

**POLICY INTERVENTIONS IN CURBING IRREGULAR MIGRATION FROM NORTH
AFRICA INTO EUROPE: THE CASE OF EGYPT AND MOROCCO**

BY

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**THIS DISSERTATION IS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, LEGON
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF THE
MA INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS DEGREE.**

LEGON

JULY 2018

DECLARATION

I, Ama Saaba Gharthey, do hereby declare that, this dissertation is an original and independent work executed under the supervision of Dr. Amanda Coffie and no part of it has been submitted anywhere else for any other purpose, except for references and quotations that have been duly acknowledged. I also declare that this dissertation has not been presented either in part or in whole for any other degree elsewhere.

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my late father, Kwesi Bortsi Gharthey and to my late grandmother, Victoria De-Graft Hanson. It is also dedicated to my mum, Philomena Rita Yamson, for her guidance and prayers. I appreciate all your efforts and sacrifices.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First of all, I would like to acknowledge Almighty God for His protection throughout the course of my studies. I am forever grateful for His mercies shown towards me.

My supervisor, Dr. Amanda Coffie, deserves a lot of my gratitude. Thank you for guiding me throughout the period I worked on this project. Your advice, thoughts and comments have been most valuable. I remain profoundly indebted to you.

My sincere thanks also go to Matteo Rongione and Junaid Khan, staff of International Organization for Migration Egypt (Migrant Assistance Division) for their immense contribution towards this work. Your insights were vital for my analysis, and I thank you for your time and knowledge.

To all the lecturers and staff of LECIAD, thank you for your encouragements and efforts in impacting all there is to know.

This thesis would not have become what it is without the support of my friends and family. Your positive spirit, belief in me, patience, and encouragement have been vital, as it spurred me on to the finishing line. God bless you all.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CNDH	National Human Rights Council
DMBS	Directorate of Migration and Border Surveillance
EMAA	European Mediterranean Association Agreement
EMP	Euro-Mediterranean Partnership
ENP	European Neighborhood Policy
EU	European Union
GCIM	Global Commission on International Migration
ICMPD	International Centre for Migration/Policy Development
IOM	International Organization for Migration
LECIAD	Legon Centre for International Affairs and Diplomacy
MENA	Middle East and North Africa
NCCPIM	National Coordinating Committee for Preventing and Combating Illegal Migration
SIVE	Integrated System of External Surveillance
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime

GADEM	the Anti-Racist Group for the Support and Defence of Foreigners and Migrants
PRIME	Preventing and Responding to Irregular Migration in Egypt
ENPI	European Neighborhood Partnership Instrument
ENI	European Neighborhood Instrument
FRONTEX	European Border and Coast Guard Agency

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ABSTRACT

Reducing irregular migration is a policy priority of most states in North Africa. In the last decade, North African countries have implemented a range of practical measures to prevent and reduce irregular migration to, through and from the region to Europe. With various states taking different approaches to irregular migration dependent on their overall policies and peculiar experiences of irregular migration, this study aims to understand the policy interventions that the Egyptian and Moroccan governments have implemented in curbing irregular migration flows into and from their countries. By studying the individual national policies and regional and bilateral agreements on migration regulation, the study sought to examine the similar and varied approaches by Egypt and Morocco in curbing irregular migration from their respective countries into Europe. The comparative analysis is supported by content analysis of existing literature on migration policies and empirical data from interviews. Based on the comparative analysis, the study reveals that Egypt's and Morocco's geographical position between Sub-Saharan Africa and Europe have made migratory flows in North Africa more complex in nature. It is found that though governments of Egypt and Morocco have all stepped up their efforts in managing irregular migration, Morocco seems to be in the lead, even though the country still faces irregular arrivals and exits. In the context of the study results, it is recommended that an integrated approach with broader stakeholder collaborations is needed to effectively tackle the issue of irregular migration. A shift away from ad hoc security-based approach to a more humanitarian policy framework is recommended to enable the two North African States benefit from migration and effectively deal with the challenges of irregular migration.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Background to the Research

The world today is witnessing an upward spiral in the spatial mobility of people as globalisation and developments in transport and technology has led to spaces of flows.¹ International migration has become a global phenomenon with both developed and developing countries facing various challenges and opportunities associated with this development.² Associated with this increasing global migration flows is the unprecedented proportionate increase in irregular migration activities.

Though the actual numbers of irregular migrants is difficult to obtain globally, the International Organization for Migration (IOM) report that about ten to fifteen per cent of migrants are found in an irregular situation worldwide.³ According to Wohlfeld (2014), “the size of irregular migration cannot in itself really constitute the problematic part, rather, it is the trend of growing numbers of migrants and irregular migrants, and the lack of clarity and control on who enters developed countries and stays in them and for what purpose, associated with irregular migration, that causes real or imagined threat perceptions”.⁴

With the changing international migration patterns, government views and policy priorities have also evolved over time in addressing the growing magnitude, scope, complexity and impact of international migration.⁵ Indeed, states have the sovereign right in protecting their borders; hence, anything that poses a threat to this security/protection will, invariably, undermine the credibility of their sovereignty.

In the last two decades, the European Union (EU), especially its southern borders, has faced the threat of irregular migration. The majority of this irregular entry into Europe has been through North African countries, particularly through the Maghreb, Egypt and Libya.⁶ Migrants coming from the Middle East, sub-Saharan Africa and Asia have used routes in North Africa as a major transiting point across the Mediterranean into Europe. This has contributed to the emergence of smuggling markets that are facilitating the movements of these irregular migrants into Europe.

The surge in irregular migration to and from North African countries into Europe has necessitated a growing number of responses. This includes increasingly restrictive migration policies from both the transiting and receiving states in addressing irregular migration by reforming immigration laws, return of unauthorised migrants, the externalisation of European immigration policies and the implementation of border apprehensions and regularisation programmes, especially from the EU-members states, in a bid to stem the flows.⁷

1.1 Statement of the Problem

Irregular migration has been a long-standing concern for states mostly affected by this phenomenon.⁸ The fight against irregular migration is a policy priority for many states and non-state actors. Hence, many countries affected by the phenomenon have implemented a number of strategies and policies and programs to stem the flows of irregular migrants.⁹

In response to the increasing migration trends, both research and policy practices have shown how the bulk of policy strategies has focused on the European states with a few recent exception on African sending states.¹⁰ For Coyller et al, the policies of migrants sending states in Africa, in general, have been largely ignored in the discussion of migration policies. Although the

European impact on African migration governance cannot be overlooked, African experiences in migration governance is worthy of research attention.¹¹ In order to reduce the Western/Eurocentric biases in migration scholarship, it is imperative to understand the migration policies of some African societies that are affected by the complex social, political and economic migratory transformation. Egypt and Morocco are a particular case in point with both countries experiencing an increase in migration that has triggered various policy responses by both states. The relative lack of research in these contexts and the subsequent intention to fill this gap in the literature inform my choice to comparatively analyse the migration policies of Egypt and Morocco.

The characteristics of the two North African states make a comparative case study analysis of their individual migration policies an interesting inquiry to pursue. First, Egypt and Morocco are portraits of transit, origin and destination states because of their geographical location.¹² Most importantly for this study, both countries are part of the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region where migration patterns differ greatly across countries and time.¹³ A remarkable variation in official estimates of irregular migration flows is also identified, although both countries lie on prominent migration routes into Europe and are jointly considered as the region's major emigration countries.¹⁴

Given these contextual conditions, the current study explores the policy models, implementations and their impact in terms of deterring irregular migration in Egypt and Morocco. Based on available statistical evidence, Egypt and Morocco present a typical case of cross country differences in policy implementations.¹⁵ This notable difference justifies the comparative research on the two North African states in order to examine potential policy divergences, indications of any policy convergences, implementation approaches and operational challenges

that have helped Morocco, for instance, in regulating irregular migration stocks out of its precinct as compared to Egypt in recent years.

1.2 Research Questions

The research is based on the following questions:

1. What are the trends of irregular migration to and from North Africa to Europe?
2. What are the similarities and differences in the immigration policies of Egypt and Morocco?
3. What accounts for the different strategies adopted by Egypt and Morocco to curbing irregular migration into Europe?
4. What are the effects of the two approaches by Egypt and Morocco in curbing irregular migration?

1.3 Research Objectives

The study attempts to achieve the following specific objectives:

1. To examine the phenomenon of irregular migration to and from North Africa to Europe.
2. To explore the common elements and differences in the policy responses adopted by Egypt and Morocco.
3. To identify the reasons for the varied approaches used by both Egypt and Morocco.
4. To determine if the current policies have any effect on irregular migration from Egypt and Morocco.

1.4 Scope of the Study

The study is delimited to the policies adopted by Moroccan and Egyptian governments as measures being taken in regulating the flows of unauthorised migrants to and from the North African region to Europe. It adopts a comparative case study analysis of policy interventions in Egypt and Morocco as part of the countries located in North Africa experiencing increasing levels of irregular migration because of their geographical location. Egypt and Morocco were

selected for this thesis mainly because of the underlining differences in migration flows between the two countries although they share striking similarities. Both Egypt and Morocco lie on prominent migration routes into Europe and are jointly recognised as the major emigration and immigration countries in North Africa. In terms of migration irregularities, Egypt is second to Libya in the North African region,¹⁶ and Morocco's increasing border controls along the Spanish/Moroccan border which makes it difficult for unauthorized migrants to move into Europe offer an interesting case for analysis in migration studies.¹⁷ The overall research analyses the varying approaches used by the individual states in handling the irregular migration. The study is also delimited to the period 2003 to May, 2018. This period was chosen because most of the current policies on migration in both countries were formulated within this period and other interesting conceptual analysis carried out in the study, in terms of political developments occurred during this period. More crucially, this was the period that both countries experienced an increase in mixed migratory flows (consisting of economic migrants, asylum seekers and refugees), compelling both governments to formulate policies to control the migratory flows.

1.5 Rationale of the Study

The study seeks to contribute to the literature on irregular migration. It compares irregular migration policies in Egypt and Morocco and analyses how cross-border migration control policy interactions can provide solutions to irregular migration in the two states. The findings of the research hold implications for policy as well as make a significant contribution to migration studies. At the level of policy, the study proffers insights that will, hopefully help to broaden the discourse on migration control policies and how North African countries, specifically Egypt and Morocco, can improve their efforts towards regulating irregular migrant flows. In terms of

contributions to the migration literature, the study adds to the existing literature on migration control policies, providing the impetus for further research in a relatively understudied context.

1.6 Theoretical Framework

Transnationalism is the principal theory underpinning this work. The term was first introduced in the academic discourse in the 1970s by Joseph Nye and Robert Keohane in 1972 after its initial usage in America and then in Europe.¹⁸ Following the pioneering work of Nye and Keohane, several extensions have been made by several scholars focusing on various dimensions and applications. Recent development of the theory can be found in the work of Glick Schiller, Basch and Szanton Blanc who define transnationalism as “the process by which immigrants forge and sustain simultaneous multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement.”¹⁹

With respect to migration, the transnational migration scholars argue that some migrants continued to be active in their native land at the same time that they became part of the countries that received them.²⁰ For Glick Schiller, Basch and Blanc-Szanton, transnationalism occurs when trans migrants create and maintain multiple contacts be it economic or social which transcend borders.²¹

As the theory gained attention in academia, it also attracted criticism. Critics have questioned the terminology itself by proposing other terms like “trans localism”, “bi-localism,” “bi-nationalism” and “trans-state activity”.²² Other scholars have also argued about the scope of transnationalism; a situation which lacks clarity of definition and which brings to the fore the issue of one-sidedness inherent in transnationalism. Such scholars contend that a number of previous studies

have neglected a large number of migrants who were not necessarily engaged in the act of transnationalism.²³

Still, many argue that transnational migration is not a new phenomenon since it has been a long-standing issue.²⁴ Other scholars have also argued whether transnationalism is a perspective (fails to complete the assimilation theory) or a theory against the backdrop that theories are improved as further evidence becomes available.²⁵

Although various criticisms have been levelled against transnationalism as a theoretical framework, it is found suitable for the needs of the current study. Its relevance for this study lies in the fact that policymakers can look beyond their national boundaries in analysing the scope, rationale and the effect of migration policies through the implementation of comprehensive migration control policies. According to the migration literature, the extent to which migration policies emphasize transnational cooperation and build a consultative action that recognises the migrants' transnational links with transit and originating countries defines the essence of transnationalism.²⁶ It is worth noting that a comprehensive and effective migration policy functions under the rule of law and should encompass a range of elements such as healthcare provision, human rights protection, integration, labour market considerations, other benefits and services and policies to optimise the best value that the destination country can derive from the migrants. However, not all countries may develop their migration policies to encapsulate these issues, thereby according for possible differences and outcomes.

Even among countries that are attempting to integrate more pragmatic approaches, different measures and implementation strategies exist. The policy architecture of Morocco could be described as hybrid: as it incorporates more elements of transnationalism with strong restrictive measures in contrast with policy interventions of Egypt. Albeit, Egyptian migration policies also

recognise regional and bilateral co-operations, the extent and degree of transnational outlook may differ, highlighting some basic similarities and differences in the two policy frameworks and outcomes in the long run. It is for this reason that this study adopts transnationalism as a theoretical framework; in assessing the underlying characteristics and structure of the migration policy measures being implemented as well as the associated outcomes derived.

1.8 Literature Review

How states respond to irregular migration has engaged the attention of scholars, policymakers, analysts and experts who have offered varying viewpoints as to the quality and effectiveness of migration control policies. This section of the study provides a critical review of relevant literature on migration control policies. Reviewing the literature on migration control policies, the present researcher found that most studies have focused attention on European and Western geopolitical contexts with fewer studies on Africa and even lesser concentration on North African countries, although the North African sub-region has been a major concern to policymakers for several years.

Hammar attempts to highlight the quintessence of migration policy issues.²⁷ Focusing on Sweden as the basis of assessment, he describes how migration policies have evolved from being the expression of a country's national interest to becoming a transnational issue. Hammar acknowledges that migration policy is an issue akin to foreign policy, development and security policy which involves citizens of other countries as well as relations between these countries. According to Hammar, the major factor limiting the effectiveness of migration policies across Europe is that they are often made without any forecast on future net inflows. The effectiveness of migration policies can also be determined by how early they were designed and promulgated.

As a result, policy makers overcome with fear, anxiety and uncertainty eventually exaggerate the number of flows from neighbouring and distant countries and continent.

Furthermore, Hammar submits that immigration controls usually identify immigrants as rivals and are designed to solve how much leverage or latitude these 'rivals' must be allowed or disallowed to enjoy the country's resources or wealth. Hammar opines that international migration and migration control are complex issues insofar as many forecasts of migration flows remain more or less guesswork of little reliability coupled with the difficulty in predicting future migration flows. Thus, not many migration policies are effective.

