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Moroccan Media and Sub-Saharan Migration: Narrative Construction and Representation Issues

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ABSTRACT : Sub-Saharan migration to Morocco has, in recent years, become a central issue in public debate, largely shaped by media discourse. Within a context marked by the implementation of Morocco's new migration policy, the media play a decisive role in constructing social representations of migrants, influencing perceptions, attitudes, and processes of legitimation or delegitimation of their presence within the social space. This article examines how the Moroccan press addresses Sub-Saharan migration and discursively frames migrants' trajectories, living conditions, and figures of migratory otherness.

Drawing on a theoretical framework that combines social representation theory, media constructions of otherness, and critical discourse analysis, the study is based on a qualitative analysis of a corpus of articles from the Moroccan print and digital press, published after the adoption of the new migration policy. The analysis brings to light ambivalent discursive logics, oscillating between narratives of vulnerability and victimization, security-oriented registers, and attempts at humanization and symbolic integration of Sub-Saharan migrants.

The findings show that while some media outlets contribute to deconstructing stereotypes and promoting an inclusive representation of migration, others participate in reproducing stigmatizing discourses, sometimes fuelled by forms of simplification, dramatization, or misinformation. This contribution thus interrogates the role of Moroccan media in shaping the social imaginaries linked to migration and in the contemporary dynamics of otherness.

KEYWORDS: Morocco, Sub-Saharan migration, Media, Discourse, Social representation, Otherness.

INTRODUCTION

Media analysis contributes to the understanding of various social realities, such as the arrival of immigrants within a given society. Media outlets provide information that is perceived as truthful by different publics and thereby participate in the construction of social meaning. Media are therefore not only a source of knowledge and a space for the expression of opinion, but also constitute, as Van Dijk points out, "the principal institution of ideological reproduction" (Fernandez & Lorila, 2012). They wield considerable power in disseminating messages and circulating ideologies on a large scale. Media analysis thus appears as one of the most relevant means of grasping the agenda of a given society. Today, it is widely acknowledged that the media play a central role in the way individuals perceive the social world: they convey attitudes, opinions, and stereotypes, thereby helping to shape collective representations (Van Dijk, 2000).

The central research question of this study is to examine how the Moroccan media mobilize news content in order to represent "Black African" immigrants in Morocco. In doing so, the study takes into account that the media constitute privileged spaces for the production and circulation of social discourse; they can convey ideas, assert symbolic power relations, and influence public perceptions. Their capacity to exert influence rests in particular on the fact that media language — whether written, oral, or visual — is never neutral: it always conveys implicit meanings that reflect the positions and interests of the producers of discourse (Fiske, 1994).

Within media discourse, headlines occupy a central place as a discursive sub-genre. They play a key role in introducing and prioritizing information, capturing public attention, and orienting the reading of the main content. According to Van Dijk (1988), headlines and lead paragraphs constitute an "initial summary" of reported events, offering readers a first interpretive framework.

Headlines are of particular importance for audiences who consume media content quickly. Although the rise of visual and digital media has transformed news-consumption practices, headlines nonetheless continue to exert notable influence over how content is evaluated and interpreted. In the Moroccan context, in the absence of recent data on reading practices, it is reasonable to consider that media headlines still play a significant role in shaping public judgments and attitudes toward migration issues.

It therefore appears essential to analyze the language used in the Moroccan media. This research examines the role of discursive elements in shaping readers' representations of migration from Sub-Saharan Africa, as well as the cultural and social frames of reference they invoke.

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I. Definitions of Concepts

1. Media

Media are defined above all by the roles they play within society. They educate, inform, and entertain through the news, reports, and analyses published in the press. They also produce documentaries, fiction, current-affairs programs, public-service broadcasts, magazines, and other forms of radio and television content. The media constitute a channel through which voices, perspectives, and life experiences are carried into the public space.

Over the past decade, Africa has experienced considerable growth in online media, used by both urban and rural communities to access and disseminate information for social and economic purposes.

The media also play a crucial role in facilitating social change and shaping public opinion and collective attitudes. Through their coverage, they can highlight major developments with positive or negative impacts on people's lives, while drawing attention to issues that are often neglected and to marginalized voices. The agenda-setting function of the media frequently influences debates, ways of thinking, and priorities within society.

