers:

"The Egyptian media, especially during the last three years, has been helpful to me in many matters. I have seen a response from journalists to whom I presented problems and asked them to shed light on them. For example, I had a major problem obtaining a residency. I submitted many letters to the United Nations Commissioner and the Egyptian Ministry of Foreign Affairs but did not reach a solution. However, once the problem was presented in the Egyptian media, it was relatively solved. The media helped me reach officials I would not have reached alone." (P19 – Group 4)

4- The Role of Media in Shaping Public Attitudes Towards Migrants and Refugees

The media plays a significant role in determining public attitudes (McLaren, L. et al., 2018). Different views on immigration have been connected to the different discourses used to frame media coverage of immigration (Kondor, K., et al., 2022). The media plays a significant role in shaping public attitudes towards immigration and migrants, as the language used and stories highlighted can influence how people perceive migrants and refugees. Hence, participants were asked their opinions about the role of media in shaping public attitudes towards migrants and refugees. Most of the participants believed that negative immigration stories could create a climate of hostility and xenophobia against migrants. They expressed concerns that negative reporting based on fear could also affect

migrants' integration into the host societies. One of the participants from Syria, in his middle 30s, shared his opinion:

“The media has much power, particularly when certain outlets push an agenda. People tend to believe what they see, especially if it is repeated enough. I believe that a lot of efforts can be made in this matter in order to avoid racism and hostility against refugees and migrants.” (P6- Group 1)

Another participant from Yemen, in his middle 30s, shared his experience and mentioned the impacts of the negative portrayal of migrants:

“People are affected positively or negatively depending on what they read on the news. Therefore, newspapers must publish the news accurately and neutrally, leaving the audience free to believe. Still, if they publish immigration news, for example, in a negative way that raises fear, this will be reflected in people's attitudes about immigration and their behaviors towards migrants or refugees.” (P 10- Group 2)

Another participant from Lebanon, 34 years old, expressed his point of view about the newspapers-agenda setting:

“Newspapers have an agenda that needs to be achieved. They are vital in shaping people's perceptions about a specific issue. By framing the news, the impacts can be expected, negatively or positively.” (P11- Group 2)

Another participant from Yemen mentioned the contributions made by refugees in the host communities:

“When the headlines of immigration news focus on crime, competition in the labor market, sexual harassment, or any other negative stereotype, it can lead to discrimination and prejudice against migrants. On the other hand, if the news is interested more in showing the positive side of immigration, such as the contribution made by migrants in the host country's economy, filling some jobs for which locals did not apply, and publishing the successful stories made by migrants, in these cases, people attitude towards migrants will be absolutely different.” (P14- Group 3)

However, one Syrian female participant, 30 years old, pointed out that money is what makes media at present and, therefore, controls what people are influenced by through newspapers.

“Money is the main driving force behind media in the world, especially in our current era, when everything has become an industry. Nowadays, the media determines people's directions and desires. Most people have become brainwashed due to the toxins that the media broadcasts into their minds, except for a small number of individuals who recognise the gravity of the issues and tragedies that humanity faces today, such as immigration issues”. (P21- Group 4)

On the other hand, one Sudanese participant, in his late 30s, pointed out that the influence of the media depends on the extent of the audience's interest in the issue of immigration.

"I think it depends on who's watching or reading. The influence could vary based on the audience. If people are already interested in immigration issues, they might not be as easily influenced. However, for others, the media has the potential to impact their perspective significantly." (P5- Group 1)

5- The Role of Media in Integrating Migrants and Refugees into Host Societies.

The media can play a critical role in helping migrants integrate into host societies by highlighting the success stories of migrants and their contributions to the host community, and they can build a bridge between migrants and local residents. Journalists can provide updates and suggestions on integration policies, and they can also interview famous locals, such as actors and football players, who talk positively about migrants and refugees. Newspapers can lead the public debate to facilitate the integration process by avoiding stereotypes and promoting acceptance and cooperation between all individuals. Hence, participants were asked their opinions on the role of media in integrating migrants and refugees into host societies. Most of the participants stated that newspapers can play this role effectively. One participant from Yemen, 33 years old, shared his opinion:

"Many people depend on newspapers to update their information daily. With the newspapers' power, the integration process can be much easier." (P8 – Group 2)

Another participant from Lebanon, 34 years old, explained the issue:

"The media can be essential in the integration process. For example, if popular newspapers publish interviews with famous locals, such as artists or football players, who talk about migrants and refugees positively, the people's attitudes will welcome them and facilitate the integration process". (P11 – Group 2)

Another participant from Somalia referred to the role of media in migrants' integration:

"I think the newspapers have the potential to promote understanding and dialogue between migrants and locals and foster cooperation between them. The integration process might be more accessible by avoiding negative portrayals and focusing on successful stories and samples." (P16 – Group 3)

Another female participant from Sudan, in her late 30s, shared her thoughts:

"I believe newspapers can fill the gap between migrants and the government because the media, in general, can serve as a bridge to share their experiences and stories with the community, promoting empathy and solidarity".(P 17 – group 3)

Another male participant from Sudan, in his early 30s, expressed his opinion about how newspapers can help with the integration process:

“Newspapers can definitely help migrants integrate by providing valuable information about local resources and cultural events. They can also highlight inspiring stories of successful integration.” (P 20- Group 4)

Another male participant from Sudan, in his late 30s, explained the topic and referred to migrants’ rights:

“I see newspapers as a tool for creating cultural exchange and mutual understanding. Journalists need to capture migrants and refugees in a respectful frame and focus on their human rights. The press can serve as a valuable educational tool that eases the integration process for newcomers. They can also raise awareness about policies impacting migrants’ rights, such as access to healthcare services and legal protection.” (P23 – Group 4)

6- The Essential Issues that Newspapers Should Focus on When Reporting Immigration News.

Newspapers should focus on highlighting the human stories behind immigration, addressing root causes of immigration like war, political conflicts, and economic challenges. Newspapers should also avoid stereotypes and misinformation and shed light on the integration of migrants and refugees into host societies, further facilitating their access to medical services, housing, and employment opportunities. In addition, newspapers should also promote public debates about equality and inclusion, as well as stop using dehumanising language and include migrants’ voices and experiences in the news to raise public awareness of tolerance and respect for diversity.

Participants were asked about the essential issues that newspapers should focus on when reporting immigration news. Nearly all of them mentioned the need for more balanced news coverage to combat stereotypes and promote understanding of this complex issue in order to facilitate the integration process and shape public attitudes positively. One Syrian male participant, in his middle 30s, described the issues that newspapers should consider when reporting on immigration:

“The newspapers should focus on the reasons behind immigration rather than just its consequences. They need to explain what pushes people to depart from their home countries in the first place. However, they must give migrants and refugees the chance to tell their stories. (P1 – Group 1)

Another male participant from Sudan expressed his opinion and referred to the social services presented to migrants and refugees:

“I think newspapers should focus more on migrants’ families and their children who need access to public health services, enrolling their children in school, as well as providing them affordable housing. I know that the Yemen embassy in Cairo plays this role in helping Yemeni refugees who are living in Egypt.” (P5- Group 1)

Another female participant from Syria, 33 years old, shared her suggestions for improving newspaper coverage of immigration issues:

“It is important to include the voice of migrants, reflect on the human aspect of immigration, and focus on the repeated violation of the human rights of migrants. I think these are the critical points that should be considered when journalists report on immigration.” (P 7-Group 2)