Inasmuch as Hammar's work is a useful starting point in understanding the essence of international migration policies and its underlining objective, it is evident that the study largely concentrates on European migration policies with specific focus on Sweden. The work provides a critical view of how a destination country recognises immigrants and by extension how much control or freedom a receiving country is willing to offer to immigrants to live as citizens (temporary or permanent); thus informing the latter of the migration policy. However, the findings of this study cannot be generalized, especially when it focuses mostly on European migration policies with a destination country perspective. There is little to draw on for transit countries, especially the North African region which is a major source of migration flows into Europe.

Extending Hammar's work, Czaika and Hein de Haas show the factors that influence the effectiveness of international migration policies.²⁸ However, unlike Hammar's study,²⁹ they focused on migration policies of Western liberal countries including Germany, Spain, Finland, Sweden, Canada, and the United Kingdom among others. The authors are of the view that since migration policies are generally created to change the behaviour of potential migrants in an

intended direction, the effectiveness of the policy instrument should be measured in relation to the actual migration flows and the stated objectives of policies.

Czaika and Hein de Haas further argue that the limited effect of a migration policy does not imply a “policy failure,” but can represent an “inefficient policy”. Instead, a policy will fail entirely if it has not produced any effect at all. Meanwhile, Czaika and de Haas suggest that it is only when analysis show that migration control policies have affected both inflows and outflows of the targeted group, taking into consideration all the migration determinants from both the sending and receiving countries will it be considered as effective. As a result, one must be able to differentiate between the over-all migratory transitions and a marginal policy change within an existing regime to establish the effectiveness of a migration policy.

Czaika and de Haas found that the absence of leadership commitment and the restrictiveness of policy frameworks are part of the reasons why policies are ineffective. They further add that the inadequate provision of resources to implement these policies comprehensively affects the efficacy of the frameworks. Consequently, Czaika and de Haas observed that the varieties in migration policies depend on certain factors such as financial and human resources and other state agents. Indeed, although Czaika and de Haas based their study on immigration policies of western liberal nations, its relevance to this study lies in the fact that their conclusions can potentially be applied to assessing immigration policies in other locations around the world and not only to the receiving countries.

Having observed the uni-dimensional perspective of most migration studies, Castles offers an insight into why migration policies fail from a Western European perspective.³⁰ Castles outlines the three factors that result in policy failures namely the dynamic nature of migration, globalisation and the North-South divide and the political arrangements of the states involved.

The author argues that states and supranational bodies become less successful in migration management when they regulate mobility in a restrictive manner. Because of this, the difference between the objectives of national immigration policies and policy outcomes keeps on widening especially in industrialised democracies.³¹ Castles warns that not only do migration policies fail as a result of the weakness of the receiving state, but also policies based on a short-term view of the migratory process are bound to fail instead of long-term perspective.

Agreeing with Czaika and de Haas,³² Castles also points to the fact that policy failure occurs only when the policy does not achieve its targets. He alludes to the fact that the success or failure of migration policy is not usually absolute because policies may attain some of their intended goals or may end up in unintended consequences. Castles, however, cautions policymakers to be aware of the complex migratory factors and how the factors can interact in specific migratory practices and community formation in order to achieve more comprehensive policies. He further notes that migration control policies can be effective only when the policies are directed towards reducing the inequality between the North and South divide.

It is easy to identify that Castles work is Euro centric. Although the author attempts to offer an insight into the root causes of migration in origin countries basically the global south, nothing was said about Africa, in general, and North Africa, in particular. Thus, there is little offered in the burgeoning literature in terms of policies offered by North African countries in controlling migration and for that matter irregular migration. The gap in the literature in terms of the lack of empirical studies on the migration control policies by African origin and transiting states and more specifically for North African countries such as Egypt and Morocco, must engender scholarly attention given the importance of North Africa to the discourse on migration.

Recognising this deficiency in the scholarship, Koser's³³ work attempts to fill the afore-stated lacuna in the migration literature by investigating the migration control policies applied in Eastern and Central Europe and in the Maghreb countries of Northern Africa including Morocco. Koser argues that irregular migration poses real dilemmas for states that have the sovereign right over their borders.

He notes that migration control policies are largely driven by the perception of states being 'overwhelmed' by large inflows of irregular migrants, adding that migration policies are generally designed to reduce the scale of irregular migrants and to have a direct or indirect impact on irregular migration. However, he is quick to note that states have, nevertheless, failed to manage or control irregular migration effectively and efficiently.

Koser, further, identifies various reasons why migration policies have failed to solve irregular migration, explaining that though control policies are being implemented in places facing the challenge of irregular inflows, the activities have rather surged instead of abating. For instance, he mentions that the factors shaping migration are beyond the control of direct state intervention and once migration becomes established, limiting it becomes a problem for the state. For example, these control policies may lead to other unintended consequences such as migrant smuggling. Additionally, Koser discusses how the changing geography of irregular migration provides states with the incentive to act especially when their countries evolve from source to destination countries as in the case of Eastern and Central Europe and the Maghrebi countries of Northern Africa.

Interestingly, Koser observes that although these control measures have not yielded the desired results, many countries are working on other alternatives to reduce the scale of irregular migration. The author identifies that migration control policies can be categorised into three

measures; viz, pre-frontier measures, border management and the post entry measures. Koser's study is relevant to the present study because it focuses on various state policies used in controlling irregular migration and also recognises the fact that more effective and coherent approaches are needed in curtailing irregular inflows.

Similarly, Papa Demba Fall, Pierre Kamdem, Caroline Wanpiku Kihato, David Gakere Ndegwa and Ayman Zohry provide insight into immigration policies of Africa states.³⁴ The authors provide an overview of how African and non-African states have dealt with African migration governance and its effect on the patterns and trends of African migration. They intimate that, in general, immigration policies of African governments are restrictive in nature exemplified, among others, by tight visa regimes, restrictions on settlement. However, although many African borders may be relatively easy to cross in situations where states enforcement capacities are not strong, others are not and can be heavily militarised as in the case of North Africa.

Under the effectiveness of migration control policies and border controls, the authors mention that while immigration restrictions border controls do generally reduce the inflows at the targeted crossing points, they do not stop migrants from embarking on their journeys but rather lead to unintended consequences such as spatial substitution, categorical substitution, intertemporal substitution and reverse flow substitution which in turn undermine the effectiveness of migration control policies. The authors also observe that these effects show the need for careful policy design and also emphasise the limited ability of African governments to control migration as well as the need for policies to be centred on a more profound understanding of the developmental root causes of migration.

The conclusion made by the authors brings to the fore the role of African governments and the efforts of regional bodies in implementing policy responses in managing African migration.

Despite the significance of this study, it fails to delve into the details of the migration control policies in the various African sub-regions experiencing the challenge of irregular migration, especially in North Africa which serves as the gateway to Europe for many migrants. In order to provide deeper insights into the role of African governments in controlling migration, a case-specific approach that provides a detailed understanding of what goes on within specific states might prove useful. This is what the current study seeks to do.

Matthew Herbert offers insight into clandestine migration in North Africa and extends his work to policy responses in some selected North African countries.³⁵ In shaping responses to the dynamics of irregular migration in North Africa, Herbert states that governments in North Africa especially in Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco are aware of the high levels of migrant outflows from the region to European countries and that since 2001, the three North African countries have stepped up their efforts to control their land and maritime borders serving as pathways for irregular migration. Herbert asserts that these countries have improved their operational and information sharing activities on migration control especially with their Southern European counterparts although there are some gaps and deficiencies in these control measures that pave the way for migrant smuggling activities.

According to Herbert, of the three North African states, Morocco has established the most rigorous measures in reducing irregular migration from its territory to Europe. He further describes how the Moroccan government has taken drastic measures in the areas of tightening its border controls, construction of roads and other developmental infrastructure in the coastal areas, and the deployment of greater number of security personnel in the northern part of Morocco. However, Herbert posits that the efforts undertaken by the North African countries with the

support of the European countries have not tackled the deep concerns that drive irregular migratory flows.

Herbert's work provides useful insights into clandestine migration from North Africa to Europe and how future migration patterns would transform and shape better responses for these dynamics. However, the context of the work is solely based on the patterns and trends of clandestine migration. With specific reference to the governments' responses in curtailing the activities, the study's main concentration was on security measures taken along the maritime frontiers of the various countries. Also, Egypt did not feature in this study, although it touched on government responses in Morocco. The present study, therefore, departs from Herbert's work by going beyond the maritime control measures into a more expanded analysis of other migration control policies such as legal and institutional frameworks in the two countries comparatively analysed in this study.

From the migration literature presented above, it is deducible that only few studies have focused on migration control policies in Africa, in general, and North Africa, in particular. And in the case of the few studies that focused on North Africa, much emphasis has been on Libya while other countries in the region also affected by irregular migration have not been the focus of much research. Also missing from the literature is the significant roles played by African states in shaping migration processes by serving as origin, transit and destination countries for migrants. This illustrates the somewhat skewed nature of the migration literature, as scholars, more often than not, ignore the efforts of African governments in stemming the inflows of migrants into Europe.³⁶ Against this backdrop, the present study aims to analyse the policy interventions implemented by Morocco and Egypt in stemming irregular flows of migrants into Europe. The comparative approach adopted in this work is a major innovation to the literature and will help to

unravel pertinent patterns in the policy implementation of the two countries while at the same time measuring the effectiveness of these policy tools.

1.9 Conceptual/Operational Definitions

This section briefly provides definitions of some concepts related to this study.

Migration

Migration is a global phenomenon on a rise in every region of the globe since the end of the World War Two.³⁷ For Sinha, migration is a very complicated global issue with no universally accepted definition.³⁸ The International Organisation for Migration (IOM) defines migration as any form of human mobility within or across national borders.³⁹ It is a phenomenon that encompasses any kind of human mobility irrespective of the duration or the causal factors motivating the desire to move.⁴⁰ A 2018 report of the IOM also considers migration as a kind of movement that comprises complex migratory flows of people of all walks of life and backgrounds.⁴¹

According to Sinha (2005), migration is usually classified based on the type of political boundaries crossed.⁴² He adds that contemporary migration can be categorised into voluntary and forced migration which involve a complex continuum of coercion and free-will in migration decision-making; temporary versus permanent migration where the intention is often to stay for good or return after a while; and legal and illegal migration where the distinction is clearly defended in legal terms and internal and international migration.⁴³

It is evident from the migration literature that the primary types of migration include internal and international migration. When a movement takes place from one area of the country to another

with the intention of creating a new dwelling, it is known as internal migration which could either be temporary or permanent.⁴⁴ International migration on the other hand involves the movement of persons from their countries of residence to another for either a short or long period of stay and involves the crossing of an international frontier.⁴⁵ This type of migration could be either legal or illegal depending on the extent to which the regulatory conditions surrounding such movement were adhered to by the migrant.⁴⁶ When a migrant uses unapproved means and routes to move from an origin country into a destination country, the movement is termed as illegal.⁴⁷ Illegal migration may involve either partial or total non-compliance of the legal requirement controlling the migration activity. This current study largely focuses on illegal international migration, which is subsequently explicated in the next section as irregular migration.

Irregular Migration

According to the Migration Observatory, ‘irregular migration’ usually involves the cross-border mobility of people who enter a country without the required legal authorization.⁴⁸ For Koser, migrating in an irregular manner is a deliberate decision for some people, whereas others may find themselves in an irregular situation because of lack of information or due to unforeseen challenges.⁴⁹

Although the notion of irregular migration does not have a universally accepted definition, most scholars refer to the definition by IOM which identifies out illegal entry, overstaying and unauthorized work as the most common forms of irregular migration.⁵⁰ As stated by Triandafyllidou and Maroukis (2012), irregular migrants are also referred to as illegal /undocumented / unauthorized or clandestine migrants and involve all persons who enter a

country unlawfully, overstay their visas, have no residency permit, and/or break immigration rules that make them liable for deportation.⁵¹

Meanwhile, Triandafyllidou and Maroukis (2012), also note recent conceptual modification of the term ‘irregular migration’ symbolising a kind of migration that is “not regular”, “unlawful” or not according to the rules of a destination country.⁵² For the purpose of this study, irregular migration signifies the “crossing of borders without proper authorisation, or violating conditions for entering another country”.⁵³ This definition best encapsulates the ‘unlawful’ migration flows by North Africans and other sub-Saharan migrants transiting through the region into Europe.

Migrant

There is no internationally agreed definition of who a migrant is. However, the IOM defines a migrant as someone who has crossed an international border regardless of the legal status needed, the type of migration, the causes for moving or the length of the stay is.⁵⁴ Thus, for the purposes of this study, ‘migrant’ is used as an all-encompassing term that applies to refugees, asylum-seekers and economic migrants moving to another country or region through irregular means in pursuit of a better life.

Migration Management

Migration management embraces all the activities undertaken within a national boundary in managing cross-border migration. It involves the management of migratory flows both at the entry and within the borders of a state while ensuring the security of all foreigners including refugees and other forced migrants. It highlights the systematic approach to addressing migration challenges of the nation. Migration management is not undertaken in a vacuum; on the contrary,

it is guided by a detailed policy document that reveals multiple legislative and administrative responses to the key migration issues.⁵⁵

Governments are the main actors who manage migration flows. Although constrained by regional and international legal frameworks, there are various reasons why migration must be managed. These reasons can be grouped into two: domestic considerations and international considerations. The domestic consideration refers to the internal factors that drive the tendency to manage migration - for example, culture, economy, population change, public health and safety, public opinion and sovereignty. International consideration, on the other hand, connotes the external or exogenous factors that serve as incentives for a country to manage migration flows, including brain drain, brain gain, remittances and the sustainable development goals.⁵⁶

1.10 Sources of Data

The study employed both primary and secondary sources of data. Key informant interviews were conducted for the primary data collection. The study used a semi-structured interview guide to conduct interviews with officials from targeted institutions such as the International Organization for Migration and Moroccan and Egyptian government officials residing in Ghana. The study relied extensively on secondary sources of data from articles, books, journals, policy documents and research publications on migration policies. The choice of secondary data was informed by the availability of literature on managing irregular migration in North Africa specifically in Egypt and Morocco. The secondary data were mainly accessed from Libraries (University of Ghana's Balme Library and the Centre for Migration Studies) and organisational websites (IOM and Frontex).