Numerous studies and data have shown that the media contribute to reinforcing stereotypes, particularly regarding gender, religion, and culture. Women are often represented in subordinate positions relative to men. When seeking sources for their articles, journalists generally turn to the most powerful members of communities, who are predominantly men. Women are frequently confined to their traditional roles as wives, mothers, and caregivers, while men are portrayed as powerful, resourceful, and as leaders associated with roles involving authority and power.

Finally, one of the most important roles the media play in contemporary democracies is undoubtedly that of watchdog. Through this role, the media monitor the actions and conduct of governments to ensure they honor the commitments and expectations of the citizens who elected them. Consequently, this function is often a source of tension and conflict between the media, the state, and its institutions.

2. Migration

There is no universally recognized definition of the term migrant in international law; the term is used differently depending on institutional, legal, and academic contexts (IOM, 2011). Broadly speaking, the term migration is today employed as a generic category designating any person who leaves their habitual place of residence, whether the movement takes place within a single state or across an international border, and whether it is voluntary or forced. This broad understanding makes it possible to move beyond the strict distinction between so-called “economic” and “forced” migration, a distinction often considered reductive in the empirical analysis of migratory trajectories (De Haas, 2006).

In a more specific sense, international migration refers to the crossing of a state border with a view to a temporary or lasting stay in a country other than one's country of birth or habitual residence (IOM, 2011). This research focuses on Sub-Saharan migration to Morocco, which is embedded in complex dynamics combining logics of transit, settlement, and the redefinition of migratory projects (Berriane, 2013; De Haas, 2005).

In order to allow for an operational analysis of integration processes, Sub-Saharan migrants are examined through the distinction between regular and irregular migration, based on the legal status recognized by the authorities of the host country. Regular migrants hold a valid residence permit, whereas migrants in an irregular situation are present on the territory without valid administrative authorization, whether as a result of unauthorized entry, visa overstay, or loss of status (IOM, 2011). It should nonetheless be stressed that this distinction is primarily a legal-administrative categorization and does not, on its own, account for the diversity of migratory experiences or the forms of social and economic integration observed (De Haas, 2006).

Migration must therefore be envisaged as a dynamic and evolving process, liable to include different phases such as transit, temporary or lasting settlement, and the reorientation of migratory trajectories. The notion of "transit migration," often used to describe Sub-Saharan migration toward North Africa, does not constitute an autonomous migratory category, but rather a possible stage in the migratory journey (Düvell, 2006). Several studies have indeed shown that many migrants initially described as "transit migrants" settle durably in intermediary host countries, either by choice or because of structural constraints limiting the continuation of the migratory project toward Europe (De Haas, 2005; Düvell, 2006).

Moreover, the literature underscores the interdependence of the different grounds for migration and the porosity of the migration-asylum categories. Economic migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers may follow similar routes and experience comparable trajectories, while their legal statuses can evolve over time according to political, security, and institutional contexts (Papadopoulou, 2005). This processual approach to migration allows for a better understanding of the complexity of the experiences lived by Sub-Saharan migrants in Morocco and for an analysis of their conditions of social and economic integration beyond static classifications.

3. Sub-Saharan Migration: Literature Review

Sub-Saharan migration to Morocco has attracted the attention of numerous researchers from various fields. Most studies conducted to date have focused on the integration of Sub-Saharan migrants within Moroccan society (Bitari, 2020; Bendra, 2017; Berriane et al., 2014; J. Berriane, 2013). All of these researchers have emphasized the incorporation of Sub-Saharan immigrants into Moroccan society. Bendra, for instance, examines how migrants' status (legal or illegal) and the country's sociopolitical environment can influence their chances of integration or exclusion. Bendra further analyzes how migrants' access to the labor market, housing, health care, education, and social networks affects their quality of life in Morocco (I. Bendra, 2019).

Similarly, Sébastien R. G. Bachelet’s ethnographic study examines how "irregular" Sub-Saharan migrants confront violent abuse and attempt to take control of their lives in a marginal neighborhood of Rabat. This study engages with contemporary anthropological debates on the "mobility" and "criminalization" of migrants. It focuses primarily on migrants’ limited agency, the development of social ties, and political engagement, while also exploring migrants’ imagination and hope (Bachelet, 2016, p. 19).

Other research (Tyszler, 2021; Gazzotti, 2020) focuses on the humanitarian approach and border violence. Elsa Tyszler (2021), for example, shows that humanitarianism as practiced in a border town in northern Morocco also constitutes a space for the modernization of racial and gender relations — which, contrary to its stated aims, can result in greater restrictions on the mobility of those "assisted," particularly women, and reproduce a racialized and gendered order at the border.