Another male participant from Somalia, in his middle 30s, referred to the integration process:

“I think the newspapers must focus on the social integration of migrants and refugees, including access to education, healthcare, housing, and employment opportunities, and create a public debate about new policies that promote equality and inclusion.” (P 16- Group 3)

Another male participant from Sudan, in his early 30s, shared his beliefs about the challenges faced by migrants:

“I believe newspapers should focus on the challenges faced by migrants, such as integration barriers, discrimination, access to educational associations, access to healthcare services, and legal protection. The press should inform people about the legal framework governing immigration in their country. This includes explaining the rights that migrants have under international law. Understanding these rights is vital for both migrants and locals, as it helps clarify what protections are available against potential discrimination.” (P 20- Group 4)

Another female participant from Yemen, in her early 30s, explained the importance of selecting the media framework when reporting on immigration:

“The chosen type of coverage is very important for understanding the topic. Newspapers must carefully select the media frame in which migrants and refugees are portrayed. Instead of adopting a negative frame that focuses on the threats caused by migrants, newspapers can choose a positive framework that focuses on their successful integration stories and their effective contribution to the economy, which helps shape people’s attitudes toward migrants positively.” (P24 – group 4)

Summary of the Focus Group Discussions

Most participants agreed that the portrayal of migrants and refugees in Egyptian and European newspapers during the 2015 immigration crisis was largely shaped by the use of "threat" or "victim" frames. They expressed disappointment with the negative portrayal of migrants as threats and criminals in European newspapers, reflecting European anxieties about the increasing number of arrivals. Several participants from Yemen, Sudan, and Somalia felt that these newspapers focused on the negative aspects of migration, portraying refugees as burdens rather than victims. Conversely, one participant felt that migrants and refugees were portrayed as helpless victims in need of help, and the coverage emphasised the humanitarian tragedy and expressed considerable sympathy.

Some participants noted that while Egyptian newspapers also used a "victim frame," explaining migrants' challenges and calling for solutions, immigration news became rare after 2015, highlighting the need for more investigative and comprehensive coverage.

Focus group discussions also revealed that migrants and refugees are often underrepresented in mainstream media, and their experiences and perspectives are often ignored. Most participants attributed this to journalists' lack of understanding of the root causes of migration, in addition to the language barrier. One participant from Yemen explained the logistical challenges of interviewing refugees, including the need for trained journalists to be deployed to relevant locations. A participant from Somalia highlighted the lack of space for migrant voices in Egyptian newspapers, citing language barriers and fear of political and security repercussions for speaking to journalists.

However, some participants believed that independent newspapers offer a platform for migrants to share their stories, potentially challenging negative stereotypes. One participant from Syria shared positive experiences with Egyptian newspaper coverage, noting investigations about Syrian restaurant owners in Egypt. Another participant found Egyptian media helpful in addressing personal immigration problems, such as obtaining Egyptian residency.

Most participants assured that media plays a significant role in shaping public opinion about migrants and refugees. The language used and the stories highlighted can significantly influence public perceptions. Some participants worried that negative coverage could fuel hostility and xenophobia, obstructing migrants' integration. They advocated for avoiding racism and hostility. Others suggested that newspapers should strive for accurate and neutral reporting, allowing readers to form their own conclusions. Some believed that

focusing on positive aspects, such as migrants' economic contributions and success stories, could positively shift public attitudes. One participant, however, suggested that media outlets are primarily driven by financial interests and can manipulate public opinion.

Most participants confirmed that the media also plays a crucial role in migrant integration by presenting success stories and contributions to the host community. They believed journalists could report on integration policies and interview local figures who speak positively about migrants and refugees. Newspapers can foster public dialogue on immigration, promoting acceptance, cooperation, and solidarity. Many agreed that newspapers can facilitate integration by bridging cultures, challenging stereotypes, and promoting dialogue between migrants and locals.

Regarding essential elements for immigration reporting, most participants emphasised the need for balanced coverage to combat stereotypes and foster a deeper understanding of the complexities of immigration. They suggested focusing on the root causes of migration and the social and medical services available to migrants and refugees.

CHAPTER SIX

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

6.1 Discussion

The 2015 European migration crisis was undeniably shaped by the Syrian conflict, which compelled millions of Syrians to escape the violence and seek refuge at the European Union's borders. Contemporary media coverage of migration presents a variety of journalistic and framing viewpoints. Journalists, often influenced by their own political and ideological biases, present news in a manner consistent with their publication's stance. Several recurring frames appear in stories about migrants. Negative frames, like those highlighting fear or threat, portray migrants as a risk to the host community's public health, cultural identity, economic stability, and national security. Conversely, positive frames, such as compassionate or humanitarian perspectives, can facilitate the integration of migrants and refugees.

This study explored how Egyptian and European newspapers reported on immigration during the 2015 European migration crisis. The research focused on the media frames used to depict immigrants and refugees. Using a mixed-methods approach, the study analyzed immigration-related news articles published between March 1 and September 30, 2015, in three Egyptian newspapers (*Al-Ahram*, *Al Masry Al-Youm*, and *Al-Wafd*) and two European newspapers (*El País (English edition)* and *Euronews*). Furthermore, the study incorporated in-depth interviews with nine media professionals, including a media professor, journalists, and a judge. Focus group discussions were also held with 24 migrants and refugees residing in Egypt.

This study's findings indicate that the surge in migrants due to the Syrian conflict, particularly during the 2015 European migration crisis, influenced media discourse on migration. This aligns with Marques & Ramos's (2020) findings, which highlighted the crucial role of media discourse in shaping public understanding of the large-scale arrival of migrants, especially during September and October 2015.

Egyptian newspapers offered diverse perspectives on immigration. *Al-Masry Al-Youm* leaned towards a human rights-focused framing, while the state-owned *Al-Ahram* predominantly utilised a legal and security-oriented approach. *Al-Wafd* newspaper tended

to swing between these two perspectives. Across all three publications, migrants and refugees were generally portrayed as vulnerable victims, and there was a prevailing sentiment of support for their integration into host communities. Nevertheless, these newspapers provided limited opportunities for migrants and refugees to directly share their personal stories and perspectives.

The results of the content analysis also revealed that *El País* (English Edition) and Euronews largely framed immigration news by portraying migrants as victims, emphasising human rights and human tragedy. This aligns with Amores, et al., (2020), who found that the depiction of migrants as a threat in Spain has shifted towards a more "caring" media approach, now portraying them as either victims of the government or desperate individuals fleeing violence. Furthermore, the analysis showed the Syrian conflict's influence on European newspaper immigration coverage. The portrayal of Syrian refugees as victims was particularly evident following the widely publicised image of the drowned Syrian boy, Aylan Kurdi, in early September 2015. This heartbreaking image drew global attention to the European migration crisis. This result is consistent with Mattus (2020), who concluded that the Kurdi image garnered international attention and evoked sympathy, contrasting with the typical blend of fear and indifference towards displaced people.

Conversely, the results of in-depth interviews and focus group discussions revealed that European journalists' coverage of the 2015 immigration crisis was significantly shaped by concerns surrounding the rising number of refugees at EU borders. European newspapers frequently employed a threat frame when portraying migrants and refugees. This aligns with Berry et al. (2015), who identified the regulation of "immigration flows" and immigration restrictions as prevalent themes in public discourse about migrants, alongside anxieties about the potential loss of cultural identity and unfair competition for employment. Certain news reports characterised refugees as threats to European values and culture. These reports often originated from right-wing publications in some European countries, notably Germany. This observation is consistent with Von Nordheim, et al., (2019), which demonstrated that the right-wing weekly *Junge Freiheit* depicts the refugee issue as an influx of Muslim foreigners culturally incompatible with the native Christian population. Similarly, Hameleers (2019) highlighted the influence of right-wing populist messaging on negative, stereotypical media coverage of immigrants.