1.11 Research Methodology

The study is exclusively qualitative in its methodology. Unlike the quantitative research method which relies basically on numerical data analysis and always tests a hypothesis, the qualitative research approach according to Dey (1993), offers an in-depth and flexible form of investigation in social science research.⁵⁷ The emphasis of qualitative research is on process and meanings. In-depth and focus group interviews and participant observation are the methods used in the gathering of data for a qualitative research. Study samples are meant to small, purposeful samples of respondents who can provide vital information.⁵⁸

This study uses the case study research as a type of qualitative research methodology. The case study approach focused on Egypt and Morocco in order to gather detailed data on the two countries in terms of migration control policies. A detailed comparison of the two countries was important in order to obtain a comprehensive understanding of the policy interventions on irregular migration that are underway in the two countries so as to produce reliable findings.

In terms of data collection, semi structured interviews were conducted with the use of an open-ended interview guide. This data collection method was deemed appropriate for the study because it elicits in-depth information from individuals with expertise on the subject. The respondents were selected through the use of the purposive sampling technique from the various organizations based on the researcher's own judgment. Since the study is a comparative case study, the study required an instrument that allows the respondents to provide thorough and unobstructed information about the subject.

Regarding data analysis, the interviews conducted were recorded, transcribed and organized into key themes that made it possible to identify patterns and trends for interpretation. The key themes included the nature and scope of irregular migration, policy responses, varied approaches

and the effect of the policy responses. Guided by the research objectives, the study, primarily employed content analysis in analyzing the qualitative data. For Patton, content analysis is simply identifying, coding and classifying the basic patterns in a qualitative data.⁵⁹ The documents that were used for the analysis included reports, academic journals, policy papers, reports, working papers, research publications that have covered migration control policies in North Africa, particularly Egypt and Morocco. These were used to ascertain the policy models, parallels and variations to establish a valid conclusion from the data.

1.12 Limitations of the Study

A major challenge encountered during the data collection process was the unavailability of data on irregular migrants from the countries under study in this research. In addition, getting information from key informants in Ghana was a challenge not because they were unwilling to be interviewed but because of bureaucratic procedures. Most of the studies on migration control were concentrated on European destination countries and so getting information on source and transit states in Africa proved challenging. Besides, in Africa most of the attention has been on Libya.

In as much as the access to data was a major challenge, the researcher was able to devise certain strategies to solve the problem. This included the use of social media in contacting experts in the field as well as arranging of interviews via Skype. The researcher was also able to request for policy documents from organizations such as the IOM, which was used for a thorough content analysis. By taking these steps, the researcher was able to ensure that the data access challenges of data access encountered did not adversely affect the reliability of the findings.

1.13 Arrangements of Chapters

The study is organised into four chapters. Chapter one is the research design. It introduces the subject matter, gives background to the problem, research questions, research objectives, scope of the study, its rationale, the theoretical framework that guides the study, conceptual/operational definitions, sources of data, methodology, study limitation and the organisation of the study. Chapter Two lays the foundation for this study by providing a general overview of irregular migration in North Africa. Chapter Three focuses on the actions taken by Egypt and Morocco in an attempt to curb irregular migration. It also presents a synthesized analysis of the migration control policies by the two countries. Chapter Four summarises the key findings of the study and presents the conclusions arrived at as well as offers some policy recommendations.

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CHAPTER TWO

OVERVIEW OF IRREGULAR MIGRATION TO AND FROM NORTH AFRICA INTO EUROPE

2.0 Introduction

This chapter focuses on an overview of irregular migration in the North African Region. In particular, it serves as an introduction that provides a historical antecedent to irregular migration flows from North Africa to Europe. The underlining factors influencing irregular migration in general will be discussed.

2.1 Key Factors Influencing Irregular Migration

Several factors account for the reasons why people migrate. Most of the literature states factors such as conflict-related reasons as well as social and economic factors as the main drivers of migration. For economic migrants, their decision to migrate is influenced by various reasons including the search for a better life to improve their conditions of living, while for refugees and asylum-seekers, political reasons basically justify their reason for moving.¹

According to Koser, a number of frameworks have emerged attempting to explain the motivations behind irregular migration: structural oriented framework and the policy-oriented framework.² The proponent of the structural oriented framework specifies that structural causes are the main reasons for the upsurge in irregular migration. On the other hand, the policy-oriented framework focuses on the role of policies and proposes that immigration policies and restrictive asylum policies are responsible for the swell in irregular migration.³

According to Koser, the factors causing irregular migration can be generally classified into two: macro and meso levels.⁴ Timmerman et al., indicate, however, that the classification can also be done at three levels: that is macro, meso, or micro.⁵ The macro level includes migration policies, the political and economic status of a country.⁶ The meso level involves the social networks of individual migrants while the micro level factors take into consideration certain factors such as education, gender, ethnicity, and the socio-economic status of the potential migrant.⁷

Based on classifications mentioned above, Cummings, Pacitto, Lauro, and Foresti submit that manifold reasons account for why people migrate and or why the dynamics of migration keeps changing.⁸ Interestingly, the categories of ‘economic migrant’ and ‘asylum-seeker’ have made it difficult to distinguish between the several factors motivating the movement.⁹

It is instructive at this point to note that in spite of the manifold reasons that have been raised in literature stipulating the motivations for migration, migration flows have been explained by the “push-pull” theories. These theories largely attribute poverty and backwardness in the departure countries as the impetus of labour flows. Migration researchers have largely employed the push-pull theories to catalogue a number of “push factors” and “pull factors” as the causal factors determining the size and directionality of immigrant flows.¹⁰

However, in the context of this work, the “push-pull” theories would not provide a comprehensive account of the factors that determine irregular migration flow. To better understand the key factors driving irregular migration, the study divides the factors into two; the economic factors - referred to in the migration literature as the ‘push’ and ‘pull’ factors and other factors such as political insecurity and conflict and restrictive asylum policy and border controls.¹¹

2.1.1 Economic Factors

The absence of economic opportunities in countries of origin and the desire for people to better their lives and families represent the dominant factor in driving irregular migration into Europe.¹²

The desire by migrants to better their lives is reflected in the extent of risk they are willing to take while travelling via irregular means to Europe.¹³ Several factors may account for the reasons why migrants would prefer to leave for Europe to improve their standard of living. Schapendonk and van Moppes cite social networks including information shared on social media and the internet, roles played by family members in host countries and advertisements by companies in destination countries.¹⁴

Economic disparities and opportunities between the poor and rich countries have largely accounted for why most people from African countries usually migrate via irregular means. The lack of job opportunities, youth bulges and poverty in Africa have featured in the reasons why migrants are keen to flee for Europe.¹⁵ In Africa today, a total of 680 million Africans are poor and unsecured and most see Europe as the land of opportunities.¹⁶ Dorigo and Tobler who developed a model in relation to the drivers of irregular migration divided the factors into push and pull factors and showed a strong connection between these factors.¹⁷ The author noted that despite the multiplicity of factors, the strength of the economy is the key reason why people move to other countries in search of job opportunities. Other economic reasons include differences in the demand for labour and wage differentials between the origin and the destination countries.¹⁸

Egyptian youth, for instance, see migration - whether regular or irregular - as an opening for them to break out of poverty due low earnings and unemployment in their country.¹⁹ However, irrespective of prospective migrants fleeing from low income countries, empirical research has

shown how a sense of adventure also plays a role in the reasons why people move in an irregular manner.²⁰

2.1.2 Political Instability and Conflict

One of the contributing factors to the increasing migratory flows from North Africa to Europe is the political instability in many of the source countries including the conflict in Syria and the wave of political tensions in Libya, Egypt and in Tunisia. In North Africa, political instability in Libya after the ousting of Colonel Muammar Qaddafi and the turmoil of the Arab Spring in 2011 contributed to the rise in irregular migrants en route to Europe.²¹

De Haas observes that political insecurity, generally, limits economic opportunities and affects labour market participation.²² This limits the freedom to pursue economic aspirations in origin countries and, thus, motivates migrants' decision to move.²³ For most of the migrants fleeing these political turmoil, Europe represent a 'safe haven' for them. This serves as an additional pull factor motivating migrants to enter into Europe unlawfully.

Conflicts, violence, human rights abuse and repressive governments (in the case of Eritrea) leading to political insecurity in many countries push people over the edge. These conditions force people to leave their countries in search of personal security in destination countries where they see a viable future.²⁴ According to Herbert, the outbreak of the Arab Spring in 2011 for instance precipitated the current migration situation in North Africa to Europe.²⁵

2.1.3 Restrictive Asylum Policy and Border Controls

Researchers of irregular migration have clearly shown how the intensification of border controls has resulted in the ‘creation’ of migrants, comprising asylum seekers and refugees, who use various unauthorised passages to enter Europe. Kuschminder et al, for instance, states that asylum seeking processes in countries and border controls have contributed to irregular flows of migrants into Europe.²⁶ Restrictive asylum and visa policies in origin countries have motivated the developments of clandestine routes that irregular migrants and rejected asylum seekers use.

Failure by many countries to grant asylum seekers the protection and humanitarian assistance in concerned countries, particularly in North Africa, have resulted in the sea journeys by both migrants, refugees and asylum seekers, as they risk their lives in an attempt to escape from appalling conditions. Mediciens Sans Frontiers, for instance, is calling for an end to Libya’s arbitrary detention of economic migrants, refugees and asylum seekers held in Tripoli detention centres where they face very harmful and exploitative conditions.²⁷

Tightening of border security and restrictive migration policies have also influenced the changes in migration patterns and increased the volume of people migrating irregularly.²⁸ For example, the introduction of law enforcement efforts along the Spanish/Moroccan border diverted the desire or attention of migrants, especially Moroccans, from using the eastern Mediterranean corridor to taking the central Mediterranean route in order to get to Europe.²⁹ The intensification of border control between Libya and Italy (2009) also diverted flows into Greece through Turkey.³⁰ In recent times, as Turkey and Greece have increased their border securities; thus, migrants have shifted their attention to sea crossings or entering Greece through Bulgaria.³¹

According to Mbaye, migration control policies that are restrictive do not deter migrants from migrating irregularly but rather motivate migrants to use alternative pathways.³² Likewise, the Clandestino Project argues that policies that are inefficient or complicated are bound to fail and can fuel irregular migration instead of curbing the flows.³³

2.2 Brief Historical Background of Irregular Migration from North Africa to Europe

Migration by North Africans into European countries is not a new phenomenon. Throughout history, North African countries have experienced various forms of migration be it legal or illegal. The region is characterized by mixed migratory flows comprised of economic migrants, asylum seekers and refugees migrating in an irregular manner. Before the large influx of irregular migrants especially from sub-Saharan Africa countries who transited through the region to reach Europe in the 2000s, many North African nationals have attempted to cross the Mediterranean to reach Spain and Italy since 1990s.³⁴

Indeed, prior to the 1980s and 1990s when border controls commenced; North Africans were usually not required to provide visas to enter Europe. However, potential migrants travelled legally either as tourists or under bilateral worker exchange programmes. What actually accounted for this immigration was the search for greener pastures while family reunification also accounts largely for the constant migration of North Africans to Northern and Western European countries. Regardless of their lack of legal status, these migrants easily secured jobs in the informal sector, especially in Southern Europe and by so doing, they filled the labour vacuum in low-wage industries in Europe.³⁵ Customarily, these North African emigrants were engaging in a circular migration, as they worked in Europe for some time and returned home for a while.

This circular movement of North African emigrants was disrupted by the introduction of the visa requirements by many European countries in the 1980s and 1990s.³⁶ The legal pathways for migrating into Europe became increasingly limited by the visa requirements. As a result, both the migrants and enterprising smuggling networks from the region established unlawful migratory routes to Europe.³⁷ According to de Haas (2006), if regular immigration is not possible, an irregular entry is chosen.³⁸ However, the introduction of visas and border controls by the Southern European destination countries led to an increasing number of unauthorised migrants. A lot of Moroccans, for instance, migrated unlawfully by crossing the Strait of Gibraltar using the Spanish enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla on the northern coast of Morocco.³⁹

The introduction of travelling visas and migration control strategies by the European countries in the 1990s also gave way for a growing number of West African migrants to migrate irregularly into Europe using the Mediterranean sea.⁴⁰ In recent years, the heightened migration through and from the region has resulted in the EU and its member states' intensification of policy agenda in regulating the flows from sub-Saharan African migrants, Asia, North Africans and Middle Eastern countries heading to Europe. The Southern European countries have mainly responded to the rapid expansion of irregular immigration by intensifying border controls and have even "externalized" border controls towards the North African countries to ease migratory pressures on the Southern European countries.⁴¹ Under intense pressure from the EU countries to stem migratory flows, some North African countries especially Morocco, have reinforced their immigration laws to the point of signing readmission agreements with the EU to accept irregular migrants into their territories and to expel them to their countries of origin.⁴²

2.2.1 Contemporary Irregular Migration to and through North Africa to Europe

According to Malakooti, there have been some dynamic changes in the migratory flows to and through North Africa to Europe in the past two decades.⁴³ For Metcalfe-Hough, these routes that irregular migrants take are dynamic in nature and often shift quickly in response to new migratory control programs and strategies especially in transit countries.⁴⁴ With both the Central Mediterranean and Western Mediterranean routes passing through the North African region, sub-Saharan African migrants together with north African migrants and asylum seekers have used these Mediterranean routes for irregular migration into Europe.

The trans-Saharan journeys made by sub-Saharan African migrants into North Africa for their onward journey into Europe is generally made in several stages which might even last for months or years.⁴⁵ The majority of migrants from Africa also enter the Maghreb through Agadez in Niger and then to the Sebha oasis located in Libya and to the southern Algeria city of Tamanrasset.⁴⁶ With time, southern Libya has become the most attractive country in the region for irregular migrants due to the well-established migratory routes from the region to Europe.⁴⁷ According to Malakooti, migrants either pass through Tripoli and other coastal cities or passes through Tunisia where they can travel to either Malta or Italy by boat. On arrival at Tamanrasset in Algeria, the migrants use two routes to clandestinely enter Europe. They either enter Morocco through the border passage near Oujda by crossing the sea or through the Spanish enclaves of Ceuta or Melilla or settle in Rabat and Casablanca temporarily before they move.⁴⁸

With the Mediterranean Sea route serving as the key route for irregular migrants to enter into Europe along the North African coast, generally, three major paths (see Figure 2.1) have been used by irregular migrants.⁴⁹ The first is the Central Mediterranean route, emerging as the most favoured route by migrants during the first half of 2016 with departure points in Libya, Tunisia,

The toppling of Colonel Muammar Al Gaddafi in 2011 and the civil unrest in 2014 has led to the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya serving as a key transit country especially in cities such as Kufra and Sebha for irregular migrants heading to Europe.⁵⁵ These migrants mostly rely on well organised migrant smuggling networks due to the lack of proper surveillance of the country's coastline by a single recognised regime. With the country's power vacuum and increasing lawlessness, Libya is now a starting point for many irregular journeys into the Southern European countries.⁵⁶ It will be instructive to provide an account of the three Mediterranean corridors usually used as routes by irregular migrants into Europe.