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To our knowledge, few studies have attempted to analyze African migration to Morocco from a gendered perspective. Among them are the works of Inka Stock (2011) and Jane Freedman (2012), which trace the journey of a group of Sub-Saharan women seeking to reach Morocco before moving on to Europe. These studies show that these women migrants leave their countries to escape economic, physical, and social anxieties, but also to construct gendered roles and identities that offer them greater opportunities for social and physical mobility.

All of this research has focused on the difficulties migrants encounter during the integration process in certain cities, on how gender is interpreted within this type of mobility, and on the sexual violence experienced by migrants when crossing borders.

II. The Representation of Migrants in Moroccan Media

1. General Overview: Media and Migration in Morocco

The interaction between media coverage and social media has drawn considerable attention, particularly in countries of the Global North, and has established itself as a central field of academic research. Berger and Milkman (2012), Carlson (2017), and Blassnig et al. (2019) have offered valuable insight into this complex relationship, showing how social media intertwine with media narratives to amplify negative discourse and reinforce populist agendas. In addition, Esser et al. (2017) have highlighted a symbiotic relationship between biased media coverage and the frames of reference adopted by social media users, which frequently align with populist constructions. Carlson's (2017) analysis of Facebook's role within the journalistic ecosystem has also helped clarify its influence on the prioritization of news topics and on the redefinition of journalistic values.

Nevertheless, the proliferation of "fake news" and misinformation on digital platforms, as noted by Frakas and Schou (2019) and Liao (2023), has contributed to heightening social tensions and distorting realities, particularly with regard to vulnerable populations such as immigrants. Despite these excesses, social media also offer certain advantages, notably in the analysis of individual personality traits (Gosling et al., 2011) and the strengthening of social-support networks (Rui, 2013). Thus, while media coverage and social media hold both positive and negative potential, it remains essential to take into account the challenges posed by their interaction, particularly in the case of vulnerable populations such as immigrants, notably in the Global South.

Research conducted primarily in the Global North has extensively explored the dynamics of media framing and their decisive impact on the formation of native populations' attitudes toward immigration. Major scholars such as Entman (1993; 2007) have emphasized the central role of the media in constructing public perceptions, showing how the framing of information draws on Goffman's (1974) Frame Analysis to present facts in ways that shape public opinion. For their part, Anthias and Yuval-Davis (2005) have highlighted the fundamental role of educational and media institutions as the primary vehicles of ideological production within contemporary liberal-democratic states, underscoring their influence on the formation of social attitudes toward immigrants.

Extending the scope of framing theory, Chong and Druckman (2007) have shown how it also operates within political discourse. Furthermore, empirical studies by Iyengar and Kinder (2010), Gemi et al. (2013), and Chouliaraki and Zaborowski (2017) provide strong evidence of the significant impact of media narratives on perceptions of immigrants. This body of work illustrates how media representations frequently perpetuate negative and biased stereotypes, contributing to the marginalization of immigrant populations. It is worth stressing that such biased media discourse influences not only the attitudes of local populations, but also has profound consequences for the integration processes and intercultural interactions of immigrants themselves (Boomgaarden & Vliegenthart, 2009).

Social media constitute reflexive spaces in which users express their views on various social and political issues (Mourão & Chen, 2020; Harlow et al., 2017). At the same time, mainstream media often shape perceptions of minority groups through similar frames (Kosho, 2016), a phenomenon reinforced by user-generated content such as comments, likes, and shares. Despite the lack of research on the influence of journalistic content on social media users in the Global South, Moroccan media coverage of immigrants has been criticized for its ethical shortcomings, portraying them as threats through stigmatizing labels (Degenhard, 2023). This biased representation fosters discrimination and ethnocentrism, thereby shaping attitudes toward immigrants and potentially triggering hostile reactions on social media (Brouwer & Bartels, 2014).

2. Media Metaphors and the Ideological Construction of Sub-Saharan Migrants in Morocco

The media play a crucial role in disseminating information and raising public awareness of major national issues. Their power extends well beyond the simple transmission of news. According to several studies, the media are essential for reaching and informing the public about events, which makes the public dependent on them (Happer & Philo, 2013). Media coverage has the capacity to shape individuals' perceptions on a range of issues, from the representation of women in society to racial and minority stereotypes concerning “African immigrants.”