The results of focus group discussions indicated that Egyptian newspapers generally presented migrants and refugees positively, acknowledging their tragic circumstances.

However, the coverage could have explored the underlying reasons, causes, and motivations that compelled individuals to leave their home countries in search of safety and improved living conditions. In contrast, European newspapers often portrayed migrants and refugees negatively. European journalists predominantly used security and economic threat frames, overlooking the contributions of migrants and refugees to their host societies. This aligns with Bos, et al., (2016), who noted that public perceptions of immigration concerns are adversely affected by alarming elements in media content, such as labour-market competition or the perceived erosion of cultural norms.

The results of in-depth interviews and focus group discussions confirmed a lack of migrant voices in immigration news, a point on which most participants concurred. This finding echoes Thorbjørnsrud & Figenschou (2016), whose analysis of US, French, and Norwegian media coverage of irregular migration revealed that less than 10% of news sources were irregular migrants themselves, highlighting the difficulties faced by underprivileged populations in accessing elite-dominated mainstream news outlets. Furthermore, migrants and refugees encounter numerous challenges and barriers when trying to connect with journalists. In countries like Egypt, migrants and refugees fear interacting with the media, as publicly sharing their experiences could lead to imprisonment or deportation. Even when such risks aren't present, journalists often demonstrate a lack of interest in hearing migrant and refugee perspectives, despite their crucial importance in understanding migration processes.

The results of in-depth interviews also revealed recent instances of hate speech against migrants and refugees on Egyptian social media, blaming them for the nation's economic difficulties. In Egypt, public perception and awareness of migration are significantly shaped by Egyptian media, which effectively emphasise the risks of illegal immigration while promoting opportunities and alternative employment within Egypt through various initiatives. Furthermore, Egyptian media highlight the dangers and hardships encountered by those attempting illegal migration. This includes sharing stories from Egyptian returnees who have experienced perilous journeys and faced considerable challenges both during their travels and upon arrival in their destination countries.

Results also indicated that the media plays a vital role in facilitating migrant and refugee integration by presenting their accomplishments and contributions to the host community. This aligns with Young, et al., (2022), which examined US newspaper coverage of immigration policies between 2010 and 2013 and again from 2017 to 2019. That study

observed significant shifts in immigrant framing, moving from negative portrayals as an economic burden to positive depictions as families and financial contributors. Newspapers can further support integration by serving as a cultural bridge, challenging stereotypes, and fostering communication between local populations and migrants.

On the other hand, this study explored potential improvements for Egyptian newspaper coverage of immigration issues. Newspapers possess the ability to guide public discourse on immigration, promoting tolerance, cooperation, and solidarity within communities. Journalists could interview prominent residents who express positive views about migrants and refugees and offer suggestions for integration policies.

The in-depth interviews revealed that journalists should open their minds, receive adequate training in reporting on immigration issues, and conduct more interviews with migrants and refugees, taking greater care with their language and avoiding previous expectations. Moreover, journalism should partner with NGOs and civil society organizations to offer migrants and refugees enhanced legal protection.

In conclusion, this study, by analysing the framing of immigration during the 2015 European migration crisis in Egyptian and European newspapers, offered four key contributions. First, it validated the sympathetic coverage of immigration in Egyptian newspapers, which portrayed migrants and refugees as victims of the crisis. At the same time, it demonstrated how this coverage significantly influenced public attitudes towards migrants and refugees and successfully drew global attention to the tragedy of the 2015 crisis, contributing to a shift away from negative portrayals in European newspapers. Second, it emphasised the importance of fostering trust between journalists, migrants, and refugees and conducting more personal interviews to promote a deeper understanding of immigration issues.

Third, it underscored the necessity of avoiding dehumanising metaphors for migrants and refugees and respecting their human rights by promoting integration, cooperation, and solidarity within society. Finally, it offered recommendations for enhancing Egyptian newspaper coverage of immigration issues.

6.2 Conclusion

This section addresses the study's research questions: How do Egyptian newspapers cover immigration issues? How do European newspapers cover immigration issues? What suggestions can improve Egyptian newspaper coverage of immigration news?

The study employed a mixed-methods approach, integrating qualitative and quantitative techniques to complement each other and provide accurate results and answers to the research questions. It combined in-depth interviews, content analysis, and focus group discussions. The methodology involved, firstly, conducting in-depth interviews with nine journalists, judges, migration experts, and mass media professors selected through purposive sampling. Secondly, it included a content analysis of 381 immigration news articles from three Egyptian newspapers: *A- Ahram*, *A- Masry Al-Youm*, and *Al-Wafd*, and two European newspapers: *El-Pais* (English edition) and *Euronews*, published between March 1 and September 30, 2015.

The analysis concentrated on how Egyptian and European newspapers framed the immigration news and how they portrayed migrants and refugees. Lastly, the study conducted four focus group discussions, each consisting of six individuals of diverse nationalities, all migrants and/or refugees residing in Egypt, to gather varied perspectives on the coverage of immigration news articles. The results reveal distinct differences in how Egyptian and European newspapers cover immigration issues.

Concerning Egyptian newspaper coverage of immigration issues, the results of content analysis findings demonstrate that *Al-Ahram* primarily adopted a legal/security perspective, *Al-Masry Al-Youm* favoured a human rights perspective, and *Al-Wafd* predominantly employed a human tragedy angle. The ownership orientation of these publications likely explains the variation in coverage strategies. *Al-Ahram*, Egypt's state-owned newspaper, represents the government's viewpoint. *Al-Masry Al-Youm*, a leading independent publication, is owned by Egyptian business figures. *Al-Wafd* reflects the perspective of the Al-Wafd Party, one of Egypt's oldest liberal parties. However, all three newspapers demonstrated sympathy for migrants and refugees. This can be attributed to the geographical proximity and shared Arabic language and Arab identity between Syria and Egypt, highlighting Egypt's strong engagement with Arab affairs, particularly the challenges faced by Syrian refugees. Moreover, Egypt's history as a major transit destination for

migrants, having hosted millions of immigrants primarily from African nations, has provided it with substantial experience in managing immigration issues.

Egyptian newspapers tend to portray migrants and refugees as victims requiring international assistance for resettlement in host nations, considering this a fundamental aspect of human rights. Furthermore, Egyptian newspapers demonstrated considerable interest in highlighting migration policies, both proposed and existing, aimed at welcoming and integrating migrants and refugees into new communities. However, despite migrants and refugees being central to the immigration debate and their perspectives offering valuable insights into the root causes of migration and facilitating more effective responses to its consequences, the results reveal a lack of migrant and refugee voices in Egyptian newspapers. This is due to migrants' and refugees' concerns about potential political and security repercussions from speaking with journalists. Additionally, Egyptian newspapers often lack interest in incorporating migrant and refugee perspectives.

The results of in-depth interviews and focus group discussions revealed that most Egyptian newspapers present a positive view of immigrants and refugees residing in Egypt, emphasising their integration into Egyptian society and referring to them as "guests" rather than burdens. However, media discourse on Egyptian social media has recently shifted from expressing strong compassion to portraying migrants and refugees as a potential economic threat.