2.3 Irregular Migration Routes in North Africa

The main pathways of travel by irregular migrants from North Africa to Europe consist of three main routes; the Central, Western and the Eastern Mediterranean Routes. Recently, the Mediterranean Sea passage has become a major route for migrants moving from North Africa to Europe. Due to North Africa's geographical location and its proximity to Europe, the region has witnessed an increase in the number of irregular migrant crossings into Europe. Although the three routes are discussed in general, the study focuses on two of the routes in particular; the Central and the Western Mediterranean Routes which Egypt and Morocco are respectively located along to enter Europe.

2.3.1 The Central Mediterranean Route

The Central Mediterranean route is a popular pathway for sub-Saharan African immigrants entering Europe through Libya or Egypt.⁵⁷ According to an IOM report, the Central Mediterranean route presents the complex flows of migrants arrivals in Italy and Malta. Such

migrants come through Libya and Egypt which, in recent years, have become significant transit and departure points for irregular migrants.⁵⁸

That scores of irregular migrants cross the Central Mediterranean is not a new phenomenon, with the majority of them headed for Italy. However, with the closure of the Western Balkan route and the signing of the EU-Turkey deal, the Central Mediterranean has experienced periodic surges in irregular arrivals into Europe.⁵⁹

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) estimated a total of about 25,000 irregular migrants who fled to Italy from North Africa in 2005. This number ascended to approximately 61,000 in 2011 as result of the political instability in Libya owing to the toppling over of Colonel Gaddafi's government.⁶⁰ According to Frontex, the Central Mediterranean route became a popular route for irregular border crossing into Europe in 2011, 2013 and 2014, representing a total of 60% of all 'illegal' border detections during the above periods.⁶¹ From 2008 - 2010, the route was not popular with migrants until the aftermath of the Arab Spring in 2011. Nonetheless, its popularity slipped steadily in 2012 until it gained full momentum in 2013/2014.

The popularity of this sea route by many migrants from sub-Saharan Africa, Middle East and for North African migrants is attributed to the minimal cost involved in travelling coupled with its accessibility and distance to Europe. The preference for this route by Moroccans, for instance, was attributed to the border control activities along the eastern Mediterranean corridor, making it difficult for clandestine migration.⁶²

2.3.3 The Eastern Mediterranean Route

The Eastern Mediterranean Sea route is also known as the Aegean Sea.⁷² For Lusenti and Watanabe, the Eastern Mediterranean route includes the sea passage from Turkey all the way to Cyprus along with land routes from Turkey through Greece or southern Bulgaria.⁷³ According to Frontex, this route was the second in ranking for all irregular inflows into Europe in 2014.⁷⁴ In 2015, migrant crossings on the route exceeded the number of arrivals using the central Mediterranean route making it the most popular route in that year.⁷⁵ Syrians, Afghans, Iraqis and Somalis are the main nationalities using this route.⁷⁶

Migrants using this route from North Africa need to converge at departure points in Turkey which normally involves travelling by air from Tunis, Algiers or Casablanca to Istanbul.⁷⁷ Habitually, North African migrants using this route deliberately claim Syrian nationality in order to seek asylum in Europe.⁷⁸ However, in an attempt to intensify irregular migration control, the EU-Turkey deal in 2016 resulted in a dramatic drop in migrant crossings so that the central Mediterranean corridor became the only alternative.⁷⁹

2.4 Estimates of Irregular Migration from North Africa to Europe

There is no existing detail and accurate data on irregular migration from North Africa to Europe. However, institutions like the International Centre for Migration/Policy Development (ICMPD), the United Nations Office of Drugs and Crime (UNODC) together with IOM have, in recent times attempted to provide a partial assessment of irregular migration in the region.

According to a report by De Haas, irregular migrants crossing the Mediterranean Sea alone is estimated at 100,000 to 120,000 annually; with 45.8% - 55% of migrants originating from the Southern and Eastern Mediterranean countries.⁸⁰ Migrants from sub-Saharan region constitute

29.2% - 35%.⁸¹ UNODC's estimation discloses that 33.3% out of a total of 300,000 illegal African migrants into Europe are intercepted.⁸² Sandell notes that irregular migration flows into Europe is increasing at an alarming rate.⁸³ Even so, estimates recently published by the IOM suggest a decline in the number of migrants coming from West Africa.⁸⁴ According to the estimates, a total of about 25,000 West Africans enter Europe in an irregular manner each year representing a total of 20 - 38% of the overall number of sub-Saharan migrants arrivals into the Maghreb yearly.⁸⁵ The reduction in the numbers of African migrants entering Europe was also observed by the IOM's estimates when compared with other migration flows into Europe.⁸⁶

2.5 Conclusion

It can be surmised from the above discussion that the routes used by migrants to enter Europe from North Africa in an irregular manner have comprised of three main pathways; the Central, Western and the Eastern Mediterranean Routes. The introduction of visa requirements by European countries in the 1990s influenced the creation of 'illegal' pathways by migrants to enter Europe. While the flows on the Eastern and Western Mediterranean routes have declined, the Central Mediterranean route has now become the most commonly used route by migrants. Especially by sub-Saharan Africans, asylum seekers and refugees.

Above all, it can be observed that the factors influencing irregular migration across the globe operate at a number of levels. Economic conditions, political instability as well as national and international policies constitute the key deciding factors why people migrate. However, other factors such as the culture of migration, influence of social networks and smuggling networks also play a role in why people choose to migrate in an irregular manner. For Cummings, Pacitto, Lauro, and Foresti, the literature on the drivers of the current migration crisis have demonstrated

how the deciding factors influencing a person's decision to migrate irregularly varies across nationalities and from potential migrants to the extent that over time, these factors may change while embarking on the journey.⁸⁷

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CHAPTER THREE

ANALYSIS OF IRREGULAR MIGRATION CONTROL POLICIES BY EGYPT AND MOROCCO

3.0 Introduction

In order to better understand the different approaches taken by North African countries serving as origin and transit countries for irregular migration crossing the Mediterranean to Europe, it is important to look at individual states within the region affected by an increase in irregular migration numbers. This chapter aims to provide an overview of the processes of formulating migration control policies in Egypt and Morocco and how these legislative components have played a role in either hindering or helping to address irregular migration to and from these two North African countries into Europe. The chapter will also focus on the factors accounting for the differences and similarities in the two states approaches and evaluate the outcome of the policies.

3.1 Policy Interventions to Curb Irregular Migration

The policy interventions executed to curb irregular migration in, to and through North Africa; particularly in Morocco and Egypt are examined in this section. The policy models and measures are divided into four main components: legal frameworks, institutional frameworks transnational co-operations and practical measures in order to draw out the key elements and actions put in place by the two North African countries (Morocco and Egypt) to curb the migration flows. The section begins by contextualising the policy measures in North Africa in general by states affected by irregular migration before narrowing the analysis down to focus primarily on Morocco and Egypt.

3.1.1 North Africa

Migration has long shaped the countries within the North Africa region often simultaneously representing points of origin, transit and destination for prospective migrants. North Africa has always served as the “gateway to Europe” for many migrants who choose to clandestinely travel to European countries mainly because of its geographical position. The dramatic increase in migration, especially from sub-Saharan Africans through the region as well as some North African migrants using the sea routes into southern Mediterranean European countries, has resulted in the situation where European countries continue to mount pressure on the North African states to control irregular migration with tougher immigration laws.¹

Reducing irregular migration constitutes an important element within the North African region’s overall approach to effectively manage migration flows through and from the region. Generally, policy responses enacted by North African countries and more specifically Maghreb governments, according to Lahlou (2011), have radically evolved from concentrating on their nationals including sub-Saharan Africans heading to Europe since the beginning of the twenty-first century.²

Recently, all the North African countries have demonstrated a keen desire and readiness to handle the challenges related to irregular migration. The countries within the region (Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco, Egypt and Libya) have adopted different approaches with some opting for a security based approach in addressing the phenomenon. For instance, some North African countries have reformed their laws on migration as in Morocco in 2013 and Egypt in 2016.³ Similarly, a number of North African countries have recognised the need to engage with other migrant sending and receiving countries, hence the signing of agreements with EU member countries such as Tunisia’s mobility partnership with the EU (2014), Spanish and Moroccan

agreements (1999, 2004, 2006), Italy-Libya Cooperation agreements (2003) and Morocco's Mobility Partnership with the EU (2013).⁴ Additionally, North African states have devoted a lot of resources to stifle irregular migration, but only with limited success as the available data indicate an increase instead of reduction. In light of this trend, the current study hopes to examine the policy interventions pursued by Egypt and Morocco in curbing irregular migration into and from their respective countries.

3.1.2 Policy Interventions: Case study of Egypt

The Egyptian government according to Junaid Khan, "is extremely keen in combating irregular migration which they still call illegal migration".⁵ Consequently, the government has taken important steps in managing migration flows into and from its sphere of influence. Not only is the country a point for departure, transit and a destination country for both economic migrants and asylum seekers but its location makes it extremely crucial for irregular migration. Matteo Rongione describes the country as a point of "junction" especially for migrants from the Horn of Africa heading to Europe. According to Matteo Rongione, "irregular migration to and from Egypt has increased due to the country's geographical location, making migration management a critical issue in the country".⁶

In light of the increased numbers of migrants arriving in Italy from Egypt, the Egyptian government has stepped up its efforts in carrying out a number policies, programs and strategies that comprise regional and bilateral cooperation aimed at regulating migration including forced migration.

In 2016, for instance, a report by IOM estimated that close to 10% of migrant arrivals to Italy departed from Egypt.⁷ Amid a hike of migrants travelling through and from Egypt to Europe, the

Egyptian government has adopted a set of legal measures governing migratory issues. Moreover, the Egyptian government has on several occasions called for impassionate discussions on the issue of irregular migration. The policy interventions can, generally, be distinguished into four dimensions: legal frameworks, institutional framework, transnational cooperation/ coordination and operational measures.

3.1.2.1 Legislative Framework

The major legislative framework governing irregular migration in Egypt is Law No 82. The Parliament of Egypt passed Law No 82 on Combating Illegal Migration and Smuggling on October 17, 2016 and signed by President Al-Sisi on November 7, 2016. An official from the IOM Egypt office affirms that Law No 82 came into being weeks after a boat carrying migrants from Egypt capsized in the Mediterranean Sea shores recording a death toll of about 300 migrants.⁸

It is worth noting that before Law No 82, there was Law No 88/2005 on Entry, Residence, and Exit of Foreigners which also dealt with irregular migration particularly in the areas of irregular exit and irregular entry. The migrants or the persons offering assistance are all deserving of punishments either by serving a prison term (up to a six months prison service) or payment of fines not exceeding 2000 L.E (Article 40). However, the punishments for migrants or persons who assist in the irregular entry or exit from a country in conflict with Egypt or where political relations have been abrogated is different.⁹ Usually, the duration of the prison term ranges from 2-5 years and the fine is higher than the former. Document falsification and noncompliance to a deportation decision were all stipulated by Law No 88 as well as irregular stay which was also punishable by fines or imprisonment.¹⁰ Unlike the Law No 82 which exempts irregular migrants

from punishments, Law No 88 stipulates that migrants who enter Egypt irregularly in breach of Articles (2), (3) and (7) were culpable of imprisonment sanctions and the payment of fines (Article 41).

The passage of the Law on “Combating Illegal Migration and Smuggling Migrants” was the first law for combatting irregular immigration in Egypt. It stipulates a penalty of between 50,000 and 200,000 Egyptian pounds or a prison sentence not for migrant but rather for people smugglers who provide any services while aware of the crime to migrants.¹¹ It is important to note that the law does not punish irregular migrants themselves but rather people smugglers. Article (2) of the Law reads as follows;

“The smuggled migrant shall not bear any criminal or civil liability for the crimes of smuggling of migrants provided for in this Law. The consent of the smuggled migrants or the consent of the person responsible for them or their guardian shall not be considered in the crimes of smuggling of migrants provided for in this Law”.

For the punishments meted out to the smugglers and human traffickers, the offences and penalties are provided for in Articles (5), (6), (7), (8) and (9) in the second chapter of Law No. 82. In addition, Article (9) of Law No. 82 makes provision for the smuggler to bear all the livelihood and travelling expenses (return to their home countries) of the migrant found in his/her custody until all the necessary procedural actions are decided. In addition, the law establishes a committee on national anti-illegal migration and human trafficking with the responsibility of providing training for members of the committee on tackling irregular migration and how to

operate a unit to document progress in stopping the flows of irregular migrants using Egypt as a launching point to Europe.¹²

3.1.2.2 Institutional Framework Governing Irregular Migration

Currently, there exist a number of Egyptian institutions that deal with migration. The institutions responsible for migration include the following Ministries; Manpower and Emigration, Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Interior.¹³ With respect to migration management, according to Zohry (2007), the Ministry of Interior regulates all migration activities to and from Egypt and collaborates with all relevant organizations and institutions in charge of migratory related affairs on the possible ways of reducing “illegal” migration to and from Egypt.¹⁴

Although the Ministry of Manpower and Emigration is noted for formulating migration policy together with mobility management tools, interviews revealed that following a decree by the Prime Minister, Ibrahim Roshdy Mahlab in 2014, the National Coordinating Committee for Preventing and Combating Illegal migration (NCCPIM) as part of the government’s efforts in cracking down irregular migration was established.¹⁵ The establishment of the Committee signified the “recognition on the part of the government of Egypt to the growing concern of irregular migration flows in Egypt”. This was confirmed by an IOM official who further recounted how the mission of the Committee clearly states the desire by the Egyptian government to combat irregular migration and develop a comprehensive development plan to curb “illegal” migration through cooperation both at the regional and international levels (UN Agencies).¹⁶

The NCCPIM reports directly to the Prime Minister and has a broad membership of mutual actors, including the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Social Solidarity Groups, Parliament and Legal

Affairs as it strives to curb irregular migration.¹⁷ Among the priority goals of the Committee includes the following:

1. Raising public awareness on the dangers of Irregular Migration.
2. Mobilising of resources to fight against Irregular Migration (participation of private sector, capacity building of national entities working in the field).
3. Supporting developmental processes to discourage irregular migration.
4. Advocating of legal pathways of migration.
5. Protecting the most vulnerable groups susceptible to exploitation and smuggling.
6. Capacity building at the national level to enhance the data collection and analyses on irregular migration.
7. Ensuring the enforcement of laws necessary to support the efforts of combating irregular migration.
8. Promotion of regional cooperation on migration related issues through sharing of expertise and interregional capacity building.¹⁸

In order to raise the awareness about the dangers of irregular migration, the NCCPIM also works closely with the UN Migration Agency (IOM) in Egypt through information sharing campaigns that sensitizes potential migrants about the real dangers of irregular migration. This aligns with the NCCPIM's National Strategy on Combating and Preventing Illegal Migration (2016-2026) into and from Egypt.¹⁹

3.1.2.3 Transnational Cooperation

3.1.2.3.1 Egypt-EU Regional Level Cooperation

The Egyptian government in its attempt to improve its control of irregular migration has undertaken multiple regional consultation and cooperation platforms. Like Morocco, Egypt was also part of the Barcelona Process in 1995 which facilitates cooperation for tackling irregular migration and migration management between the EU and countries from the Mediterranean region, including Egypt and Morocco.²⁰ However, migration relations between the EU and Egypt are framed within the context of the Association Agreement created in 2004 and the Action Plan (2007) which was also framed by the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP).