Immigration has been a subject of public interest and emerged as a particularly sensitive issue in Morocco between 2010 and 2013. Media coverage of immigration has evolved over the years, shifting from a demographic and humanitarian approach to an analysis of immigration's overall impact on society. The rising number of Sub-Saharan migrants arriving in Morocco has attracted considerable media attention.

The dehumanization of migrants has taken place in particular through the use of figurative language in media headlines. For example, the regional Moroccan magazine Ashamal titled its September 2005 front page: "Black Locusts Invade Northern Morocco." Another controversial headline, published on the front page of the Moroccan weekly MarocHebdo in November 2012, read: "The Black Peril." The media tend to attach particular importance to the use of metaphor as a cognitive heuristic when presenting their cognitive frames of opinion on social issues.

These examples illustrate how the use of metaphor and the coherence of media texts contribute to shaping an unfavorable perception of immigration. The term "migration crisis," which also serves as the title of the media section in which articles on migration are published, functions as the central metaphor of the entire migration narrative (Castles et al., 2014).

3. Framing Analysis and the Perception of Immigrants in the Media

Given the complex interaction of attitudes observed on social media and their strong susceptibility to the influence of information-production processes, this study adopts a framing analysis in order to provide relevant answers to its research questions. Framing, which draws on both sociological and psychological perspectives on the perception of reality (Iyengar & Simon, 1993), constitutes a particularly robust analytical tool in this context. User comments on platforms such as Facebook reflect cognitive frames rooted in their sociocultural backgrounds, which significantly shape how they interpret and organize reality (Kendall, 2005).

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Framing analysis thus serves as a methodological framework for examining how interconnected mechanisms, such as priming and agenda-setting, contribute to the emergence of strongly biased media coverage on the topic under study. Framing involves selecting elements of reality and constructing a narrative aimed at highlighting certain relationships and promoting specific interpretations. These frames perform several functions, notably problem definition, causal attribution, moral evaluation, and the promotion of solutions or remedies (Entman, 1993; 2004). Through priming, framing shapes public perceptions by making certain ideas more salient, thereby orienting individuals' thoughts, emotions, and judgments (Iyengar & Simon, 1993).

Agenda-setting, or the primary function of framing, consists in defining which problems are deemed worthy of public and governmental attention. The diagnostic frame refers to the identification of a problem requiring change, while the prognostic frame proposes solutions to the diagnosed problem by specifying the actions to be taken (Snow & Benford, 1988). The motivational frame, for its part, is characterized by a call to collective action (Snow & Benford, 1988), particularly regarding how individuals should respond collectively to a given situation.

4. Media Coverage of Migration: Comparative Perspectives, Morocco-Europe

This section was devoted to analyzing media coverage of migrants and refugees from the standpoint of the producers of that content themselves: journalists. The discussion sought to identify the patterns, frames, and narratives mobilized by Mediterranean media in covering these issues, while also highlighting good practices that could support a shift toward more positive discourse on migration.

To this end, four journalists from Morocco, Italy, Nigeria, and Spain came together to present their respective national perspectives. The session was moderated by Mr. Ramón Rovira, director of audiovisual content for the Godó group, who opened the discussion with a brief introduction on media sensationalism and migration, raising the question of whether — or not — journalistic neutrality is possible when covering migrants and refugees.

Ignacio Cembrero, a Spanish journalist specializing in the Maghreb, opened the discussion by underscoring the need for ethical journalism and affirming that journalism must also be capable of self-criticism. He cited the example of the "Aquarius affair" to discuss the disproportionate coverage of the event and the lack of familiarity some professionals covering these issues display with the subject.

He also pointed to the absence of media coverage of migration and refugees in North Africa. Countries such as Morocco and Algeria do not address migration in their media, which remains an invisible issue there. He stressed that "the Moroccan press is unaware that many of its own nationals are themselves migrants." More broadly, coverage of migrants and refugees in European countries, including Spain, tends to reproduce this same narrative.

What is particularly concerning, according to Cembrero, is the tendency of European media to overestimate the number of migrants present in Europe. The figures circulated do not reflect reality: in proportion to its population, Europe does not host as many migrants as other countries such as Turkey, Lebanon, or Jordan. In conclusion, he called for placing migration within a fairer and more contextualized perspective.