The findings also indicate that Egyptian government censorship affects all newspaper content, not only immigration news. Consequently, press institutions dictate what is published and what is omitted, demonstrating a lack of journalistic freedom to address diverse topics of societal interest.

Regarding the European newspapers' coverage of immigration issues, the results of content analysis revealed that most news in both newspapers employed a positive perception of migrants and refugees. El País adopted a human rights and human tragedy frame, portraying migrants and refugees as victims, particularly in articles published after the widely circulated image of the drowned Syrian boy, Aylan Kurdi, in early September 2015. Euronews coverage focused on human tragedy, economic, and security discourses. The findings also showed a significant lack of migrant voices in both newspapers, suggesting the hesitancy on the part of European publications to directly interview migrants about their experiences of hardship during their journeys.

The results of in-depth interviews indicated that European newspaper coverage of immigration was marked by a fear of increasing refugee numbers at EU borders. Immigration news in most European countries was dominated by a threat frame, depicting migrants as a potential threat to security, the economy, and cultural identity. The findings also indicated that despite being the key to comprehending the dynamics of migration, newspapers are not interested in hearing the viewpoints of migrants and refugees. At the same time, migrants and refugees face many barriers while attempting to communicate with journalists. The important barrier is the language, as most of them do not speak foreign languages, in addition, the lack of trust with journalists.

Congruently, the findings of the focus group discussions indicated that European nations were terrified of the growing number of migrants and refugees. Most participants voiced dissatisfaction with the negative portrayal of migrants as criminals and threats to European values. Many participants from Yemen, Sudan, and Syria believed that the European newspapers portray refugees as burdens rather than victims and concentrate on the negative sides of migration. The findings also pointed out that the experiences and viewpoints of migrants and refugees are frequently ignored and underrepresented in European newspapers. Most participants think that journalists' ignorance of the motivations and reasons behind migration is a cause of this underrepresentation.

The findings also argued that people's perceptions of migrants are greatly influenced by the media because of the terminology employed and the news frames that are used. The negative coverage of immigration using dehumanising words to depict migrants and refugees, such as "invasion" or "floods of people" or "animals", would foster a hostile and xenophobic environment that affects migrants' integration into their new communities.

Regarding the suggestions to improve the coverage of immigration news in Egyptian newspapers, some suggestions were given by the interviewees, such as conducting more comprehensive reporting and background information on the difficulties encountered by newcomers. Working with NGOs and civil society organisations can help obtain more viewpoints. Programs for media literacy can also educate people about immigration-related topics. Journalists should receive training from media groups regarding the challenges of migration and the significance of ethical reporting. They should be more interested in interviewing migrants and refugees with an open mind and without any previous expectations.

Newspapers should also try to feature the opinions and perspectives of migrants and refugees, and journalists should be given sufficient independence to carry out their duties. Finally, newspapers must present news objectively and truthfully. People's perceptions of immigrants will improve positively if the media highlights the success stories of migrants and the benefits of migration, such as how immigrants boost the economy of their new country. Along with avoiding assumptions and false information, newspapers should provide information about the cases and motives of immigration and how migrants and refugees are integrating into their new communities, which will help them further with access to jobs, housing, and healthcare. Newspapers should also stop using dehumanising language, encourage public discussions on equality and inclusion, and feature the perspectives and experiences of migrants in their stories to increase public understanding of tolerance and respect for diversity.

Suggestions of Future Researches

The media plays a pivotal role in shaping public perceptions and attitudes towards migration. Since migration remains a pressing and often controversial issue, understanding how it is portrayed in the media becomes crucial. A future investigation into how local narratives differ from national narratives can reveal insights into the regional contexts that shape migration reports. Understanding these dynamics can highlight the importance of local media in promoting community understanding and participation. In addition, an examination of the impact of media coverage on policy advocacy can reveal how media narratives mobilize public opinion and shape advocacy efforts. Understanding how the media influences policymakers can help improve effective communication and engagement strategies around migration reform. In conclusion, the future of research into migration media coverage is rich in potential. By exploring these diverse trends, researchers can contribute to a deeper understanding of how media influences public perceptions and migration policymaking. This knowledge will be invaluable to journalists, policymakers, and community-based organizations involved in addressing the complex challenges surrounding migration in today's world. As research progresses, it may promote a more informed and accurate public discourse that can better reflect migration realities and their impact on society.

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Appendix (1) In-depth Interviews Protocol

Introduction:

My name is Akram Elfadly, and I am a doctoral student at the Faculty of Communication Sciences, Department of Journalism and Communication Sciences of the Autonomous University of Barcelona

Purpose of the Study:

This research focuses on the coverage of immigration issues in Egyptian and European newspapers. I aim to understand how these issues are framed, the challenges journalists face, and potential areas for improvement. Specifically, I am investigating the language and media frames used and the perception of immigrants and refugees in Egyptian newspapers and European newspapers.

Research Questions

- 1- How do the Egyptian newspapers cover immigration issues?
- 2- How do the European newspapers cover immigration issues?
- 3- What are possible suggestions to improve the coverage of Immigration issues in Egyptian newspapers?

Specific Significant Issues Will be Discussed Through the Interviews, Mainly Including:

- Media frame and language used when covering immigration issues in Egyptian newspapers.
- The Egyptian press's perception of immigrants.
- Causes of the insufficiency of news articles in the Egyptian press featuring the perspectives of immigrants.
- The challenges facing Egyptian journalists in communicating with migrants and hearing their stories.
- Newspaper ownership's impact on the media framework selected to cover immigration-related topics.
- The role of the press in raising awareness of immigration issues.
- The impact of the strategic partnership agreement between the European Union and Egypt 2024-2027 on coverage of migration issues.
- Suggestions for Egyptian immigration policy.

- Recommendations for improving the way Egyptian media covers immigration-related topics.

Appendix (2) Coding Scheme

Case number	Name	Variables	Definition
1	Perception of Migrants	(1) Migrants as Threats	A negative attitudes that affects the audiences' perception of the migrants and leads to fear of them.
		(2) Migrants as Victims	Sympathize with immigrants and try to find solutions to their crisis.
		(3) Migrants' Integration	An attempt to help and reconcile migrants and their families.
2	Immigration Policies	(1)Egypt (2) Germany (3) Spain (4) Hungary (5) EU (6) Turkey	Immigration policies pursued by the state.
3	Migrant's Voices	(1) Inclusion of migrant voices with dignity (2) Exclusion of migrant voices (3) Inclusion of NGOs or other networks that work for migrants	-Sharing migrant's voices - Ignoring migrants voices - Countries and Organizations offering Aid for migrants
4	Newspapers and national immigration policies.	(1) To enforce border control (2) To foreground assimilation of migrants (3) To foreground multiculturalism (4) New Integration policies	-Prevent the entry of migrants at the border -Welcoming the migrants -Integration the migrants -New proposed Immigration policies
5	Type of coverage	(1) Human Rights Approach (2) Economy Approach (3) Legal Approach (4) Human Tragedy Approach	-Showing the suffering of migrants at the border -Economic problems caused by Immigration -Legal rules used to prevent the reception of immigrants -The tragedy of migrants at the border
6	Photo included	(0) No (1) Yes	Pictures published with the news
7	Aylan's Photo	(0) No (1) Yes	The impact of publishing Aylan's photo on immigration policies
8	Newspaper Source	(1) Al-Ahram (2) Al-Masry Al-Youm (3) Al-Wafd (4) El País (5) Euronews	Newspaper Name
9	Months of the news issued	(1) March (2) April (3) may (4) June (5) July (6) August (7) September	Time period of the study