Recently, Joint EU-Egypt cooperation on migration has led to the initiation of the Egypt-EU Migration Dialogue, formally launched on December 16, 2017 in Cairo. As revealed by interviews, the Dialogue covers all migration related issues from the prevention of irregular migration, migrant smuggling and trafficking and finding alternatives in promoting legal pathways. This concerns with EU-Egypt Partnership Priorities (2017-2020).²²

At the regional level, Egypt has played an active role through its participation in the Valletta Process, and notably the Khartoum Processes (EU- Horn of Africa migration Route Initiative). In the framework of the Khartoum Processes, discussions have been held by the Egyptian and the EU authorities in order to enhance cooperation in the field of migration on the following: migration governance, promotion of mutually beneficial legal migration, protection of those in need and tackling the root causes of irregular migration.²³ The Valletta Summit in 2015, for instance, led to the establishment of a Joint Action Plan by the members to address the multi dimension of human mobility challenges confronting Europe and Africa. This corroborates with a statement by one interviewee who confirmed that under the umbrella of the Khartoum Process

and the Joint Valletta Action Plan, a number of initiatives and cooperation on migration have been undertaken.²⁴

3.1.2.3.2 Bilateral Engagements

Egypt has entered into a number of bilateral engagements with other countries. However, migration expert Zohry, in his 2007 study alluded to the fact that both regional and bilateral collaborations that Egypt has with other parties on migration were initiated by the request of other countries other than the Egyptian government.²⁵

Egypt has bilateral cooperation with the IOM and the Italian government on “Integrated Migration Information System” and the “Information Dissemination for the Prevention of Irregular Migration from Egypt”. The projects are implemented by the Ministry of Manpower and Emigration with the aim of managing irregular migration.²⁶ In 1998, an agreement was signed between Egypt and Greece to fight human trafficking and smuggling as part of efforts to fight irregular migration. Egypt also signed a readmission agreement with Italy in 2007. In February 2014, the Egyptian government together with Sudan and Libya stepped up their joint cooperation on the flows coming from the Horn of Africa via Khartoum. However, the IOM stated that it is unclear whether the joint operation had any effect.²⁷ In 2016, the government of Egypt together with the UK government instituted a project dubbed “Preventing and Responding to Irregular Migration in Egypt (PRIME) with the aim of developing various policy responses in curbing irregular migration to and through Egypt towards the EU.

3.1.2.4 Other Measures to Reduce Irregular Migration

3.1.2.4.1 Border Controls

Over the years, border controls have become very significant in terms of migration control. Confronted by the unprecedented arrivals of irregular migrants to and from Egypt to Europe, the Egyptian government has implemented border control strategies to detect the inflows and outflows of irregular migrants. Border control implies the policing of borders through the deployment of security guards, erecting of walls and fences and the use of surveillance devices in monitoring human mobility. Previously, the borders in Egypt were porous and unprotected. However, with the increase in migratory flows in the region, Egypt has now established collaborations with EU countries to aid its border control efforts. Police cooperation (with Italy and Germany), the use of forceful returns at the borders, the thorough examination of visa documents at the entry and exit points, the arrests of irregular migrants on the Mediterranean by the Egyptian Navy forces and the provision of technical support through its bilateral cooperation are some of the measures adopted by the Egyptian authorities in guarding its external borders.

Efforts in stemming the flows in the Egyptian northern coast borders have recorded some success. Reports revealed that Egypt has enhanced its northern borders making crossings generally difficult for irregular migrants.²⁸ This has contributed to a reduction in the flows towards Europe. Between January and September 2016 for instance, Egyptian authorities made an arrest of about 4,640 individuals who were attempting to cross to Europe from the country's northern coast.²⁹ Reports by IOM also indicate how the porous Salloum border (between Egypt and Libya) came under intensive control in 2014, resulting to little movement in that year.³⁰

3.1.2.4.2 Information Dissemination

The Information Dissemination for the Prevention of Irregular Migration from Egypt was established by the Ministry of Manpower and Emigration with the main objective of limiting and reducing the risks associated with irregular migration.³¹ Through this project, the IOM has supported the Egyptian government through the provision of technical support and capacity building to develop specific information campaign launched in 2006/2007.³² Zohry (2007), also mentions to the fact that a toll free number that one can call for information on legal migration and which offers guidelines for all those who intend to work in Italy have been activated.³³

3.1.3 Policy Interventions: Case study of Morocco

Like Egypt, Morocco has not been spared from the issues of irregular migration. Similar to Egypt, the country has also implemented a number of policies in an attempt to curb irregular migration. It has been estimated that a total of 10,000 to 15,000 irregular flows mainly from sub-Saharan Africa arrive in Morocco each year with a total of 15,000 to 20,000 Moroccans and foreigners entering Europe unlawfully.³⁴ Despite the daily occurrence of irregular migration in Morocco, it was not until the twenty-first century when Moroccan authorities began to address the issue of irregular migration politically.³⁵ Records indicate an upsurge in irregular migration from Morocco during the early periods of 1990s and 2002/2003 mainly to Spain and other European countries after decades of the Moroccan government ignoring irregular migration.³⁶ Lahlou (2008) makes a similar observation and even attests to the fact that the indifference shown by the Moroccan government during the period indicated above also referred to as “non-migration-policy”, contributed to the migration flux Spain received at that time.³⁷

Considering the proximity of Spain to Morocco and the arrivals of migrants at the Spanish borders of Ceuta and Melilla, the two governments have established close collaborations in regulating irregular migration flows. Unlike its North African neighbours, Morocco has taken a more pragmatic and comprehensive approach as part of its efforts in combating irregular migration. Like Egypt, Morocco's policy interventions to address irregular migration can be classified into four areas; legislative framework, institutional framework, and transnational cooperation/coordination and operational measures.

3.1.3.1 Legislative Framework

The end of 2002 witnessed a transformation in Morocco's migration policy. Law 02/03 was adopted in November 11, 2003. By enacting "Law n°02-03 relative to the entry and stay of foreigners in Morocco and to irregular emigration and immigration", it marked a turning point in Morocco's irregular migration management, especially migration from sub-Saharan Africa.³⁸ As data collected for this study revealed, this Law is the most important and comprehensive legal framework governing migration in Morocco thus focusing extensively on sanctioning irregular immigration.

Article 42 of Law 02-03 prohibits the entry and stay of irregular migrants who do not possess legal documents.

"Any foreigner entering or attempting to enter Moroccan territory, in violation of Article 3 of this Act, or who remained on Moroccan territory beyond the period authorized by his visa, except in cases of overriding circumstances or excuses recognized as valid; shall be punished by a fine of 2,000 to 20,000 dirhams (approximately 200 to

2000 Dollars) and imprisonment of one to six months, or one of these penalties.”

The Law stipulates severe punishments for persons either found culpable of irregular migration or participating in not just irregular migration but human smuggling whether they are foreign or national citizens through the imposition of heavy penalties and imprisonment. Law n^o 02/03 is restrictive in nature criminalizing irregular migration and assistance offered to migrants. Border securities also doubled to 8,000 which was a complete breakaway from the laidback attitude of the Moroccan authorities. This observation is supported by Natter (2013) who argues that after decades of ignoring the activities of irregular migratory flows to and from Morocco, the authorities changed their lax attitude when Law no 02/03 was finally implemented.³⁹ Thus, Morocco seized the opportunity of implementing this law to restore its role in regional politics.

Likewise, Law n^o 02/03 also established the Directorate of Migration and Border Surveillance (DMBS) which came up with the “National Strategy on Combating Illegal Migration”.⁴⁰ The efforts undertaken by the Moroccan authorities through the establishment of this law as well as efforts by the Spanish government by entering into force the SIVE (a control system that was established by Spain since 2002) gave Morocco relative comfort in reducing irregular migration since 2005.⁴¹ This brought about a shift in migratory routes further south of its borders. That is, the country’s national policy responses on migration and its partnership with Spain resulted in the difficulty encountered by migrants to travel irregularly through and from Morocco to Europe.

In 2013, Morocco, under the leadership of His Majesty King Mohammed VI, initiated a number of policy reforms in regulating migratory flows.⁴² The linchpin of this reform was the

regularisation program which began in 2013 and granted 18,000 irregular (sub-Saharan African and European) migrants with legal status in 2014.⁴³

Due to the immigration policy reform, avenues for regularisation of unauthorised migrants were provided for “illegal” migrants. This decision by the Moroccan authorities was actually to deter migrants from attempting dangerous and clandestine journeys to Europe. However, a report by IOM indicates that although the regularisation campaign changed the course of the state’s immigration policy, when the regularisation program came to an end in 2014, several arrests of irregular migrants were carried out in Gourougou forest which lies along the border of Melilla.⁴⁴

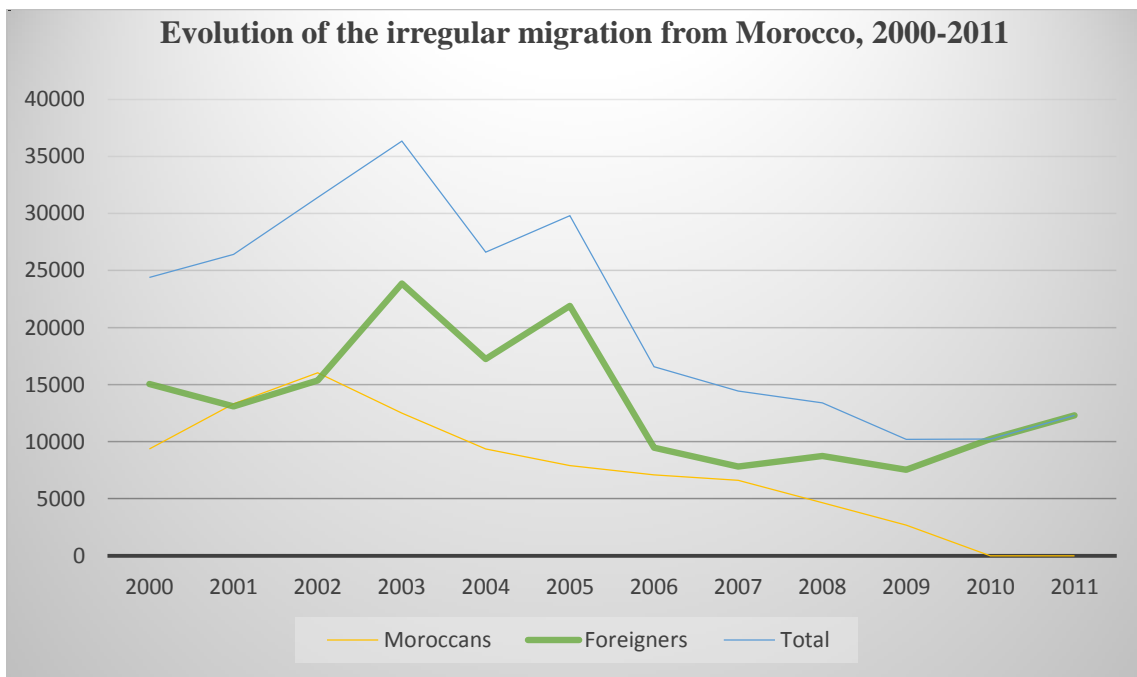
3.1.3.2 Institutional Framework

The institutional framework for migration management in Morocco involves a set of actors whose missions deal with different aspects of migration. The institutions were established by the Moroccan authorities in order to augment their initiatives in the area of migration management. At the institutional level in Morocco, the DMBS and the Migration Observatory were established by the Moroccan authorities mainly to augment their efforts in the fight against “illegal” migration. According to Lahlou (2008), these institutions were specifically created to combat irregular flows of migrants across the Moroccan sea borders.⁴⁵

Although at the governmental level, the institutions existed to manage human mobility within and outside Morocco, the creation of the DMBS and the Migration Observatory in 2003 signified an alliance of all the parties concerned with the migration problem in Morocco.⁴⁶ These institutions included the Ministry of Interior, Foreign Affairs and Cooperation and the Ministry of Justice.

The DMBS, a sub-agency of the Moroccan Ministry of Interior together with the Migratory Observatory was established in November 2003 by Law n° 02/03. The DMBS, in particular, seems to have had a significant effect on irregular migration involving both Moroccans and sub-Saharan African migrants attempting to cross to Europe through the Straits of Gibraltar due to tighter control of Moroccan borders. Hence, the border control surveillance by the Moroccan authorities has led to significant reduction in migrant flows through and from Morocco heading to Europe. This decrease, attested to by Lahlou (2008) is largely attributed to strengthened border controls in Morocco.⁴⁷

Figure 3.1: Irregular Migration from Morocco, 2000-2011



Data Source: Moroccan Ministry of the Interior cited in APDHA 2010

3.1.3.3 Transnational Cooperation

3.1.3.3.1 Morocco-EU Regional level Cooperation

With several EU countries reacting to the influx of migrant arrivals in Europe, the EU has attempted to “externalize” its border controls. In this context, Morocco is increasingly subject to pressures from the EU and the Northern Mediterranean countries to sign readmission agreements as a way of reducing the migrant pressure on the EU.⁴⁸ Hence, Morocco’s geographical location and its proximity to Europe has led to concerns about border control, security, and irregular migration taking centre stage in migration discourse between the EU and Morocco in the last few decades.⁴⁹

Since Morocco is a key strategic partner of the EU in the current Mediterranean crisis, the EU has constantly pressurized Morocco to contain migratory flows. Before the signing of agreements with EU countries on migration by Morocco, the Barcelona Process, also known as the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (EMP) which was adopted in 1995 discussions on migration trends, irregular migration, and migration flow management was already in force between the EU and Maghreb countries of which Morocco was a part.⁵⁰ A year later, Morocco signed a separate association agreement with the EU in order to enhance cooperation and to combat “illegal” immigration as well as establish dialogue on irregular migration and the condition governing the return of irregular migrants.⁵¹ In 1999, an Association Agreement known as the European Mediterranean Association Agreement (EMAA) was signed between Morocco and the EU with the aim of boosting Morocco’s development to reduce irregular immigration flows to Europe.⁵² In 2013, Morocco signed a Mobility Partnership with the EU aimed at developing better management of migration from Morocco to the involved European.⁵³ Some of the people interviewed also revealed how Europe has influenced the formation of Morocco’s migration

policy through the EU-Morocco Partnership frameworks. This assessment corroborates with Lahlou's assertion on how migration control strategies in Morocco still confirms the "will" of the Moroccan government to curb the phenomenon of irregular migration.⁵⁴

Morocco is also a key interlocutor party within the context of the "Rabat Process", an Euro-African Dialogue established since 2006 which brings together European and African countries from the North/Central and West Africa to come up with permanent approaches on migration and development with the objective of tackling migration issues.⁵⁵ It gives Morocco the chance to coordinate and cooperate with its members on border control management as part of measures to combat irregular migration.