Raffaella Cosentino, a journalist with RAI in Sicily (Italy), offered an overview of how media coverage of migration and refugees has evolved in the Italian press. Until 2010, migration received very limited media coverage in Italy. The Lampedusa tragedy of 2013 marked a radical turning point. Between 2013 and 2014, the Italian government's Mare Nostrum operation became the central subject of media debate.

The representation of migrants and refugees in the media has also evolved, Cosentino noted. Before Pope Francis' visit to Lampedusa in 2013, the media spoke mainly of "illegal immigrants"; afterward, this perception shifted, placing greater emphasis on the humanitarian framing of "rescued persons." Despite certain positive developments in migration discourse, Cosentino considers that the dominant frame in Italian media remains that of "invasion," which suggests an uncontrollable scale to the phenomenon and stands in contradiction with widely shared concerns about "controlling" migration.

She also addressed the issue of misinformation, which she considers to be an essentially political problem in Italy. Immigration became a central theme of the 2018 electoral campaign. In the run-up to the elections, the leader of the Five Star Movement, Luigi Di Maio, described the organizations involved in migrant rescue operations as "sea taxis," implicitly accusing them of transporting migrants in irregular situations across the Mediterranean for profit. The problem, according to Cosentino, lies not only in the ease of access to online disinformation, but also in the fact that a large share of the Italian population regards this content as credible. This makes producing quality journalism on migration and refugee issues all the more difficult.

Samira Sitail, deputy director-general of the Moroccan channel 2M, noted that migration has become a global issue requiring global solutions. She observed that political leaders increasingly use social media to fuel ongoing debates and discussions, particularly around migration. As an example, she recalled the striking speed with which leaders positioned themselves on social media during the "Aquarius affair."

Sitail highlighted the profound transformation of the press in the internet era. Today, "we are all journalists." The digital revolution has given rise to an internet that is both global and free, as well as to remarkable tools enabling anyone to produce written, video, and — soon — live-streamed content, free of charge. Anyone with a smartphone can thus become a journalist.

According to Sitail, the rise of the internet has blurred the line between professional journalists and the rest of society. At the same time, simply engaging in journalistic-type activity — such as taking a photo with a mobile phone at the scene of a fire, or creating a news and commentary blog — is not, on its own, sufficient to constitute genuine journalistic work. Journalists, for their part, place the public interest above all other considerations and uphold a deontological ethic in gathering and evaluating facts. In her view, the main difficulty of the profession lies in emotion, since it is literally impossible to be entirely neutral.

Behind every report, every investigation, every news story, lies a worldview rooted in political, social, or economic assumptions.

Mr. Larry Macaulay, founder and editor-in-chief of Refugee Radio Network (RRN), closed the session. Born in Nigeria, Macaulay fled to Libya during fighting between armed groups. In 2011, he was again forced to leave the country for Italy when the uprising against Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi broke out.

Inspired by Radio Democracy, a pirate radio project in his home country, he founded Refugee Radio Network in 2014 to provide a platform for refugees, asylum seekers, and other vulnerable migrants to tell their own stories to their new host communities.

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He pointed out that mainstream media increasingly broadcast negative narratives about refugees. According to Macaulay, it is necessary to counter these representations, as there is still a long way to go. RRN's core aim is to foster dialogue, "because when we talk, we eliminate fear," he said. Their objective is to give greater weight to personal voices than to dominant media discourse, insofar as "public opinion is a weapon of mass destruction."

In 2017, RRN organized a conference in Hamburg (Germany), bringing together more than 200 representatives of civil society, institutions, and the media, focused on the role and responsibilities of the media in promoting — or, conversely, hindering — the social empowerment and participation of all members of society.

– **Toward a Faithful Representation in Audiovisual Media**

This section addressed media coverage of migration from the standpoint of national and international institutions. This approach rests on the premise that migration constitutes a global, multidimensional problem, requiring the combined efforts of media, civil society, and institutions.

The session had three objectives: (i) identifying trends in how the media handle information, (ii) identifying good practices at the multilateral and institutional level, and (iii) exploring actions aimed at empowering citizens and fostering a positive approach to migration.

Representatives from UNESCO, the Council of Europe, Morocco's National Human Rights Council, and the French media regulator CSA took part in the panel. The session was moderated by Ms. Anna Terrón, former Spanish Secretary of State for Migration, who opened the discussion by underscoring that migration constitutes a political emergency that can be addressed as a challenge for social integration.