Appendix (3) Coding Sheets
Description of Content Analysis of the Study Samples

Case Number	Case Code	The perception of Migrants				Migrant receiving country	Aylan Kurdi	Migrants Voices		
		Migrants as Threats	Migrants as Victims	Dehumanization Metaphors	Migrants' Integration			Inclusion of migrant voices	Exclusion of migrant voices	Inclusion of NGOs or other networks that work to assist migrants
1	(AH) 20/3/2015	•				EU			•	
2	(AH) 21/4/2015		•		•	Libya			•	
3	(AH) 23/4/2015	•				Libya			•	
4	(AH) 29/4/2015	•				Egypt			•	
5	(AH) 24/4/2015		•			Egypt			•	
6	(AH) 28/4/2015		•			Egypt			•	
7	(AH) 26/4/2015		•			Egypt			•	
8	(AH) 22/4/2015		•			Libya			•	
9	(AH) 29/4/2015	•				USA			•	
10	(AH) 25/4/2015		•			France			•	
11	(AH) 21/4/2015		•			Egypt				•
12	(AH) 21/5/2015		•			Italy				•
13	(AH) 4/5/2015	•				Libya			•	
14	(AH) 12/5/2015	•				Libya			•	
15	(AH) 6/5/2015 (A)		•			Libya				•
16	(AH) 6/5/2015 (B)		•			Libya				•
17	(AH) 22/5/2015	•				UK			•	
18	(AH) 30/8/2015 (A)		•			Libya				•
19	(AH) 30/8/2015 (B)	•				France			•	
20	(AH) 29/8/2015		•			Austria				•
21	(AH) 27/8/2015	•				Greece			•	
22	(AH) 11/8/2015		•			Egypt				•
23	(AH) 14/9/2015	•				Libya			•	
24	(AH) 7/9/2015	•				Egypt			•	
25	(AH) 9/9/2015	•				Libya			•	
26	(AH) 11/9/2015	•				Egypt			•	
27	(AH) 15/9/2015		•			EU				•
28	(AH) 30/9/2015	•				Egypt				•
29	(AH) 10/9/2015	•				Egypt				•
30	(AH) 4/9/2015		•			Turkey	•			•
31	(AH) 6/9/2015 (A)		•			EU	•			•
32	(AH) 6/9/2015 (B)		•			EU	•			•
33	(AH) 6/9/2015 (C)		•			Canada	•			•
34	(AH) 5/9/2015		•			Egypt				•
35	(AM) 2/3/2015	•				Iraq			•	
36	(AM) 30/3/2015		•		•	Egypt				•
37	(AM) 13/3/2015		•		•	Turkey				•
38	(AM) 30/3/2015		•		•	Egypt				•
39	(AM) 1/4/2015		•		•	Egypt				•
40	(AM) 16/4/2015		•			Lebanon				•
41	(AM) 8/4/2015		•			Germany				•
42	(AM) 9/4/2015(A)		•			Syria				•
43	(AM) 20/4/2015		•		•	Libya				•
44	(AM) 13/4/2015		•		•	Germany				•
45	(AM) 14/4/2015		•		•	Lebanon				•
46	(AM) 9/4/2015(B)		•		•	EU				•
47	(AM) 7/4/2015		•		•	Germany				•
48	(AM) 23/5/2015		•		•	EU				•
49	(AM) 12/5/2015	•				UK			•	
50	(AM) 9/5/2015		•		•	Turkey				•
51	(AM) 7/5/2015		•		•	Germany				•
52	(AM) 28/5/2015		•		•	EU				•
53	(AM) 17/5/2015		•		•	Austria			•	
54	(AM) 20/6/2015		•		•	EU			•	
55	(AM) 16/6/2015		•		•	EU				•
56	(AM) 21/6/2015		•		•	Turkey			•	
57	(AM) 28/6/2015		•		•	Germany			•	
58	(AM) 4/6/2015		•		•	Lebanon			•	
59	(AM) 22/6/2015		•		•	Turkey			•	
60	(AM) 21/6/2015		•		•	Austria				•
61	(AM) 31/7/2015		•		•	Lebanon				•
62	(AM) 28/7/2015		•		•	Germany				•
63	(AM) 19/7/2015		•		•	EU				•
64	(AM) 21/7/2015		•		•	Lebanon				•
65	(AM) 11/7/2015		•		•	Jordan			•	
66	(AM) 27/7/2015	•				Germany			•	

229	(AW) 7/9/2015	•				Denmark			•	
230	(AW) 8/9/2015		•			EU	•			•
231	(AW) 11/9/2015		•			EU				•
232	(AW) 17/9/2015		•			Egypt				•
233	(AW) 20/9/2015		•			Greece			•	
234	(AW) 21/9/2015	•				Egypt			•	
235	(AW) 26/9/2015					Germany			•	
236	(EP) 17/3/2015 (A)					Spain			•	
237	(EP) 17/3/2015 (B)					Spain			•	
238	(EP) 20/3/2015					Spain				
239	(EP) 22/4/2015					Spain				
240	(EP) 29/5/2015					Spain				
241	(EP) 21/8/2015					Spain				
242	(EP) 31/8/2015					Spain				
243	(EP) 8/9/2015					Spain				
244	(EP) 17/9/2015					Spain				
245	(EP) 2/9/2015					Spain				
246	(EP) 16/9/2015 (A)					Spain				
247	(EP) 3/9/2015 (A)					Spain				
248	(EP) 9/9/2015(A)					Spain				
249	(EP) 1/9/2015					Spain				
250	(EP) 3/9/2015 (B)					Spain				
251	(EP) 9/9/2015 (B)					Spain				
252	(EP) 7/9/2015					Spain				
253	(EP) 4/9/2015					Spain				
254	(EP) 16/9/2015 (B)					Spain				
255	(EP) 3/9/2015 (C)					Spain				
256	(EP) 9/9/2015 (C)					Spain				
257	(EP) 29/9/2015					Spain				
258	(EU) 27/3/2015					Sweden				
259	(EU) 16/3/2015					Germany				
260	(EU) 13/3/2015					Jordan				
261	(EU) 13/3/2015					Turkey				
262	(EU) 27/4/2015					Lebanon				
263	(EU) 24/4/2015					Italy				
264	(EU) 21/4/2015					Italy				
265	(EU) 18/4/2015					Italy				
266	(EU) 17/4/2015					Germany				
267	(EU) 10/4/2015					France				
268	(EU) 9/4/2015					Turkey				
269	(EU) 8/4/2015					Syria				
270	(EU) 8/4/2015					Syria				
271	(EU) 2/4/2015					USA				
272	(EU) 27/5/2015					EU				
273	(EU) 15/5/2015					Thailand				
274	(EU) 12/5/2015					UK				
275	(EU) 5/5/2015					Germany				
276	(EU) 6/5/2015					Greece				
277	(EU) 26/6/2015					EU				
278	(EU) 20/6/2015					Turkey				
279	(EU) 16/6/2015					Israel				
280	(EU)15/6/2015					France				
281	(EU) 7/6/2015					Germany				
282	(EU) 2/6/2015					Turkey				
283	(EU) 30/7/2015					Serbia				
284	(EU) 23/7/2015					Iraq				
285	(EU) 12/7/2015					Lebanon				
286	(EU) 10/7/2015					Turkey				
287	(EU) 9/7/2015					EU				
288	(EU) 9/7/2015					EU				
289	(EU) 7/7/2015					Serbia				
290	(EU) 1/7/2015					Lebanon				
291	(EU) 31/8/2015					Hungary				
292	(EU) 30/8/2015					Netherlan				
293	(EU) 28/8/2015 (A)					Germany				
294	(EU) 28/8/2015 (B)					Germany				
295	(EU) 28/8/2015 (C)					Austria				
296	(EU) 27/8/2015					EU				
297	(EU) 24/8/2015 (A)					Greece				
298	(EU) 24/8/2015 (B)					Serbia				
299	(EU) 23/8/2015					Greece				
300	(EU) 20/8/2015					France				
301	(EU) 19/8/2015 (A)					Greece				
302	(EU) 19/8/2015 (B)					Turkey				
303	(EU) 17/8/2015					EU				
304	(EU) 16/8/2015 (A)					Greece				
305	(EU) 16/8/2015 (B)					Greece				
306	(EU) 13/8/2015					Greece				
307	(EU) 11/8/2015 (A)					Greece				
308	(EU) 11/8/2015 (B)					EU				
309	(EU) 11/8/2015 (C)					Turkey				
310	(EU) 10/8/2015					Canada				
311	(EU) 7/8/2015 (A)					EU				
312	(EU) 7/8/2015 (B)					Turkey				
313	(EU) 5/8/2015					Hungary				