3.1.3.3.2 Bilateral Engagements on Migration - Morocco

Morocco has made substantial efforts to tackle the issue of irregular migration through several bilateral agreements with EU member states such as Spain (2009), France (1993, 2001), Germany (1998), and Italy (1998, 1999). However, it was not until 2004, that under pressure from the EU, re-admission programs to accept sub-Saharan African migrants into Morocco and restrictive visa allowances for migrants were introduced.⁵⁶ It is worth noting that the nature of the mounting pressure from the EU on Morocco has always taken the form of a security-driven migration control approach through the signing of agreements on securitization of borders, restrictive legislations, signing of re-admission programs, repatriations, and the acceptance of refugees and asylum seekers under specific conditions from the EU such as developmental aid.

Often, the Moroccan government have acquiesced to these pressures due to funds it receives from organisations such as the European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument (ENPI) (now European Neighbourhood Instrument (ENI)) in pursuit of developmental projects. Thus, in

order for Morocco to advance its political demands, trade and economic negotiations with the EU as well as attain the position of a ‘role model’ so to speak in terms of migration control in Africa, it had to succumb to the European pressure.

Naama (2017), states that Morocco’s cooperation with Spain, for instance, on border controls and surveillance impacted on the detection of ‘illegal’ border crossings, resulting in the decrease in migration pressures on the western Mediterranean route (becoming a less preferred route for migrants).⁵⁷ In terms of the above mentioned bilateral agreements, it is significant to note that the combined efforts by Morocco and Spain suggests how a transnational approach to tackling irregular migration between source, transit and destination countries can be more effective. Indeed, adopting coordinated operational activities in controlling irregular migration is a shared responsibility for origin, transit and destination countries to find common solutions to the phenomenon.

3.1.3.4 Operational Measures

3.1.3.4.1 Border Controls

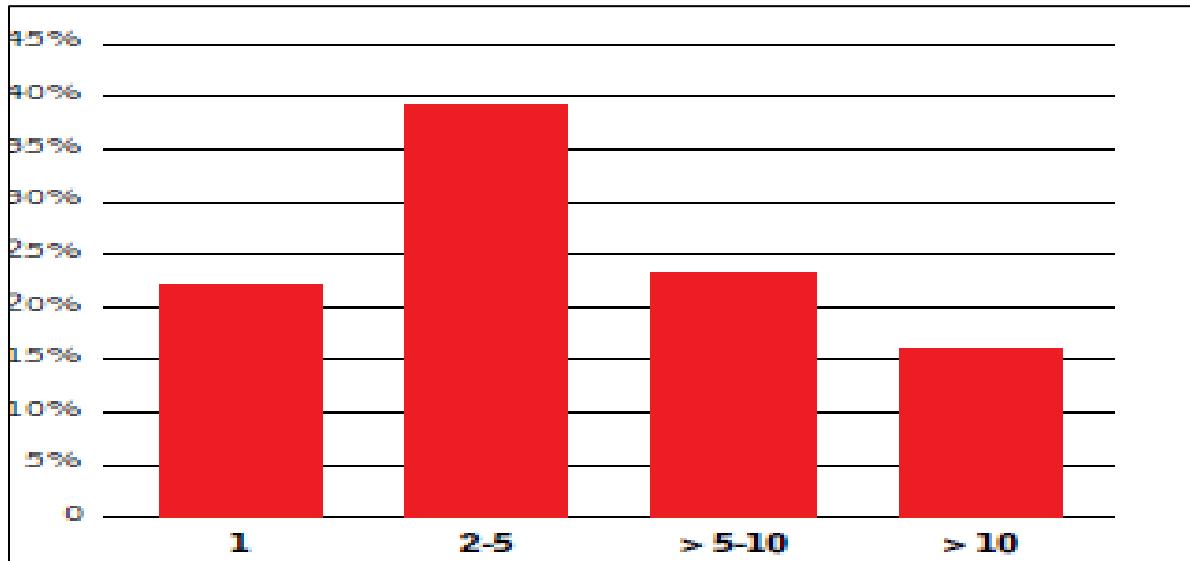
Through the passage of Law 02/03, Morocco placed new emphasis on border controls. In Morocco border controls are under the supervision of the Department of Migration and Borders Control, what Sadiqi (2005) calls “an ad hoc structure” which “controls infiltration points used by illegal migrants along the borders.”⁵⁸ The joint patrols from the Moroccan and Spanish sides have led to the reduction in irregular immigration in the Mediterranean.⁵⁹ Moroccan authorities have established close cooperation with Spanish authorities in guarding the Spanish enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla from irregular flows of migrants into Spain since the 2000s.

The use of border surveillance technologies and equipment and the erection of multiple fences have facilitated the detection and interception of irregular migrants. The joint patrols by the Moroccan *Gendarmerie* and their Spanish counterparts, the *Guardia Civil* on the Spanish enclaves under the heightened border security continue to record migrant detections and fatalities, as migrants usually storm the fences in their attempt to enter Europe. Irregular migrants apprehended by the Moroccan police force at the borders are detained in detention camps and later expelled. With regard to border controls, the Moroccan government has made extensive efforts, especially through its bilateral and multilateral agreements with the EU on border management.

3.1.3.4.2 Internal Raids

In addition to border controls, internal raids are usually organised by the Moroccan authorities in the interior of the country.⁶⁰ Authorised by the Moroccan government to combat irregular migration, the Moroccan security forces have constantly organised raids on sub-Saharan migrant communities in the country. These raids are usually conducted in the nights where irregular migrants are expelled to the land border between Morocco and Algeria leaving them at risk to all sort of physical and sexual abuse and violence.⁶¹ Often, the Algerian border guards, on the other hand, fire into the air to deter these migrants from entering into Algeria leaving the migrants in constant fear thus affecting their mental health.

Figure 3.2: Expulsion of Irregular Migrants from Morocco to the Algerian border



Data Source: Medecins Sans Frontieres, March 2013

Left with very few options, these migrants mostly return back to Oudja (Moroccan border region) where they face expulsion for several times or remain vulnerable at the land border between Morocco and Algeria. A report by Medecins Sans Frontieres (Doctors without Borders) 2013, provides an example of how these raids were conducted:

“They took us to the border and threw us onto the Algerian side at 11pm. The Algerian police / gendarmerie came out with their guns.... they took us and put us in their base. I wanted to run and I tried to escape but one of them cried “don’t run!” and he fired. I hid and the bullet missed me. They beat me a lot, with their boots, with their guns.....They took our clothes and burnt everything. They took our money. They let us go at four a.m. We only had our Bermudas (underwear) on. Luckily we passed a Moroccan who was on his way to the mosque. He asked us what had happened and gave us some clothes to wear.”⁶²

3.1.3.4.3 Regularisation Program

It is worth mentioning that reforms in Morocco's immigration policy under King Mohammed VI in 2013 initiated the regularisation program in the country based on recommendations of the National Council on Human Rights (CNDH).⁶³ The first phase of the regularisation process commenced in 2013 and ended in 2014 with the second phase beginning in 2016. The regularisation program offered irregular migrants in Morocco including sub-Saharan Africans and Europeans the opportunity to be regularised and integrated into the Moroccan society. It has been estimated that since the announcement of the program in 2013 a total of 17,916 migrants have been regularised, most especially Nigerian, Syrians, Ivorian and Senegalese migrants.⁶⁴

3.2 Comparative Analysis of Policy Measures

To understand the policy measures adopted by Egypt and Morocco in managing irregular migration, this section provides a more analytical approach of the policy responses in Egypt and Morocco. The analysis will offer clarity on the common elements and differences in the range of policy responses that both countries have implemented.

3.2.1 Legal frameworks

In general, the legal frameworks that regulate migratory flows in Egypt and Morocco focus on controlling the entry, residence and exit of people (both nationals and foreigners), and are based on a security approach. Against this backdrop, the laws tend to place emphasis on counteracting irregular migration, hence, the implementation of punitive measures for violations and with most concentration on irregular entries and exits. With respect to actively fighting irregular migration to and from Egypt and Morocco, the laws enacted allowed for the establishment of a committee

and a directorate (in Egypt and Morocco respectively). It can be said that the enactment of the legal frameworks by both countries signal that irregular migration is a policy concern for both countries.

It is worth noting that Morocco's legal framework is gradually shifting away from the restrictive nature it previously assumed (Law 02/03) to a more comprehensive approach during its immigration policy reformation instigated in 2013 signalling a paradigm change in how migration is to be tackled. Egypt, on the other hand, is yet to undertake any of such policy framework. Thus, whilst Morocco's legal policy framework is acknowledged as more flexible, Egypt's policy is relatively restrictive.

3.2.2 Institutional Frameworks

Both Egypt and Morocco have established a number of institutional entities with the focal points on migration management more specifically on irregular migration control. These institutions have played pivotal roles in managing migratory flows including human trafficking. On the part of Morocco, the DMBS was created under the Ministry of Interior whereas the NCCPIM was instituted by the Egyptian government to help tackle irregular migration flows in the two countries. These institutions have established a number of collaborations and initiatives with external actors on capacity building and information sharing on migration management.

3.2.3 Transnational Cooperation

In terms of transnational cooperation, the case of Morocco shows that the country is committed to the fight against irregular migration. Like Tunisia, Morocco was part of the first North African countries to sign readmission agreements with Spain and Italy. The tragic events which occurred in Ceuta and Melilla in 2005 was another demonstration of the commitment by Morocco in

fighting irregular migration. Days after the events, the Moroccan authorities proceeded with the repatriation and the expulsion of irregular migrants from sub-Saharan Africa. Morocco's extensive partnership with Spain, especially, on border controls made transit through its territory very difficult, leading to the shift in migratory routes.

However, it is worth noting that cooperation imparted some consequences for legislation among the two countries. Egypt and Morocco passed new legislative frameworks on migration and renewed their laws applicable to foreigners in their countries. Moreover, penal sanctions were instituted to punish migrants and people smugglers (only smugglers are punished in Egypt). In addition, new institutions were created in both countries as part of the keen interest by governments to manage migration. For example, the Migration and Border Surveillance Directorate and the Migration Observatory were founded in Morocco while Egypt also formed the Committee on National Anti-illegal Migration and Human Trafficking. The primary function of these institutions is to regulate migration in their respective countries.

Moreover, the development of cooperation with the EU by the two countries is a step forward towards the implementation of coordinated migration management mechanisms in the Mediterranean through the Partnership Frameworks and the Dialogue Processes to enhance the migration governance capacity in Egypt and Morocco.

In spite of these similarities, most of these partnerships by Egypt were driven by the request of other parties rather than the Egyptian government. However, Morocco's position has been relatively more proactive and extensive. It is also recognised that both countries have entered into various partnerships and cooperation which have yielded varied outcomes. For instance, a partnership with Spain has accounted for the integrated border control efforts put up by the Moroccan government to curb irregular migration flows. The policy efforts by Egypt has been

largely influenced by regional collaborations between EU and the Horn of Africa according to reports.⁶⁵

3.2.4 Operational Measures

It was observed that both countries have resulted to practical measures to tackle irregular migration at the point of entry and stay and exit of migrants to and from their territories. Both Egypt and Morocco collaborate with different countries to combat irregular border crossings through surveillance operations of their external borders (land and sea routes). Police patrols, the arrests and detention of irregular migrants are general practices that occur in both situations.

The internal raids on makeshift migrant camps and the massive expulsions of migrants to the Algerian border show the strong policing strategy adopted by the Moroccan authorities to rid of irregular migrants to and from their territory. The regularisation program announced in 2013 also marked an attempt by the Moroccan authorities to provide ways out of the irregular status and to control migration flows. In contrast, Egypt's information sensitization program to discourage irregular journeys to Europe about the dangers associated with the movement is an innovative approach in managing migration flows. And unlike Morocco, Egypt is yet to commence a regularisation program that will provide options for migrants to regularise their status.

3.3 Factors Shaping Policy Developments and Variations in Strategies

It is important to note that the nature of the legal instruments adopted, the degree of regional and bilateral agreements initiated, border control mechanisms and the institutions in charge of migration clearly indicate differences in the adopted strategies in the two countries. What then accounts for the variations in the strategies that are being implemented? The analysis identifies factors such as geopolitical reasons, pressure from the EU, political developments and the

avoidance of criticisms as accounting for the differences in strategic responses in Egypt and Morocco.

3.3.1 Geopolitical Considerations

Unlike Egypt, Morocco sought to redeem its lost international reputation and thus capitalised on agenda setting decision on irregular migration to restore its reputation in regional politics. Natter (2014) asserts that “Moroccan authorities used irregular migration as a ‘geographical rent’ to restore the country’s role in regional politics”.⁶⁶ Bensaad (2005) also writes, “Maghreb states, after having refused to talk about this topic, now highlight the strong presence of migrants on their territory, as well as their proximity with Europe, out of a desire to assert migration as a ‘geographical rent’”.⁶⁷ Hence the motivation for the formulation of Morocco’s migration policy at the beginning of the 21st century (Law 02/03) was an opportunity for the country to restore its pivotal role in the region via irregular migration control.

Thus, reports show how Moroccan migration policies have been tacitly influenced by the drive to improve its international image and identity. Continuous pressure from government, King Mohammed VI and civil societies such as GADEM and Morocco’s National Human Rights Council (CNDH) have driven Morocco’s migration experience and has allowed the country to be more “innovative and agile in its approach to migration issues, rather than remaining stuck in a cycle of increasingly anachronistic historical narratives”.⁶⁸ In contrast, Egypt had shown a lack of political interest in regulating migration. If the country had a national objective of using migration control to assert its regional position, it would not have rejected or pulled the brakes in accepting some EU collaborations on migration management as an opportunity to attain their national target as Morocco had done. The outcome is the comprehensive nature of Morocco’s

policy compared to the “relaxed” approach of Egypt at least until 2016. This study finds that Morocco has been active in its efforts to regulate migration in the Mediterranean and has played pivotal roles in partnerships and cooperation with the EU and with most sub-Saharan African states.

3.3.2 Mounting Pressure from the EU

In order to clamp down migratory flows at Europe’s southern border, North African countries including Egypt and Morocco have all faced mounting pressure from the EU.⁶⁹ This has resulted in the adoption of different policing policy measures towards irregular migration. In the case of Morocco, its proximity to the Spanish borders of Ceuta and Melilla resulted in the violent policing actions against migrants at the Spanish enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla. The frequent raids conducted on irregular migrants makeshift camps in the interior and their deportations to the Algerian border was driven by the pressure from the EU. The signing of readmission programs, returns, the formation of Morocco’s Law n° 02/03 and the strategy of the security forces positioned at Nador (a city located in the northeastern part of Morocco) were undertaken as a result of pressure from the EU and, particularly, Spain for irregular migrants to be drastically dealt with. In contrast, Egypt is not easily pressured by the EU; hence, its somewhat slow approach in initiating policies which Morocco has already entered into with the EU on migration control. Consequently, Egypt has not shown the political willingness in accepting returns as Morocco had done. It is, thus, noticeable that Egypt’s initiatives, compared to that of Morocco in migration management, are fewer. Morocco is seen as EU’s strategic partner and has reportedly enjoyed financial, technical support and access to EU markets in exchange for its assistance in tightening border controls.

3.3.3 Political Developments

On the political level, the Arab Spring which swept across the North African Region in 2011 had ramifications on the migration policies of the Arab states which Egypt and Morocco were no exception. The aftermath of the Arab Spring led to Morocco's 'humanitarian' approach to migration management. The announcement of a new constitution in 2011, the regularization program in 2013 coupled with the constant pressure from the civil society and King Mohammed VI's emphasis on human rights after the Arab Spring necessitated the 'flexible' migration policy effected in Morocco to address key issues, including the influx of irregular migrants. At the same period, Morocco signed a Mobility Partnership agreement with the EU to accept readmission of irregular migrants during the outbreak of the Arab Spring. This was in sharp contrast to the security approach adopted by most North African States during that period.

Egypt on the other hand declined Mobility Partnership agreements with the EU mainly because following the Arab Spring, the interest for making migration policies had disappeared from the political discourse and migration issues were no longer a policy priority for the Arab country.⁷⁰

The political landscape during the Arab Spring deflected the flows from Egypt which together with Libya on the central Mediterranean route were less favorable for migrants prior to the crisis. Though Morocco was less affected, the diversion of flows through Morocco prompted the implementation of certain policy measures with the EU as a result of the surge in the migratory flows.

3.3.4 Avoidance of Criticism

In order to avoid criticisms from external bodies especially in relation to migration management and human right abuses, countries have either reformed or enacted new policies, programs and

strategies in regulating migration. Egyptian law on combating illegal migration and smuggling for instance does not criminalize migrants, but rather smugglers. The latter is treated as a victim whereas the former faces punitive measures. Irregular migrants are not liable for any crime deserving of both imprisonment and payment of fines. Cuttita (2017) contends that “to safeguard migration policies from criticisms about their restrictive, inequitable and violent character, what is stressed is their adherence to human rights standards and the goal of protecting migrants” and further continued that Egypt’s “respects international convention on human rights standards” and does not even carry out returns without the consent of the migrant.⁷¹

In a similar vein but using a different approach, Morocco also carried out policy reforms in its migration management after several criticisms from other countries and media reportage. Consequently, the new migration policy in 2013 marked a shift from the repressive stance against irregular migrants to a more human rights approach. Though these factors influenced migration policy outcomes in Egypt and Morocco they accounted for the variations in the strategies that each country implemented. For instance, the regularization campaigns pursued by Morocco were in tandem with calls for social reforms. Policy reforms pursued by Morocco were geared at demonstrating a “new” Morocco that was attempting to take control of its image internally and externally while re-shaping its geo-political dimensions.

3.4 Effect of Both States Policy Responses

The two case studies offer informative insights into the states approaches currently taking place in Egypt and Morocco with regard to the formulation and implementation of migration policies. Each of the two states approaches reflect how irregular migration has become a policy priority for both governments not just as origin and transit states but also as destination countries as well.

However, due to the unavailability of data of the number of irregular migrants in the region, the data used for the discussion on the effects of the policies will be based on aggregated annual data on two main migration routes (Central and Western Mediterranean Routes).

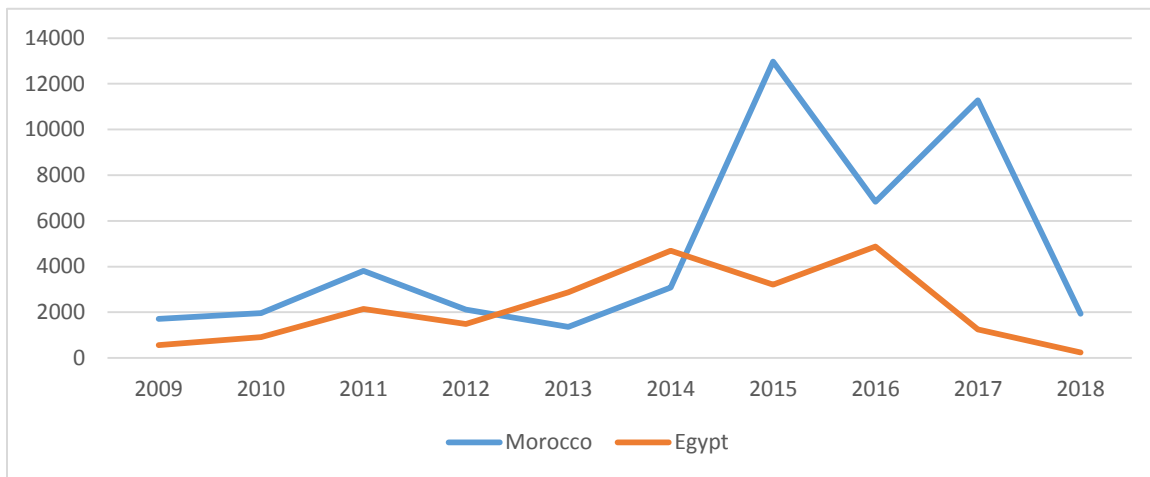
Undoubtedly, the contribution and roles played by Egypt and Morocco in the management of migration in North Africa is crucial. Based on the policy responses, the following impacts can be deduced: first, both Egypt and Morocco are increasingly revising their legislative frameworks on migration. Their respective laws have taken preventive measures towards irregular migration through severe, penal, financial and imprisonment terms for both migrants and people smugglers. The laws have further established refugee and asylum seeker status with the aim of controlling irregular migration.

The legal frameworks have enabled the establishment of various institutions in Egypt and Morocco with a core mandate of addressing irregular migration. Several ministries and agencies today are cooperating at various levels and platforms for the official management of migration. Other social parties and internal organisations such as IOM and UNHCR have established intensive engagements with both countries in the formulation of migration control policies and the creation of refugee and asylum systems.

Through the policy responses, operational measures in the area of border control surveillance have been initiated through bilateral and multilateral agreements. Both governments have stepped up their border controls with authorities intercepting and arresting migrants attempting irregular crossings (maritime and land crossings) although reports about police corruption and human rights abuses have been well documented. In addition to the border surveillance equipment which enhances coordinated action, other measures (for example, a system of information exchange and the sensitization of the public about the dangers of irregular

migration) have been put in place by both countries to deter nationals from joining or supporting irregular migration. Egypt has used public information awareness systems more effectively. As shown in the Figure 3.3, the number of Egyptians who are detected on European borders are relatively lower in recent times.

Figure 3.3 Detections of Moroccans and Egyptians at Migration Routes

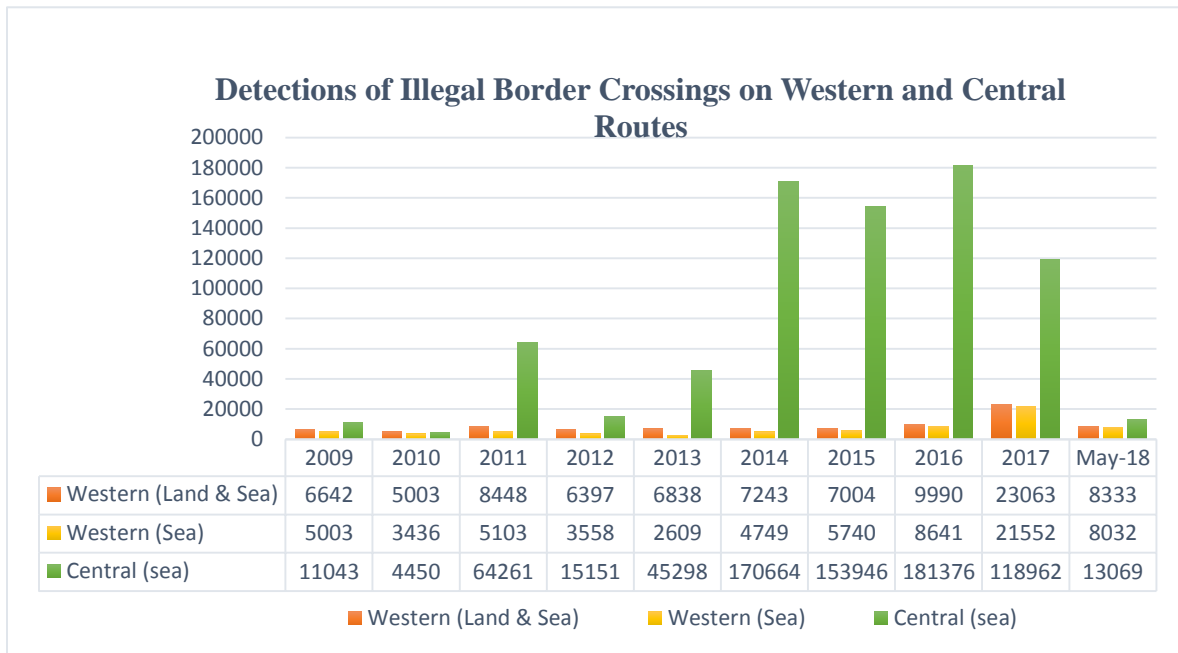


Data Source: Frontex Data: 06 July, 2018

It was only in 2012 to 2014 that Egyptians asylum seekers and illegal migrants outnumbered that of Moroccans, and this can be explained by the political instability and economic conditions that engulfed the country at the time. From Figure 3.3, the total number of irregular migration flows to and through Morocco has been relatively lower as compared to Egypt. The extensive nature of the migration policy in Morocco with strong partnerships with Spain and other EU member states have contributed to the reduction in the flows of migrants. This has generally made it more difficult for migrants to use the Moroccan routes. In this regard, reports have also shown how irregular migrants have resorted to the use of alternative routes such as Egypt to enter Europe.

Thus, a decline in irregular migration flows in Morocco indirectly results in increased flows elsewhere, especially on the Central Mediterranean route where Egypt and Libya are situated. It is reported that irregular migration will continue to persist until ensuing political instability and economic downturns in many of the originating countries have been resolved. Importantly, it is worthy to note that Morocco has taken more steps to tackle irregular migration flows compared to Egypt.

Figure: 3.4 Irregular Migrants Detections



Source: Frontex Data: July 2018

From Figure 3.4, it is clear that migration policies affect migratory flows. It can also be observed that, generally, flows on both routes have undergone significant changes. There are several noticeable changes in the detections recorded at different periods. While it is likely that the policy interventions have affected the flows, other factors such as political upheavals might have accounted for the rise and falls in the migrant detections along the routes. In the case of the western route where Morocco is located, the implementation of Law 02/03 in 2003 and the

intensive co-operation with Spain on border controls in 2005 onward witnessed a decrease in flows as compared to the flows on the central Mediterranean route, even though flows did not stop permanently. The peak in the detection in 2011 on the western route was due to the outbreak of the Arab revolution during which period most migrants preferred the western route to the central route.

Following the Arab Spring, the reductions in the flows from 2012-2014 was based on the European agreements which Morocco, in particular, entered into during the revolution, the reformation of its national legislation on migration and programs such as the regularisation processes and readmissions.

While the western route was restricted, the central route has seen significant rise in migrant stocks especially from 2014 to 2017. The rise in migrant detections could be attributed to political instability in the two major countries along the route [Egypt (2013) and Libya (2014)], the increase in refugees and asylum seekers from Syria, Palestine, Sudan and Eritrea culminating into the “Mediterranean Crisis” in 2015 due to the large inflows into Europe. However, the keen interest by governments of Egypt and the EU’s support to Libya on migration control seems to have recorded some success from 2017- May 2018.

In Egypt, the migration policy formulation under President Al Sisi saw the enactment of Law No 88, the information campaigns, intense collaborations with the EU, the founding of the Khartoum Process, the Joint Valette Action, and introduction of PRIME all in 2016. These interventions contributed to the 34% decrease in the flows from 2016 to 2017 with a drastic decline as of May, 2018. The IOM report on Egypt indicated that while the migrant stock from Egypt are on the rise that of Egyptian nationals was very low. The internal controls especially the information campaigns seem to have reduced the number of Egyptian youths and unaccompanied child

migrants engaging in irregular migration. Though migrant stock on the western route gained momentum from 2014 – May 2018, the stocks from the central route still exceed that of the western route.

3.5 Conclusion

Irregular migration flows into Europe has been widely documented in the migration literature. Several policies and strategies have been executed in an attempt to reduce the intensity of irregular migration flows. However, many migration experts and interest groups have raised concerns about the ineffectiveness of such policies. Many scholars have also criticised these policies to be largely Eurocentric, with both research and practitioners focusing on the implications of irregular migration on the European Union. The efforts made by African sending states in the fight against irregular migration have not been extensively investigated. This current work attempted to fill this gap by exploring the policy interventions made by the North African States in curbing irregular migration to Europe. The study focused on irregular migration to and from Egypt and Morocco into Europe, and the implications of the policy strategies executed by the two North African States in reducing irregular migration flows.

Given the aims of the study, it adopted a comparative analytical framework in order to evaluate the differences and similarities in the policy interventions of the two states and how such differences have effected any change or otherwise on the rate of flows. The findings of the study revealed that the combat against irregular migration flows has been strong in Egypt and Morocco. Both countries have enacted laws and established institutional frameworks to deal with irregular migration into and through their jurisdiction. Particularly, it was observed that both countries adopted a security based approach with detections, expulsion, deportation and

criminalization as common punitive measures to deter both national and foreigners from engaging in irregular migration. Additionally, border control mechanisms and the use of information campaigns (particularly in Egypt) have become imperative in decreasing the flows of irregular migrants. The recent policy reformations in both countries signal a gradual shift towards a comprehensive approach in managing migration in general. This has resulted in varied differences in the way each country approaches irregular migration within its borders.

The findings of this work show that the observed differences have been driven by a host of factors, including geopolitical reasons, EU pressure, political developments and efforts of interest groups and corporations. This work observed that consistent with the findings of previous migration studies, irregular migration still persists, in spite of the efforts of the two states. However, in terms of the success of the implemented policies, Morocco seems to have attained some relative success to Egypt. As can be observed in Figure 3.4, migrant crossing at the Western Mediterranean route of where Morocco is a major transit route is relatively lower as compared to the Central Mediterranean route where Egypt is a strategic route. This variation can be attributed to the fact that Morocco seems to have a more pragmatic approach in dealing with irregular migratory flows than Egypt. That said, the keen interest showed by Egypt's President Al Sisi in solving migratory issues through enhanced bilateral and multilateral cooperation as well as the EU's support to Libya has also instigated some positive development in the fight against irregular migration in the country.

Observed differences in the nature of policies and measures executed by the two countries has resulted in significant differences in terms of policy outcomes. The relative success attained by Morocco is attributed to the view that the country was more receptive and quicker in reforming policies to address issues of transnationalism and meeting global standards and international best

practices. It was until 2016 that Egypt took steps to reshape policies to conform to best practices. Against this backdrop, it can be concluded that countries which are shifting from the rudimentary security approach to a more focused, integrated and extensive intervention stand a good chance of making significant progress as far as the curbing of irregular migration flows is concerned.

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CHAPTER FOUR

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.0 Introduction

The primary objective of the study was to present a case study analysis of the kinds of policy interventions implemented by Egypt and Morocco to curb irregular migration from these countries to Europe. Attention was, therefore, focused on the points of convergence and divergence as far as the strategies executed by these countries are concerned and the effect of these policy measures. This final chapter presents the main findings and conclusions of the study and also provides some policy recommendations.

4.1 Summary of Findings

The present reality of migratory flows in North Africa means that countries need to face the concern of managing the diversity of migrant profiles moving to, through and from the region to Europe. The evidence adduced in this study suggests that the issue of migration in North Africa will persist insofar as a holistic approach that implements strategic frameworks in controlling irregular migration is not adopted. In Egypt and Morocco, the regulation of migration has become a political objective of the two states. Perhaps, most interesting is the range of state response that both countries have demonstrated. Though the two countries exhibit some similarities in behaviour and actions toward managing migration flows, there are also variations in the strategies adopted. Clearly, the implementation of some of the policies were found to be influenced by mounting pressure from the EU. Moreover, while some of the policies have caused a shift in migratory routes elsewhere, thereby reducing the migratory pressure on certain routes (in the case of Morocco), both Egypt and Morocco are still in the process of finding better

alternatives in regulating migrant flows to and from their respective countries. The following are the key findings made in the study:

- The study found that irregular migration cannot be stopped but it can be reduced. Despite the various strategies being implemented by Egypt and Morocco from border controls, to returns and the formulation of laws accompanied by punitive measures, migrants are still not deterred. The externalization of the EU borders with North African countries on the Mediterranean Sea crossings still record incidents of migrant detection, drowning and deaths. However, the preponderance of the phenomenon has reduced in certain places. For example, the institution of SIVE between Spanish and Moroccan borders have helped to reduce irregular immigration from Morocco. Similarly in Egypt, the interception of irregular migrants from the Egyptian coast reduced the number of departures in 2014.
- The study noted that the implementation of policy responses to curtail the flows usually result in unintended consequences. For instance, the implementation of border security strategies is found to be one of the reasons why people smuggling via irregular means. The dynamism of the flows demonstrates that responses to the migratory pressure at the borders have directed flows elsewhere. For example, the border cooperation between Morocco and Spain on the borders of Ceuta and Melilla diverted flows further south to the central Mediterranean route. The shifting patterns between Morocco and Spain is a clear indication that though flows have reduced, they simply have been redirected elsewhere.
- The study also revealed that both the Egyptian and Moroccan governments uphold the position that legal frameworks, institutional establishments, transnational co-operation

and the use of practical measures will lead to the control of irregular migratory flows to and from their respective countries. However, both countries have treaded on different paths in addressing irregular migration flows. While Morocco has seems to be making headway in reducing migratory flows through its extensive cooperation agreements with the EU, migratory governance competencies in Egypt, on the other hand, reflects a slower process. Cooperation between the EU and Egypt, though ongoing, is largely dependent on EU initiatives as compared to Morocco whose cooperation with the EU has gained Morocco the ‘Advanced Status’ position with the EU in 2008. The Moroccan government appears, particularly, adept at playing its role as a key actor in the Euro-African Migration system.

- It was also observed from the study that migration control policies are motivated by certain factors which subsequently determine the type of strategy that states employ to manage migration, in general. Clearly, geopolitical considerations have been critical in influencing the policy strategy of the Moroccans. The announcement of Morocco’s policy reforms in 2013 for instance, was initiated as a result of the country’s economic and political interests in sub-Saharan Africa.

4.2 Conclusion

The study aimed to explore the policy interventions that the Egyptian and Moroccan governments have implemented as part of their quest to control both the inflows and outflows of irregular migrants in their countries. By studying the governments migration policy responses and current agreements on migration regulation between these two countries and other state and non-state actors, this study has achieved its four guiding objectives: 1) To examine the

phenomenon of irregular migration to and from North Africa, 2) To explore the similarities and differences in immigration policies of Egypt and Morocco, 3) To identify the varied strategies in the policy response implemented by Egypt and Morocco, and 4) To determine the effect of the policy responses in Egypt and Morocco on irregular migration control.

The study reveals various similarities and differences regarding migration regulation in Egypt and Morocco. It is believed that both the Egyptian and Moroccan governments are keen on combating irregular migratory flows, resulting in their opting for a security-based approach that takes various forms.

For the time being, irregular migration from Egypt and Morocco to Europe is likely to continue due to economic and non-economic factors that trigger migration aspirations and increase migration capabilities. Four policy instruments were particularly evident in stimulating developing countries capacity to manage migration: legal frameworks, institution building, transnational cooperation and practical measures. Nonetheless, Morocco seems to have made more progress than Egypt in managing the situation. The study also found that migration policies with a transnational outlook will yield positive outcomes.

4.3 Recommendations

In light of the findings of this study, the following policy recommendations are presented for the management of irregular flows to and from countries affected by the phenomenon in general. Since migration is a global problem and requires transnational cooperation in combating or controlling immigration issues, the study recommends the following:

- Governments of developing countries need to establish stronger border management processes, especially with the EU, to fully identify all individuals who are entering and leaving their countries.
- Governments affected by migration challenges should fully enforce their laws regarding irregular migration and ensure that these enforcement mechanisms are carried out in a humane and effective manner.
- Governments need to create legal pathways as alternatives to dangerous and clandestine journeys. While irregular migratory flows are increasing across the Mediterranean, the provision of legal pathways is limited. The example of regularization campaigns as found in Morocco is a policy model for other states to emulate.
- Governments should step up their efforts in detecting people smugglers and traffickers and strengthen sanctions for people smugglers. Moreover, any attempts to curtail the activities of smuggling networks should be accompanied by the provision of legal pathways for migration.
- Governments should improve their data collection and analysis systems in order to obtain credible data on irregular migratory stocks.
- Migration dialogue between countries facing the common challenges of migration in North Africa should be promoted to enhance the negotiation of agreements with the European Union.
- Non-State Actors in migration control with the economic and technical clout in regulating human mobility should cooperate with states affected by irregular migration challenges in adopting a unified policy approaches and strategies that aim at immigration regulation.

- Transit and destination countries should ensure that their immigration policies accommodate decent work opportunities for irregular migrants who have their status regularized.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW GUIDE ON EGYPTIAN POLICY INTERVENTIONS

Dear Sir/Madam

As part of the requirement for the award of Master of Arts by the Legon Center for International Affairs and Diplomacy (LECIAD); I am undertaking a study to evaluate the policy interventions used by Egypt and Morocco to curb irregular migration from North Africa to Europe. I will be grateful if you will spend about 30 minutes of your time to be interviewed on the aforementioned subject matter. The questions below are the nature and set of questions that will characterize the interview schedule. I will humbly crave your indulgence to go through these questions; to adequately prepare for the interview. However, please feel confident to provide answers to the questions provided here, prior to the interview. Be assured that any information provided will be treated as confidential. Your inputs are greatly appreciated. Thank you.

Theme 1: Irregular Migration

1. How critical is the issue of irregular migration in your country?
2. What form(s) does irregular migration take; specifically in Egypt?
3. Can you kindly give a breakdown of irregular migration flows in Egypt over the past five years?

Theme 2: Policy Interventions

4. What are the policies, programs and strategies designed to curb irregular migration flows in your country?
5. Is there any strategy(s) your country has implemented that is different from Egypt?
6. What has accounted for the differences in policy interventions to that of other North African countries; if any?
7. Are there any similarities between the policy interventions implemented by Egypt and other North African countries?

8. Are there any challenges faced in curbing irregular migration flows in your country?
9. Please give a breakdown of any trans-national cooperation developed to help clamp down irregular migration in your country?

Partnerships with	Date/Action/Activity/Area(s)	Comment on Effectiveness
EU countries		
Sub-Sahara African Countries		
North African Countries		
Asia		
World governing bodies such as UNHCR, IOM etc.		

10. How effective have these policies been so far?
11. Are there emerging issues where the government or policymakers is seeking to improve; in terms of policy modelling and actions?
12. Any recommendations for improving irregular migration flows from Egypt to Europe?
13. Can you name any official(s) or institution(s) who can also provide relevant information concerning irregular migration flows in Egypt?

Thank You.

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW GUIDE ON MOROCCO'S POLICY INTERVENTIONS

Dear Sir/Madam

As part of the requirement for the award of Master of Arts by the Legon Center for International Affairs and Diplomacy (LECIAD); I am undertaking a study to evaluate the policy interventions used by Egypt and Morocco to curb irregular migration from North Africa to Europe. I will be grateful if you will spend about 30 minutes of your time to be interviewed on the aforementioned subject matter. The questions below are the nature and set of questions that will characterize the interview schedule. I will humbly crave your indulgence to go through these questions; to adequately prepare for the interview. However, please feel confident to provide answers to the questions provided here, prior to the interview. Be assured that any information provided will be treated as confidential. Your inputs are greatly appreciated. Thank you.

Theme 1: Irregular Migration

1. How critical is the issue of irregular migration in your country?
2. What form(s) does irregular migration take; specifically in Morocco?
3. Can you kindly give a breakdown of irregular migration flows in Morocco over the past five years?

Theme 2: Policy Interventions

4. What are the policies, programs and strategies designed to curb irregular migration flows in your country?
5. Is there any strategy(s) your country has implemented that is different from Morocco?
6. Are there differences in policy interventions implemented by Morocco which is different from other North African countries?
7. Are there any similarities between the policy interventions implemented by Morocco and other North African countries?
8. Are there any challenges faced in curbing irregular migration flows in your country?

9. Please give a breakdown of any trans-national cooperation developed to help clamp down irregular migration in your country?

Partnerships with	Date/Action/Activity/Area(s)	Comment on Effectiveness
EU countries		
Sub-Sahara African Countries		
North African Countries		
Asia		
World governing bodies such as UNHCR, IOM etc.		

10. How effective have these policies been so far?

11. Are there emerging issues where the government or policymakers is seeking to improve; in terms of policy modelling and actions?

12. Any recommendations for improving irregular migration flows from Morocco to Europe?

13. Can you name any official(s) or institution(s) who can also provide relevant information concerning irregular migration flows in Morocco?

Thank You.

APPENDIX C: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS

Dear Sir/Madam

As part of the requirement for the award of Master of Arts by the Legon Center for International Affairs and Diplomacy (LECIAD); I am undertaking a study to evaluate the policy interventions used by Egypt and Morocco to curb irregular migration from North Africa to Europe. I will be grateful if you will spend about 30 minutes of your time to be interviewed on the aforementioned subject matter. The questions below are the nature and set of questions that will characterize the interview schedule. I will humbly crave your indulgence to go through these questions; to adequately prepare for the interview. However, please feel confident to provide answers to the questions provided here, prior to the interview. Be assured that any information provided will be treated as confidential. Your inputs are greatly appreciated. Thank you.

Theme 1: The Prevalence of Irregular Migration in North Africa

1. How crucial is the issue of irregular migration in North Africa in general?
2. Are there observable differences in irregular migration flows in Egypt and Morocco? Please indicate these areas.
3. Can you kindly give a breakdown of irregular migration flows in Egypt and Morocco over the past five years?
4. What form(s) does irregular migration take; specifically in North Africa; particularly in Egypt and Morocco?
5. Which of these two countries (Egypt and Morocco) seem to be winning the fight better and why?
6. What factor(s) may likely account for the observed variation in migration flows between these two countries (Egypt and Morocco)?

Theme 2: Policy Interventions

7. What are the policies, programs and strategies designed to curb irregular migration flows in North Africa; particularly Egypt and Morocco?
8. Are there any differences in the implementation strategies between Egypt and Morocco in the fight against irregular migration?

9. What has accounted for the differences in policy interventions between the two countries; if any?
10. Has these differences brought about any significant variation in the effectiveness of the policy interventions between the Morocco and Egypt? Please indicate how.
11. Are there any similarities between the policy interventions implemented by Egypt and Morocco?
12. Are there any challenges faced in curbing irregular migration flows in North Africa; particularly in Egypt and Morocco?
13. Please give a breakdown of any trans-national cooperation developed to help clamp down irregular migration in North Africa; particularly by Egypt and Morocco?

Partnerships with	Date/Action/Activity/Area(s)	Comment on Effectiveness
EU countries		
Sub-Sahara African Countries		
North African Countries		
Asia		
World governing bodies such as UNHCR, IOM etc.		

14. Are there emerging issues in North Africa; particularly in Egypt and Morocco which would require policy modelling and actions?
15. Any recommendations on how Egypt and Morocco can curb irregular migratory flows into Europe?
16. Can you name any official(s) or institution(s) who can also provide relevant information concerning irregular migration flows in Morocco and Egypt?

Thank You.