Ms. Mirta Loureno, of UNESCO, opened the session by inviting participants to understand migration both as a threat and as a challenge for host societies. For her, the term "challenge" evokes solidarity and its contribution to society. However, Loureno was particularly critical of the absence of migrants and refugees from audiovisual media: "We do not hear them, we do not listen to them."

She acknowledged that journalists face major difficulties in covering migration, often witnessing abuse and inhumane treatment: threats, persecution, confiscation of their equipment, and expulsions. She also noted that journalism needs greater support at the national level, and that society is sometimes overly demanding of journalists, requiring them to tell plural stories and to foster compassion toward migrants.

Regarding good practices, Loureno noted that UNESCO has developed several media-training initiatives aimed at training journalists. These initiatives have been implemented in collaboration with several training institutions. She stressed the need for greater cooperation between international institutions and regulators, as well as between the media of host countries and those of countries of origin.

For the Council of Europe (CoE), the question of the media and their coverage is a matter of concern, said Silvia Grundmann, director of the Media and Internet Division at the CoE. In its efforts to promote media pluralism and content diversity, the CoE has produced two reports examining the role of the media, the communication needs and expectations of migrants and refugees themselves, and the responses provided by community media.

Regarding the representation of refugees in the media, Grundmann noted that descriptions of migrants and refugees were very limited in European media. Women were rarely quoted, while men and children dominated the narrative. In line with earlier interventions, she also noted that media coverage is dominated by sensationalism and prejudice.

As for the possible tools for improving media coverage, her remarks struck a mainly optimistic note. She highlighted, for example, the positive role of community media in giving refugees a voice, as well as the potential of media literacy and journalist training. In her view, this tool "can also serve as a way to resist the speed of the digital world."

She argued that it is necessary to rethink regulation and the role of regulatory bodies, and above all to support ethical journalism — which is, first and foremost, a political matter. Policymakers should explore ways to fund and support quality journalism without compromising the editorial independence of the media. It is also necessary to foster synergies between international, national, and local authorities so that they can play a more active role in creating spaces of tolerance and dialogue within public discussions on migration. Migration has become a global issue requiring collective responses.

Driss El Yazami, president of Morocco's National Human Rights Council, spoke of the radical transformation of migration flows resulting from the feminization of the process and the diversification of migrants' countries of origin. Very tellingly, he noted that there are different types of migration flows — for example, daily business travel between France and Morocco — yet the media present only a partial view of migration. As a result, much of the media coverage is superficial and often poorly informed.

Stereotyping and oversimplification tend to dominate media coverage. Migrants are often associated with poor, Muslim populations, and in some cases even with terrorists. Women are entirely absent from the narratives.

In his view, two areas deserve particular attention in order to promote fair journalism:

- First, there is an urgent need for new initiatives to improve journalist training, helping them better explain migration and its contribution to regional and national development.
- Second, accurate representation should be encouraged for social groups that are poorly represented in the media, such as migrants and refugees. The keyword here is diversity.

CONCLUSION

This article has analyzed how Moroccan media participate in the discursive construction of Sub-Saharan migration and in the production of ambivalent social representations of migrants. Drawing on the theoretical contributions of framing analysis, social representation theory, and critical discourse analysis, the study highlights the central role of the media in defining the interpretive frames through which migration is perceived, understood, and debated within the Moroccan public sphere.

The findings show that media treatment of Sub-Saharan migration oscillates between humanitarian narratives, which emphasize migrants' vulnerability and suffering, and security-oriented or sensationalist discourses that contribute to their stigmatization and dehumanization.

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The recurrent use of alarmist metaphors, the focus on the notion of "migration crisis," and the erasure of the diversity of migratory trajectories all contribute to oversimplifying the phenomenon and reproducing symbolic power relations.

Moreover, the analysis reveals that gendered dimensions of migration receive limited attention in the Moroccan media, despite the growing importance of the feminization of migration flows. This invisibilization helps reinforce partial and biased representations of Sub-Saharan migration, thereby limiting the possibility of a more nuanced and inclusive understanding.

Finally, there is a growing awareness of the need to promote journalism that is ethical, responsible, and respectful of human rights. However, the persistent gap between normative discourse and actual media practices calls for stronger journalist training, better content regulation, and greater cooperation among media, institutions, and civil society. In a context where the media play a decisive role in structuring social imaginaries, rethinking the media representation of migration emerges as a central issue for fostering social cohesion and combating contemporary forms of discrimination and exclusion.

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