314	(EU) 3/8/2015 (A)					UK				
315	(EU) 3/8/2015 (B)					France				
316	(EU) 30/9/2015 (A)					Italy				
317	(EU) 30/9/2015 (B)					EU				
318	(EU) 30/9/2015 (C)					Germany				
319	(EU) 27/9/2015					Turkey				
320	(EU) 26/9/2015					Germany				
321	(EU) 24/9/2015 (A)					EU				
322	(EU) 24/9/2015 (B)					EU				
323	(EU) 23/9/2015 (A)					EU				
324	(EU) 23/9/2015 (B)					Hungary				
325	(EU) 22/9/2015					UK				
326	(EU) 21/9/2015 (A)					Hungary				
327	(EU) 21/9/2015 (B)					Lebanon				
328	(EU) 21/9/2015 (C)					EU				
329	(EU) 21/9/2015 (D)					Austria				
330	(EU) 20/9/2015 (A)					Canada				
331	(EU) 20/9/2015 (B)					Turkey				
332	(EU) 18/9/2015 (A)					EU				
333	(EU) /9/2015 (B)					Turkey				
334	(EU) 17/9/2015					USA				
335	(EU) 16/9/2015 (A)					Greece				
336	(EU) 16/9/2015 (B)					EU				
337	(EU) 15/9/2015 (A)					USA				
338	(EU) 15/9/2015 (B)					EU				
339	(EU) 15/9/2015 (C)					Hungary				
340	(EU) 15/9/2015 (D)					UK				
341	(EU) 15/9/2015 (E)					Greece				
342	(EU) 15/9/2015 (F)					Turkey				
343	(EU) 15/9/2015 (G)					Greece				
344	(EU) 15/9/2015 (H)					France				
345	(EU) 14/9/2015 (A)					EU				
346	(EU) 14/9/2015 (B)					Lebanon				
347	(EU) 14/9/2015 (C)					Norway				
348	(EU) 13/9/2015					Germany				
349	(EU) 12/9/2015 (A)					Canada				
350	(EU) 12/9/2015 (B)					Turkey				
351	(EU) 11/9/2015 (A)					Greece				
352	(EU) 11/9/2015 (B)					USA				
353	(EU) 11/9/2015 (C)					Turkey				
354	(EU) 11/9/2015 (D)					Turkey				
355	(EU) 10/9/2015 (A)					USA				
356	(EU) 10/9/2015 (B)					USA				
357	(EU) 9/9/2015					EU				
358	(EU) 8/9/2015 (A)					Denmark				
359	(EU) 5/9/2015					EU				
360	(EU) 4/9/2015 (A)					EU				
361	(EU) 4/9/2015 (B)					UK				
362	(EU) 4/9/2015 (C)					EU				
363	(EU) 4/9/2015 (D)					EU				
364	(EU) 4/9/2015 (E)					Hungary				
365	(EU) 4/9/2015 (F)					Turkey				
366	(EU) 3/9/2015 (A)					EU				
367	(EU) 3/9/2015 (B)					EU				
368	(EU) 3/9/2015 (C)					Turkey				
369	(EU) 3/9/2015 (D)					Turkey				
370	(EU) 2/9/2015 (A)					EU				
371	(EU) 2/9/2015 (B)					El Gabon				
372	(EU) 2/9/2015 (C)					Germany				
373	(EU) 1/9/2015 (A)					EU				
374	(EU) 1/9/2015 (B)					Hungary				
375	(EU) 8/9/2015 (B)					EU				
376	(EU) 8/9/2015 (C)					Hungary				
377	(EU) 7/9/2015 (A)					EU				
378	(EU) 7/9/2015 (B)					Germany				
379	(EU) 7/9/2015 (C)					Greece				
380	(EU) 7/9/2015 (D)					Hungary				
381	(EU) 6/9/2015					Australia				

Case Number	Case Code	Practices in border control and national migration policies				Type of Coverage				
		To enforce border control	To foreground assimilation of migrants	To foreground multiculturalism	New Integration policies	Human Rights Approach	Economy Approach	Legal / Security Approach	Human Tragedy Approach	Included Photo
1	(AH) 20/3/2015	•						•		•
2	(AH) 21/4/2015		•	•	•	•			•	•
3	(AH) 23/4/2015	•						•		•
4	(AH) 29/4/2015	•						•		
5	(AH) 24/4/2015				•			•		•
6	(AH) 28/4/2015	•			•			•		•
7	(AH) 26/4/2015	•						•		•
8	(AH) 22/4/2015	•						•		•
9	(AH) 29/4/2015	•						•		•
10	(AH) 25/4/2015	•						•		•
11	(AH) 21/4/2015	•				•			•	•
12	(AH) 21/5/2015		•	•		•			•	•
13	(AH) 4/5/2015	•						•		
14	(AH) 12/5/2015	•						•		•
15	(AH) 6/5/2015 (A)	•					•			•
16	(AH) 6/5/2015 (B)	•					•			•
17	(AH) 22/5/2015	•						•		
18	(AH) 30/8/2015(A)		•	•		•			•	•
19	(AH) 30/8/2015 (B)	•				•		•		•
20	(AH) 29/8/2015		•	•		•			•	•
21	(AH) 27/8/2015	•						•		•
22	(AH) 11/8/2015	•						•		•
23	(AH) 14/9/2015	•						•		•
24	(AH) 7/9/2015	•						•		•
25	(AH) 9/9/2015	•						•		•
26	(AH) 11/9/2015	•						•		•
27	(AH) 15/9/2015	•				•		•		•
28	(AH) 30/9/2015	•						•		•
29	(AH) 10/9/2015	•						•		•
30	(AH) 4/9/2015		•	•		•			•	•
31	(AH) 6/9/2015 (A)		•	•		•			•	•
32	(AH) 6/9/2015 (B)		•	•	•				•	•
33	(AH) 6/9/2015 (C)		•	•	•	•			•	•
34	(AH) 5/9/2015				•	•		•		•
35	(AM) 2/3/2015	•						•		•
36	(AM) 30/3/2015		•	•	•	•	•			•
37	(AM) 13/3/2015		•	•	•	•			•	•
38	(AM) 30/3/2015		•	•	•	•				•
39	(AM) 1/4/2015		•	•	•	•				•
40	(AM) 16/4/2015		•	•	•	•				•
41	(AM) 8/4/2015		•			•				•
42	(AM) 9/4/2015(A)		•			•			•	•
43	(AM) 20/4/2015		•			•			•	•
44	(AM) 13/4/2015		•			•			•	•
45	(AM) 14/4/2015			•		•				•
46	(AM) 9/4/2015(B)		•		•	•			•	•
47	(AM) 7/4/2015		•	•	•	•				•
48	(AM) 23/5/2015		•			•				•
49	(AM) 12/5/2015	•						•		•
50	(AM) 9/5/2015		•	•		•			•	•
51	(AM) 7/5/2015		•	•	•	•				•
52	(AM) 28/5/2015		•			•				•
53	(AM) 17/5/2015		•			•				•
54	(AM) 20/6/2015		•	•		•			•	•
55	(AM) 16/6/2015		•			•				•
56	(AM) 21/6/2015		•			•			•	•
57	(AM) 28/6/2015		•	•	•					•
58	(AM) 4/6/2015		•			•				•
59	(AM) 22/6/2015		•		•	•				•

141	(AM) 13/9/2015(A)			•	•	•	•				•	•
142	(AM) 4/9/2015(F)			•	•	•	•				•	•
143	(AM) 18/9/2015(B)	•								•		•
144	(AM) 21/9/2015(A)	•								•		•
145	(AM) 5/9/2015(D)			•	•	•	•				•	•
146	(AM) 1/9/2015	•								•		•
147	(AM) 25/9/2015	•								•		•
148	(AM) 4/9/2015(G)			•	•		•					•
149	(AM) 6/9/2015(M)			•	•	•	•					•
150	(AM) 5/9/2015(E)			•	•	•	•					•
151	(AM) 5/9/2015(F)			•	•	•	•					•
152	(AM) 6/9/2015(N)			•	•		•			•		•
153	(AM) 5/9/2015(G)			•	•		•					•
154	(AM) 3/9/2015(C)			•	•		•					•
155	(AM) 27/9/2015(A)	•					•			•		•
156	(AM) 5/9/2015(H)			•	•	•	•				•	•
157	(AM) 3/9/2015(D)			•	•	•	•					•
158	(AM) 21/9/2015(B)			•	•		•				•	•
159	(AM) 10/9/2015			•	•	•	•				•	•
160	(AM) 20/9/2015(B)			•	•	•	•				•	•
161	(AM) 7/9/2015(D)			•	•	•	•					•
162	(AM) 6/9/2015(O)			•	•		•				•	•
163	(AM) 27/9/2015(B)			•	•		•			•		•
164	(AM) 8/9/2015(C)			•	•	•	•					•
165	(AM) 17/9/2015(B)			•	•	•	•			•		•
166	(AM) 17/9/2015(C)	•								•		•
167	(AM) 5/9/2015(I)	•								•		•
168	(AM) 6/9/2015(P)			•	•	•	•			•	•	•
169	(AM) 3/9/2015(E)			•	•	•	•					•
170	(AM) 8/9/2015(D)			•	•	•	•					•
171	(AM) 4/9/2015(H)	•								•		•
172	(AM) 3/9/2015(F)	•								•		•
173	(AM) 3/9/2015(G)			•	•	•	•					•
174	(AM) 5/9/2015(J)			•	•	•	•					•
175	(AM) 18/9/2015(C)			•	•		•			•		•
176	(AM) 13/9/2015(B)			•	•	•	•				•	•
177	(AM) 5/9/2015(K)			•	•	•	•				•	•
178	(AM) 4/9/2015(I)			•	•	•	•				•	•
179	(AM) 6/9/2015(Q)			•	•	•	•					•
180	(AM) 4/9/2015(J)			•	•	•	•				•	•
181	(AM) 9/9/2015(C)	•								•		•
182	(AM) 4/9/2015(K)			•	•	•	•				•	•
183	(AM) 12/9/2015			•	•	•	•					•
184	(AM) 6/9/2015(R)			•	•	•	•					•
185	(AM) 3/9/2015(H)			•	•	•	•					•
186	(AM) 5/9/2015(L)			•	•	•	•					•
187	(AM) 3/9/2015(I)	•								•		•
188	(AM) 7/9/2015(E)			•	•	•	•				•	•
189	(AM) 19/9/2015(B)			•	•	•	•				•	•
190	(AM) 7/9/2015(F)			•	•	•	•				•	•
191	(AM) 16/9/2015(B)			•	•	•	•					•
192	(AM) 4/9/2015(L)			•	•	•	•				•	•
193	(AM) 3/9/2015(J)			•	•	•	•				•	•
194	(AM) 19/9/2015(C)			•	•	•	•				•	•
195	(AM) 24/9/2015			•	•	•	•				•	•
196	(AM) 13/9/2015(C)			•	•	•	•				•	•
197	(AM) 9/9/2015(D)			•	•	•	•				•	•
198	(AM) 3/9/2015(K)	•								•		•
199	(AM) 5/9/2015(M)			•	•	•	•					•
200	(AM) 4/9/2015(M)			•	•	•	•				•	•
201	(AM) 7/9/2015(G)			•	•	•	•					•
202	(AM) 29/9/2015			•	•	•	•					•
203	(AM) 7/9/2015(H)			•	•	•	•					•
204	(AM) 6/9/2015(S)	•								•		•
205	(AM) 5/9/2015(N)			•	•	•	•					•
206	(AM) 2/9/2015			•	•	•	•					•
207	(AM) 6/9/2015(T)			•	•	•	•				•	•
208	(AM)26/9/2015			•	•	•	•				•	•
209	(AM) 3/9/2015(L)			•	•	•	•				•	•
210	(AM) 3/9/2015(M)			•	•	•	•					•
211	(AM) 4/9/2015			•	•	•	•					•
212	(AM) 4/9/2015			•	•	•	•				•	•
213	(AM) 8/9/2015(E)			•	•	•	•				•	•
214	(AM) 21/9/2015(C)			•	•	•	•				•	•
215	(AM) 5/9/2015(O)			•	•	•	•				•	•
216	(AM) 20/9/2015(C)			•	•	•	•					•
217	(AM) 18/9/2015(D)			•	•	•	•				•	•
218	(AW) 10/4/2015			•	•	•	•					•
219	(AW) 19/4/2015			•	•	•	•					•
220	(AW) 10/6/2015			•	•	•	•				•	•
221	(AW) 22/7/2015			•	•	•	•				•	•

222	(AW) 14/8/2015	.						.		.
223	(AW) 3/9/2015(A)	.				.			.	.
224	(AW) 3/9/2015(B)	.				.			.	.
225	(AW) 4/9/2015(A)		.			.			.	.
226	(AW) 4/9/2015(B)		.		.	.			.	.
227	(AW) 4/9/2015(C)		.		.	.			.	.
228	(AW) 6/9/2015	.						.		.
229	(AW) 7/9/2015	.						.		.
230	(AW) 8/9/2015		.			.			.	.
231	(AW) 11/9/2015		.	.		.			.	.
232	(AW) 17/9/2015		.			.			.	.
233	(AW) 20/9/2015	.				.	.		.	.
234	(AW) 21/9/2015	.						.		.
235	(AW) 26/9/2015	.						.		.
236	(EP) 17/3/2015 (A)									
237	(EP) 17/3/2015 (B)									
238	(EP) 20/3/2015									
239	(EP) 22/4/2015									
240	(EP) 29//5/2015									
241	(EP) 21/8/2015									
242	(EP) 31/8/2015									
243	(EP) 8/9/2015									
244	(EP) 17/9/2015									
245	(EP) 2/9/2015									
246	(EP) 16/9/2015 (A)									
247	(EP) 3/9/2015 (A)									
248	(EP) 9/9/2015 (A)									
249	(EP) 1/9/2015									
250	(EP) 3/9/2015 (B)									
251	(EP) 9/9/2015 (B)									
252	(EP) 7/9/2015									
253	(EP) 4/9/2015									
254	(EP) 16/9/2015 (B)									
255	(EP) 3/9/2015 (C)									
256	(EP) 9/9/2015 (C)									
257	(EP) 29/9/2015									
258	(EU) 27/3/2015									
259	(EU) 16/3/2015									
260	(EU) 13/3/2015									
261	(EU) 13/3/2015									
262	(EU) 27/4/2015									
263	(EU) 24/4/2015									
264	(EU) 21/4/2015									
265	(EU) 18/4/2015									
266	(EU) 17/4/2015									
267	(EU) 10/4/2015									
268	(EU) 9/4/2015									
269	(EU) 8/4/2015									
270	(EU) 8/4/2015									
271	(EU) 2/4/2015									
272	(EU) 27/5/2015									
273	(EU) 15/5/2015									
274	(EU) 12/5/2015									
275	(EU) 5/5/2015									
276	(EU) 6/5/2015									
277	(EU) 26/6/2015									
278	(EU) 20/6/2015									
279	(EU) 16/6/2015									
280	(EU)15/6/2015									
281	(EU) 7/6/2015									
282	(EU) 2/6/2015									
283	(EU) 30/7/2015									
284	(EU) 23/7/2015									
285	(EU) 12/7/2015									
286	(EU) 10/7/2015									
287	(EU) 9/7/2015									
288	(EU) 9/7/2015									
289	(EU) 7/7/2015									
290	(EU) 1/7/2015									
291	(EU) 31/8/2015									
292	(EU) 30/8/2015									
293	(EU) 28/8/2015 (A)									
294	(EU) 28/8/2015 (B)									
295	(EU) 28/8/2015 (C)									
296	(EU) 27/8/2015									
297	(EU) 24/8/2015 (A)									
298	(EU) 24/8/2015 (B)									
299	(EU) 23/8/2015									
300	(EU) 20/8/2015									
301	(EU) 19/8/2015 (A)									
302	(EU) 19/8/2015 (B)									
303	(EU) 17/8/2015									
304	(EU) 16/8/2015 (A)									
305	(EU) 16/8/2015 (B)									
306	(EU) 13/8/2015									

Appendix (4) Focus Group Discussions Protocol

Introduction

My name is Akram Elfadly, and I am a doctoral student at the Faculty of Communication Sciences, Department of Journalism and Communication Sciences of the Autonomous University of Barcelona

Purpose of the Study

This research focuses on the coverage of immigration issues in Egyptian and European newspapers. I aim to understand how these issues are framed, the challenges journalists face, and potential areas for improvement. Specifically, I am investigating the language and media frames used and the perception of immigrants and refugees in Egyptian newspapers and European newspapers.

Research Questions

- 1- How do the Egyptian newspapers cover immigration issues?
- 2- How do the European newspapers cover immigration issues?
- 3- What are possible suggestions to improve the coverage of Immigration issues in Egyptian newspapers?

Specific Significant Issues Will be Discussed Through the Focus Group Discussions, Mainly Including:

- 1- The portrayal of migrants and refugees in Egyptian and European newspapers.
- 2- Type of newspapers' coverage of immigration issues.
- 3- Migrants' voices in the newspapers.
- 4- The role of newspapers in shaping public attitudes towards migrants and refugees
- 5- The role of media in integrating migrants and refugees into host societies.
- 6- The essential issues that newspapers should focus on when reporting immigration news.

Appendix (5)

Informed consent form (over-18s)

Title of the Research Project

Coverage of Immigration Issues in Egyptian Newspapers.

Purpose of the Research

The purpose of this research is to identify how Egyptian Newspapers cover immigration issues, with the aim of improving the coverage of Immigration in Egyptian newspapers.

What Participation in the Study Involves:

First, I will ask you for some basic information about Immigration issues in Egyptian and European newspapers, such as how immigrants were portrayed during the immigration crisis in 2015. I will also ask you to identify if the migrant's voices are presented in the news stories. Finally, I will ask you to identify suggestions to improve the newspaper's coverage.

Duration

The interview takes 40 minutes.

Risks and Benefits

Your participation involves no risks of any kind.

Compensation

In this case, no compensation is envisaged for taking part.

Confidentiality

If you decide to take part, your identity will remain confidential and only members of the research team will have access to the project data. Pseudonyms will always be used if case studies need to be presented.

This informed consent form will be kept in a safe place by the principal investigators and will be destroyed five years after the end of the project. When the project is over and all data

have been analysed, the whole database will be anonymised and made available to other interested researchers.

Voluntary participation: Participation in this study is completely voluntary. There is no penalty for opting not to take part.

Right to Withdraw From the Study

You can withdraw from the study at any time without giving explanations and with no negative consequences: just by letting us know through any communication channel. As well as this, you can exercise your rights under the European General Data Protection Regulation by making a request to Professora Cristina Pulido, Cristina.Pulido@uab.cat, enclosing a photocopy of your ID document. Request forms for this purpose are available on the website of the UAB Data Protection Office (<https://www.uab.cat/web/coneix-la-uab/itineraris/proteccio-de-dades/drets-de-les-persones-interessades-1345764799916.html>). You may also file a claim before the Catalan Data Protection Authority (<https://apdc.gencat.cat/ca/contacte>), or contact the UAB data protection officer (proteccio.dades@uab.cat). In all cases, you will receive a written response within the legal time limit, stating what action has been taken.

Subsequent publication/re-use/other processing of the basic data and conservation period. Research data will be made available in anonymised form to other researchers after 5 years from the end of the project. Personal identifiers will be securely kept confidential until DATE/securely kept confidential until the objectives of the research project are achieved).

Recordings and Use of Contributions Made

- I agree to the interview being recorded (audio/video) for research purposes.
- I consent to my contributions being quoted literally with no mention of my name and to audio or video recordings of my statements being played back with no mention of my name.
- I consent to the use of my contributions in audio or video recordings for purposes of scientific dissemination, provided steps are taken to safeguard my privacy.

Contact Person

If you have any queries, you can contact the following:
(Profesora / Cristina Pulido. (Cristina.Pulido@uab.cat)).

Consent

- I have read the information about the research project, and I have had the opportunity to ask questions, which have been answered to my satisfaction.
- I understand that the anonymised information (with no personal identifiers) on this project will be placed at the disposal of other researchers sometime after the project has ended.
- I agree to take part, and I have received a copy of this consent form.

Full name of the participant:

Signature

Date:

Full name of the researcher:

Signature

Date: