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# Migrant Documentary Filmmaking: Shifting cultures & Problematizing the Silenced Across African Borders

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## Abstract

Augmenting the concepts inherent in muted group theory, this research paper examines the lives of the marginalized groups of the African migration issue in documentary filmmaking. It investigates the sphere of a co-cultural communication theoretical model that focuses on how those marginalized group of migrants communicate within dominant societal structures. Though conducting semi- structured interviews with ten international and local documentary filmmakers, the paper draws upon several phenomenological and philosophical inquiries that inductively involve the lived experiences of filmmaker's illegal migrants. The findings of this qualitative study result in into real-world applications including mass media, social rituals and authorities. The filmmakers' interviews give much insights and context to how authorities treat migrants. In addition, it has proved that females are much less represented in migratory films. Male sources largely dominated the whole scene of the films which were made by filmmakers interviewed. Out of 15 films, only two films represented female migrants. This gives much insights into plausible further research and studies that can put females into the context of subjects, sources and stories in order not to be silenced.

**Keywords:** Documentary Films, African Refugees, Female Refugees, Muted Group Theory, qualitative studies, ethical considerations.

## Introduction

Africa has been aptly described as a continent on the move, not because it has the largest number of migrants, but rather because of the culture of colonization and border boundaries, The large continent experiences all migratory configurations within and outside the continent but the most visible are labour migration, refugee flows and internal displacement. Migration research and literature has largely been focused on the typical media reasons that show Africa as a continent on the move with desperate straits to Europe. Millions of Africans are shown in boats trying to flee their continent of misery searching for the paradise in Europe. This image is always driven by the parallel images of poverty, violence and desperate nations trying to search for lives in the European. When it comes to documentary films about migration issues, studies have seldom tackled the complexities of filmmakers vs. migrants and the role of females and subordinate in the African migration issue. Thus, this study explores the multi-facets of the African migration issue as represented through the eyes of the documentary filmmakers.

Feminisation of migration comes as a significant point of discussion especially when addressing the African continent. Women are increasingly migrating on their own, regularly to enhance their economic opportunities and social hardships by seeking jobs or education. The media representations of African female migration are always associated with massive framing of Africans in print and online media; however, it is seldom tackled in documentary productions whose main aim is to seek convincible the ‘truth’ of the lived experience”. Using documentaries to share cross-cultural stories has the capacity to produce authentic accounts of every-day life include those previously excluded from the public arena and engage and inform diverse audiences.

Thus, the purpose of this study is to examine the gendered perspective in examining the ways in which women’s migration is shaped by unequal power relations which carry particular implications and challenges. It seeks to understand the structural conditions in which the refugee image is created and reimagined in our heads. Addressing visual ethnography and ethical issues, this study uses qualitative method which is inductive in nature, as the researcher generally explores meanings and insights in a given situation. This study uses the Muted Group Theory (MGT) as a sociological tool which counts for the interaction between the dominant and the subdominant group. The sub dominant refers to the voice of the women which is often unheard in documentaries. Through the selection of documentary films and a number of (\*) filmmakers and producers, the research conducts intensive interviews as a method of data collection to account for the challenges that face filmmakers when producing documentary refugees.

Documentary film has been gaining growing attention in recent years as an increasingly powerful strategy for research. Its particular focus on reality makes it rather different any other forms of video video-based media (Aufderheide, 2015). Documentary films are used for a range of purposes, including ethnographic research, observation of social interaction and interpersonal relations, cross-cultural research and an approach to investigate social issues (Franceschelli & Gali-

po, 2020) Such purposes give great insights to the importance of the documentary films especially when they construct the reality about African refugees. The ability of film to capture authentic voices and lived experiences is a powerful tool for democracy in education that can be utilized to bring to light existing inequities. The increasing use of participatory filmmaking with people from refugee or asylum seeker backgrounds in recent times has led us to interrogate cinematic practice with context specific concerns in mind (Sarria-Sanz, Alencar & Verhoeven, 2023). Thus, this study seeks to find answers from the filmmakers themselves who did documentary films about the African refugee crisis to highlight multiple facets of feminist approach, the narrative framing and how the marginalized groups are presented and accessed to.

### **1-1 Significance of the Study**

Women are increasingly migrating on their own, regularly to enhance their economic opportunities and social hardships by seeking jobs or education. This common trend is often referred to as the “feminization of migration.” Scholars have called it feminization to refer to the core dimension of the new age of international migration and globalization. Feminizing the migration routes have actually doubled between 1960 and 2015 as the number of female migrants doubled. (Donato and Gabaccia, 2016). Since statistics show that nearly half of all African migrants globally are women, it is of vital importance to examine their needs, vulnerabilities and capabilities, and determine how the reasons behind their migration within the broader global context. It is also essential to examine and recognize the interaction between gender and other social parameters such as age, education level, as well as marital and legal status, all of which create specific positionalities for women.

A very few studies have examined gender data migration on female African migrants although women migrants constitute more than 50% of the total African migrants. There are nearly 17 million African women living out of their country in origin (Bachan, 2018). Although, there has been a slight decrease in the percentage of female migrants from most of the African regions – with the exception of Southern Africa – the overall proportion still remains significant. Accordingly, it is crucial to understand the interplay of gender and migration.

### **1-2 Problem Statement**

This study explores the female perspective of African migration as narrated through the experiences and lives of documentary filmmakers. It examines the deep relationship between filmmakers and migrants Since the rate of female migration has increased strikingly in the last two decades, the concept of “feminization of migration” requires intensive research which would take into consideration gender differences. If this question is posed: Are women treated as marginalized and subordinate groups vs. the dominant male groups in the migration issue? the answer lies

as Yes. Various studies have shown that women have always been participating in migration processes, for a long time, yet, they remained completely “invisible” in migration studies. Moreover, feminization of migration in documentary films still need a special gender approach to analyse the perspectives of female’s migrants in documentary films, if well represented. Such issues as the reasons of female migration, labour migration, family migration, the changing role of the women in society, consequences of migration, family cohesion, and social integration should be taken into consideration. In addition, the study also seeks to investigate migrants as marginalized group into the society whose lives are always chased, harassed and underrated not only by their home and source countries but also by the destination countries they seek to travel to.

### **1.3 Aim of the Study**

Since it is a descriptive ethnography study that tackles journalistic documentaries and feminist migration, it had been deemed necessary to ask those who are involved in the filmmaking process to account for their own point of views, experiences and understandings and practices as documentary filmmakers who have made documentaries about migration issue in the Mediterranean Sea. By using the muted group theory to analyse the interviewees responses, the researcher seeks to answer the societal and the cultural practises that are depicted in the subaltern culture and investigates it to the core of the issue. The role female migrants play, who are marginalized, ignored and subsided in both films and even in research analysis will be heavily examined as the narrative of discourse marks its race and gender.

### **1.3 Proposed Research Questions**

**Using the Muted Group Theory, the research seeks to answer the following questions:**

- Questioning the voiceless sub-dominant group, how female voices are represented in the migratory documentaries?
- How migrants as a marginalized group are viewed and examined in the eyes of the documentary filmmakers how filmmakers portray them as sources?

## **2. Literature Review**

The related literature review discussed below is concerned with three main keywords that that this study focuses on: migration, female and documentary filming. Thus, it is divided into three main sections which confer thoroughly the discourses of the following: global migration, patterns, figures and global overview, African migration as a continent on the move, female migration and documentary filmmaking.

## 2.1 Global Migration: patterns, figures and a global overview

Migration is a progressively an important political, societal and economic issue. Economic hardship and geopolitical crises are resulting in growing and diverse migratory movements. With the significant global change and opportunity, migration has been recognized as an important phenomenon shaping the demographic profile of nations. The number of people living outside their country of birth is now increasing faster than world population growth. According to the World Migration report (2020), one in every thirty people is migrant. This means that there are around 281 million international migrants worldwide as of 2020, which equates to 3.6 per cent of the global population, according to the world migration report (2020).

Given the before mentioned figures, this means that 96.5 % of the world population are estimated to be residing in the country in which they were born. Based on IOM report (2020), the estimated number and proportion of international migrants already surpasses some projections made for the year 2050, which were expected to be of 2.6 per cent or 230 million. Thus, the scale and pace of international migration is difficult to predict with precision because it is closely connected to acute events and changing dynamics in countries. Changing dynamics in any given country means that the country is undergoing severe instability, economic crisis or conflict or a change in demography, technology advances or transportation access (McAuliffe & Khadria, 2020)

Intensive research through decades has shown that international migration is not uniform across the world, but is rather shaped by economic, geographic, demographic and other factors. Migration corridors have been changed and developed over many years. Migration corridor is a “frame for observation” that has been coined and developed by researchers through years (Carling, 2010, p. 2). It is defined as the “hypothetical connection between two places, through which people may or may not migrate” (Carling, 2010, p. 2). These two places can be independent of the level of activity within them or they can be empty or nearly so. A case to study is the flow of migration from Colombia to Iceland, which is known as the Colombia–Iceland migration corridor (Carling, 2010). In Africa, the flow of migration typically flows from the East Africa region through three main migratory routes: the ‘Northern Route’ towards North Africa and often onwards to Europe; the ‘Southern Route’ towards South Africa; and the ‘Eastern Route’ towards Yemen and other parts of the Gulf region. Given the migration flow in Africa, this study investigates the first and the foremost famous flow of African migrants, which is , the “Northern Route”. This is particularly true along the Central Mediterranean route, which connects northern African countries (mainly Libya and Tunisia) to Italy.

The irregular migration from North Africa to Europe has seen several rises in the last decade. The most popular of which was the irregular surge of migrants in magnitude in 2014-2017, when on at least 155,000 migrants landed each year on the shores of Italy 2022-2023 saw another major wave of migrants from Africa to Italy which was estimated to be around 136,000 migrants disembarked in Italy in only a twelve-month period (Villa and Pavia ,2023). Although the number of

migrants has been staggering with waves and rises of irregular migrants particularly from East and West African countries, the migratory pull and push factors have also changed. When looking at these changes, the regional migratory patterns have also changed in the causes that push African migrants to attempt these perilous migratory dangerous journeys across the Sahara Desert and the Mediterranean Sea. The migratory patterns have also changed in terms of the effectiveness of policy responses from countries on both shores of the Mediterranean (Villa and Pavia, 2023).

## **2.2 Africa: A Continent on the Move**

Moving to Africa, it is widely assumed that most African migration leave the continent and constitute the largest number of refugees worldwide. However, the data and the facts prove otherwise. Around 30 million Africans are refugees, internally displaced persons and asylum-seekers, which represent almost one-third of the world's refugee population (UNHCR, 2022). Most international migrants in as Africa are not headed to Europe or Northern America, but move within the region in which they were born, that is to say, the African continent.

Africa has been aptly described as a continent on the move, not because it has the largest number of migrants, but rather because before colonization and border boundaries, Africans used to move freely inside the continent. The large continent experiences all migratory configurations within and outside the continent but the most visible are labour migration, refugee flows and internal displacement. Likewise, in Europe, developing countries in Africa, are taking in a disproportionate number of refugees — currently 80% of the world's refugee population, according to the United Nations data fact sheet as of 2022 (UNHCR, 2022). Refugees hosted in developing countries put enormous pressure on water and health care systems in host communities (Momodo, 2017).

African migrants are largely located within the eight sub-regional economic communities in Africa: 80 percent in the west, 65 percent in the south, 50 percent in central Africa and 47 percent in eastern Africa (Adepoju, 2022). North Africa is the exception where about 90 percent of its emigrants move to other localities outside Africa. North Africans make up the majority of African immigrants to Europe. Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia are the top three countries that comprise over 5 million of the 11 million African migrants in Europe (UNHCR, 2022).

The new contemporary literature on African migration has a different perspective on the continent which perpetuates that 80 per cent of Africans refugees have no interest in leaving the continent, and they have no intention of moving permanently (IOM, 2018). Sanny and Rocca (2018) and the World Migration Report of IOM (2019) indicate that most African migrants move largely within their respective regions for better economies while the motivations behind intracontinental migrants vary considerably. Poverty is not number one reason for migration as many commissioners utilize associational resources, making it possible for poor folks to also emigrate, and thus challenging ongoing narrative of the link between poverty and migration. (Sanny & Rocca, 2018).

### 2.3 Reasons for Migration: Why do Africans migrate?

Migrants' lives are often affected by numerous factors that have been driven them to the hard decision of migration for some achievable live hood opportunities. Synonymous to migration is aspirations and the fulfilment of hopes and dreams that the migrant find himself /herself willing to achieve despite any danger that they might face. Whether they end up in temporary or permanent moves to domestic/ international destination, there are multifaceted factors that have been driven them to migrate. The following section overviews the scholarship of research which has been studied and explored in an attempt to identify the numerous factors, features, influences and contexts that shape both individual migration trajectories and broader migration processes.

However, the dilemma in figuring the main reasons behind African migration lies in either the assumptions and mere observations thought by politicians and media makers or in the immigrant's actual causes and reasons as figured out by scholars and based on empirical evidence and reports. In fact, recent reports show that African migration is influenced by push and pull factors that are driven by each country. Not all countries have the same reasons as patterns and drivers have changed throughout the years. According to African Migration Trends to Watch Report published in 2022, the primary push factors for African Migration relies mainly in conflict, repressive governance, and limited economic opportunities. Nine of the top 15 African countries of origin for migrants are in conflict (McAuliffe and Triantafillou, 2022)

Migration research and literature has largely been focused on the typical media reasons that show Africa as a continent on the move with desperate straits to Europe. Millions of Africans are shown in boats trying to flee their continent of misery searching for the paradise in Europe. This image is always driven by the parallel images of poverty, violence and desperate nations trying to search for lives in the European "ElDorado" (Flahaux and De Haas, 2016). The representations of extreme poverty, starvation, floods, internal and external conflicts, warfare and environmental degradation amalgamate into an image of African misery. This irregular migration occurring from Sub-Saharan Africa has also increasingly been defined by many scholars as a security problem associated with international crime, trafficking and terrorism (Castles, De Haas, & Miller, 2020; Goldschmidt, 2006; Lutterbeck, 2006). The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) stated, 'The system of migrant smuggling (...) has become nothing more than a mechanism for robbing and murdering some of the poorest people of the world' (UNODC, 2018, p. 20).

Violation of human rights is seen as an important driving force of emigration. Czaika and de Haas (2011) identify the violation of human rights as an important driver of forced emigration. They showed in their study that the emigration rates are especially high in countries that are seen as failed or fragile states. The authors concluded that the migration of high-skilled individuals is more likely as they try to improve their living and working conditions abroad (Czaika and de Haas, 2011). Comparative studies, on the other hand, have found that there are sharp differences in the magnitude of movements caused by civil wars, international wars, genocides and human



rights violations (Melander and Öberg ,2006; Moore and Shellman,2004). Civil war is found to have the largest impact on migration, followed by genocide, whereas structural policy changes in a polity have lesser effects (Moore and Shellman, 2004).

In their latest book chapter, *Migration Drivers: Why Do People Migrate?* Czaika and Reinprecht (2022) proposed migration typology based on 9 driver dimensions and 24 driving factors of migration and emphasize the fundamental importance of studying migration driver environments as complex configurations of drivers. Since scholarship in complex driver configurations is still in its infancy, they urged the need to analyse the complex migration drivers. Hinting on the need to further disaggregate and specify driver analyses along more complex intersections of age, gender, geography, sector of employment, and socio-economic status, the migration driver literature is also relatively silent with regard to the transitory character of drivers during migration (Czaika & Reinprecht ,2022). In addition, they stressed on the need to analyse individual motives and drivers.

#### 2.4. Feminisation of Migration

Women are increasingly migrating on their own, regularly to enhance their economic opportunities and social hardships by seeking jobs or education. This common trend is often referred to as the “feminization of migration.” Scholars have called it feminization to refer to the core dimension of the new age of international migration and globalization. Feminizing the migration routes have actually doubled between 1960 and 2015 as the number of female migrants doubled (Donato & Gabaccia, 2016). It is worthy to note here that the term of feminization comes from the gender composition of migrant flows and immigration populations through the history of time. As a matter of typology, they often referred to “female migration” as gender and migration or “heavy”, “predominant”, and “gender balanced” to describe populations with higher or lower shares of women, creating the spectrum as shown in the table below.

Table (1) shows a typology for female share of population in migration  
(Donato & Gabaccia, 2015)

Term Used	Female Share (%)
Heavily female	More than 75
Female predominant	More than 53
Gender balanced	47 to 53
Male predominant	Less than 47
Heavily male	Less than 25

Since statistics show that nearly half of all African migrants globally are women, it is of vital importance to examine their needs, vulnerabilities and capabilities, and determine how the reasons behind their migration within the broader global context. It is also essential to examine and recognize the interaction between gender and other social parameters such as age, education level, as well as marital and legal status, all of which create specific positionalities for women.

A very few studies have examined gender data migration on female African migrants although women migrants constitute more than 50% of the total African migrants. There are nearly 17 million African women living out of their country in origin ( Fleury, 2016). Although, there has been a slight decrease in the percentage of female migrants from most of the African regions – with the exception of Southern Africa – the overall proportion still remains significant. Accordingly, it is crucial to understand the interplay of gender and migration.

Table (2) shows the proportion of female migrants within the total number of international migrants in the African continent ( UN DESA Population Division 2013 as cited in Fleury, 2016)

Region	1990	2000	2010	2013
Africa (total)	46.6	47.2	46.1	45.9
Sub-Saharan Africa	47	47.6	46.6	46.3
Eastern Africa	48.5	49	48.6	47.8
Middle Africa	49	48.8	47.1	46.7
Northern Africa	46.7	44.6	42.5	41.5
Southern Africa	38.7	40.9	42	42.3
Western Africa	46.3	47.4	46.7	46.7

The table above shows the percentage of the female migrants in various parts in Africa as from 1990 to 2013. The IOM reports that more than half of global migrants are women migrating independently or as heads of households (Fleury, 2016). Data indicates that the rate of female migration is growing faster than male migration in many high-receiving countries. The International Labour Organization (ILO) estimates that women are half of the global migrant population but account for 70–80 percent of migrants in some countries (ILO, 2020).

The migrant flows of the African female migrants are diverse in range, encompassing: regular and irregular patterns of women migrating for family reunification; women migrating for economic reasons to fill positions in both skilled and unskilled labour markets; refugees and asylum seekers; trafficked persons; persons in mixed migration flows; and traditional migrants such as nomads (UNODC, 2018). Contrary to the belief that women migrate for marriage reasons only, African women migrate primarily for also economic welfare and improved educational attainment (Adepoju, 2022), or due to being “pushed out” of their rural homes by poverty, land degradation, cash cropping, and lack of access to land (Sithole and Dinbabo, 2016).

## 2.5 Why Documentary Filmmakers?

It is true that films can “help to shape prevailing normative perceptions”, but unquestionably “they can also question those perceptions and build different ones” (Chaudhuri, 2014, p. 2). Even when mainstream media ignores important issues in the world refugee crisis, crisis-focused documentaries raised up the issue to document the impact of issue and to bring it to the front of people’s awareness. Some documentaries were so influential they succeeded in changing the course of history such as John Pilger’s (1970) *The Quiet Mutiny*, Errol Morris’s *The Thin Blue Line* (1988) Michael Moore’s (2002) *Bowling for Columbine* or Callum Macrae’s (2011) *Sri Lanka’s Killing Fields* and the 13<sup>th</sup> (2016) by Ava DuVernay.

Brian Winston (2017) argues that documentary as a form is inherently exploitative:

Most times [ ... ] a filmmaker wittingly or unwittingly [is] exploiting the subject to one degree or another. The exploitative potential of the equipment coupled with unfettered freedom of expression had this effect. It is often the case now that the whole history of the form, from the Griersonian legacy of public education to the legitimization of the concept of the right to know, is forgotten or even consciously set aside in a sensationalizing scramble for funding and ratings. It is a rare documentarist who can withstand such pressures. (Winston as cited in Winston , Vanstone & Chi, 2017, p. 232)

Indeed, one should not underestimate the impact of many crisis-focused documentaries in shedding light on important issues ignored by the mainstream media, bringing awareness to audiences and engaging them in resolving these issues. Some of these films were even able to change the course of history, such as John Pilger’s(1970)*The Quiet Mutiny*, Michael Moore’s(2002) *Bowling for Columbine* or Callum Macrae’s (2011) *Sri Lanka’s Killing Fields*.

At the same time, various degrees of exploitation of crisis situations and their victims are also unavoidable. Brian Winston (1995) argues that documentary as a form is inherently exploitative:

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Exploitive here means that human suffering has truly become one of the central objects of inquiry in contemporary documentary film-making. Similar to the American-Iraqi war in the first decade of the twenty first century, the refugee crisis received much attention from film-makers, TV channels and various international news organizations which produced long, short and documentary-like video stories on the refugee crisis.

Although on the one hand, films can “help to shape prevailing normative perceptions”, on the other hand, “they can also question those perceptions and build different ones”

Since one of the core functions of documentary filmmaking is to seek convincible the truth of the lived experience, this genre fits perfectly the lives of the refugees which gives rise to the term the refugee film .Using documentaries to share cross-cultural stories and different narratives has the capacity to produce real live experiences of every-day life (Cox, Drew, Guillemin, Howell, Warr &Waycott, 2014); include those previously excluded from the public arena and engage and inform diverse audiences (Cox et.al, 2014). In her study to examine the responsibility of the documentary to engage with the refugees in an ethical and reciprocal manner, Hughes (2019) investigates these prerequisites and applies them to two films about refugees in Australia. The first film, “The Last Refuge: Food Stories from Myanmar to Coffs Harbour” (2015), which represents the Myanmar community, and the second film, “3Es to Freedom” (2017), which documents a supported employment program for women from refugee backgrounds as success revolves around assessing the participants’ experiences of being in the film (Hughes, 2019). The study concludes that films ultimate success does not rely seldom on views on international films but on allowing participants to speak for themselves and tell their own stories of transition, both positive and negative. Hughes says that “such an approach portrays people in extreme transition as the experts on their own lives and should assist in achieving agency, a notion far removed from the helplessness of the faceless, threatening refugee so often circulated in mainstream media representation,” (2019, p.170).

Using the conceptual framework on Judith Butler’s theories about the precocity and vulnerability (\*\*\*) of the displaced human subject, Joronen and Rose examine three narratives about refugees using Butler’s theory about human precocity and vulnerability (2020). As Judith Butler (2016) aptly puts it, when ‘articulated in its specificity’ and so made ‘in dissociable from the dimension of politics’, precariousness simply ‘ceases to be existential’ (p. 119). The study aims at providing a check on this exuberance (of power and vulnerability) by illuminating the existential situation in which all such claims to power sit. In doing so, Joronen and Rose (2020) have argued that the problem of power transforms from being a question about how to produce, capacitate and affect, to how to respond to life’s woundedness. In addition, they encouraged the roles played by a range of economic, governmental and affective apparatuses make choices about how and whether certain subjects, groups or populations can be protected or exposed to vulnerable situations. (Joronen and Rose , 2020)

Feldman's essay on 'cultural anesthesia' explores the effect of the dominant representations of refugee images and how it can have impact on audiences. He asserts these representations of 'anonymous corporeality' are pervasive in the reduction of refugee experiences to sensationalised and visceral visualisations (Feldman, 1994). If we look at the current depictions of refugees, they are purely consigning to their bodies, rendering them as a silent and faceless physical mass. This is often pictured as the recurring images of huddled bodies crammed together in disarray and the invoked 'sea of humanity'. The 'en masse' trope is equally visible in conventional visual representations that portray women with children fleeing violence, portraying the embodiment of the mute and helpless victims (Feldman, 1994).

### 1.6 Framing the African Refugees

The section outlined below is to account for how media organisations and press coverage frame refugees. It deals with how displayed people, migrants, immigrants, refugees, asylum seekers, etc are perceived and framed by the European lens.

Holmes and Castaneda (2016) analyse the representation of the European refugee crisis in Germany. Their study examines how displaced people are framed and how various actors respond to them. The discursive frames used in the media, in political speeches and popular narratives reveal how the responsibility for suffering is shifted; how fears of cultural, ethnic, and religious difference are mobilized; and how boundaries of social categories are made and unmade, sorting people into undeserving trespassers versus those who deserve rights and care from the state (Holmes and Castaneda, 2016). The study concludes that the events are framed and experienced as crisis, which brings into relief the unknown future of Germany in relation to displaced persons and ethnic and religious diversity itself. This result has been established by the contradictory announcements from the Interior Ministry suggesting that Syrians would enjoy only limited "subsidiary protection" in Germany and by the issuance of semi-denials of asylum status (Holmes and Castaneda, 2016). The discursive framing of the refugee crisis is questioned towards such crisis to include how this metaphor can be mobilized to further repression and exclusion (Kallius, Monterescu, and Rajaram, 2016) to how the crisis as experience can highlight political and symbolic stakes with unknown futures. (Kallius, Monterescuprem & Rajaram, 2016)

Hellmueller and Zhang (2019) discussed in their study the portrayal of the refugees in photographs as published in news outlets between the years 2015 and 2016. Analysing the photographs in two different news outlets CNN and *Spiegel Online*, their findings reveal that the former increased its humanized visual framing especially after the publication of Alan kurdi, while the later leaned towards a stricter border control measure. The analysis focuses on the theme of refugee photographs on *CNN* and *Spiegel Online* news sites from 1 January 2015 to 6 October 2016. The two news outlets have different audience approaches: the US-based *CNN* reaches out to global news consumers while *Spiegel Online* in Germany mainly appeals to domestic audiences. Applying Rodriguez and Dimitrova's (2011) theoretical framework of visual framing, the study

conceptualizes visual frames of the European refugee thematic at the stylistic level, denotative level, connotative level, and the level of ideological representation (Hellmueller and Zhang, 2019). Findings reveal that after the publication of Alan Kurdi's picture, *CNN* increased humanized visual framing while *Spiegel Online's* visual coverage was leaning toward increased border control. The two different visual perspectives and their contribution to a polarized (domestic vs global) interpretation of migration are discussed. In terms of which refugees were depicted more, the findings revealed that 35.6 per cent (21) in *CNN* featured refugees from the Middle East while 33.9 per cent (20) featured the migrants from Africa. By contrast, *Spiegel Online's* images counted for 37.2 per cent (35) depicted refugees from the Middle East and 25.5 per cent (24) portrayed the migrants from Africa (Hellmueller and Zhang, 2019)

Questioning the ethical responsibilities and considerations artists make towards representing their subjects when producing their documentaries, Blomfield and Lenette (2018) investigate the role of the artists representing the story of a young Somali asylum seeker woman through collaborative filmmaking. This study aims opening up broader discussions about the filmmaker's responsibilities to produce narratives that value refugees' perspectives and voices. The researchers have not sought using the personal experiences, opinions, and the interactions between artists, protagonists, and environments as they believe it would provide subjective data relating to personal ethics that cannot be quantified (Blomfield & Lenette, 2018). They rather focused on the narrative as represented through reflexive point of view. Reflexive mode of documentaries is one of the six types of documentaries which involves engaging with "ones' own positioning in relation to choices and self-conscious actions in creating representations, as well as questioning how representations are mediated by our relationship with the topic and the context in which they are created. (Blomfield & Lenette, 2018). Etherington (2004, p. 89) points to it as:

(...) the power dynamics inherent to research endeavours, and the usefulness of reflexivity to bring such issues to light: Reflexivity challenges us to be more fully conscious of our own ideology, culture, and politics and those of our participants and our audience; this adds validity and rigour by providing information about the contexts in which data are located and enables us to recognise and address the moral and ethical issues and power relations involved.

Through the journey of a female Somali refugee, Aasiya, who was and is still currently seeking protection in Australia, the study seeks to encourage artists avoid perpetuating existing tropes of narratives that can be detrimental to refugees and asylum seekers, and ensure that artists' own agendas are secondary to what 'protagonists' wish to convey. One of the key findings of this study is not representing visually the protagonist for the fear that it might negatively impact on her refugee status determination or increase the risk of harm if forced to return to Somalia. Therefore, the subject became faceless which reinforces the image of the refugee as the "other". The study suggests five simple ways for ethical visualisation of refugees: genuine collaboration; informed consent; anonymity; focusing on the mundane; and (in the case of filmmaking specifically) an awareness of the editing process as a political act (Blomfield & Lenette, 2018).

**“Deciding who is legitimate?”** Discusses the narrative discourse used in the Canadian print coverage over a span of 10 years to account for the distinct differences in the framing of immigrants vs. refugees (Lawlor, & Tolley, 2017). The researchers analyse the changes in framing over time and location as they examined the coverage of immigrants and refugees from *The Globe and Mail*, the *National Post*, the *Toronto Star*, and the *Vancouver Sun* from 2005, to 2014. The time period chosen incorporates several focusing events (e.g., the 2010 arrival of the MV *Sun Sea* cargo ship of Tamil migrants off the coast of British Columbia) and policy changes (e.g., the introduction of the *Protecting Canada’s Immigration System Act* in 2012). Using content analysis, the study found out that the immigrants are always framed in economic terms, whereas greater attention is focused on the validity of refugee claims, potential security threats, and the extent to which refugees “take advantage” of social programs (Lawlor and Tolley, 2017). The research also drew some important inferences about the relationship between refugees’ backgrounds and the tone of their coverage. Regardless of their country of origin, refugees’ backgrounds were a focus of coverage, and this tended to be negatively framed. Media’s tendency to home in on episodic or focusing events, particularly as they relate to refugees, contributed to wide variations in the coverage of refugees, with particularly negative coverage occurring during so-called focusing events (Lawlor, & Tolley, 2017). During these events, public discourse, as signified in media coverage, raised questions about the impact of refugee arrivals on Canada’s cultural fabric, as well as potential threats to security (Lawlor and Tolley, 2017).

In her study on gendered representations in trafficking, Andrijasevic (2007) posits that empowerment can be inherently linked to challenging stereotypes and dominant narratives, such as the common tropes of suffering and victimisation. So how can representations be more empowering? One way of achieving this aim is by presenting counter-narratives that provide a more holistic construction of refugees’ individual historical, gender, political and cultural circumstances. Yet, it would be simplistic to assume that this merely means creating relatable narratives that can be universalised.

**“Smuggling Zebras for Lunch”** examines the relationship between media discourse and measured public attitudes and beliefs towards the status of asylum seekers in Ireland. Using data from the year 2002, the study offers a critical account of Irish print media coverage and considers how both broadsheet and tabloid print media have sought to explain the issues surrounding asylum seekers. As the researchers put it, there “has been a biased, ignorant and racist tone of much of the Irish print media discourse on a new social phenomenon.” (Haynes, Breen and Devereux, 2005, p 118). One of the major framing incidents was the headline of a tabloid Irish newspaper which reads “Fish and Chimps; Refugees Smuggle Zebra, Monkey and Seahorse into Ireland...for Lunch.” Immigrants are associated with animals which makes the readers drew upon a mixture of frames to tell its readership about the ‘exotic’ eating habits of immigrants. In addition, the framing of the “Other” in this article are “Foreign people living in Ireland”; “African Passengers”; “Nigerians” and “Chinese.” A frame of deviancy/pathology is being observed at work in the construction of foreigners as exotic. (Haynes, Breen and Devereux, 2005)

Readers are told that “Clans are bringing the exotic meats over to their families here...”; Giant rats from Ghana and antelope meat from Africa are served at parties...”; “A Green Monkey from Nigeria ...for a “family dinner””; Immigrants are said to be importing “monkey, zebra, seahorse and rat meat.” The criminality frame is in evidence in the following - “African passengers are smuggling”; they are involved in the “illegal importation” of “illegal meat”. Readers are warned that such “illegal importations could spread disease.” They pose a threat to endangered species and have a “strong risk of passing diseases.”

(Haynes, Breen and Devereux, 2005, p.129)

In addition, the study findings reveal that there are five key media frames that exists in the Irish media discourse. The representation of asylum seekers revolves around being portrayed as “an economic threat”; “a threat to national and local integrity”; ‘a criminal element’; ‘a contaminant’ and as ‘illegal aliens’

(Haynes, Breen and Devereux, 2005)

### 3. Methodology

#### 3.1 Qualitative Research Method

This study uses qualitative method which is inductive in nature, as the researcher generally explores meanings and insights in a given situation ( Levitt, Morrill, Collins, and Rizo, 2021). It refers to a range of data collection and analysis techniques that use purposive sampling and semi-structured, open-ended interviews (Gopaldas, 2016). Its core principle is based on observations and interpretations of people’s perception of different events, as it takes the snapshot of the people’s perception in a natural setting (Levitt et al., 2021). In such a way, it helps investigating local knowledge and understanding of a given problem, people’s experiences, meanings and relationships, and social processes and contextual factors that marginalize a group of people. Contrary to the quantitative research, it focuses on words rather than number as it observes the world in its natural setting, interpreting situations to understand the meanings that people make from day-to-day life (Gopaldas, 2016).

In contrast with the quantitative social science which depends mainly on “controlling variables, generalizations, identifying systematic patterns of associations, objectivity, the use of numerical data and hypotheses testing (Hammersley, 2013), the key features of qualitative research do not only contradict those variables but do complement the data derived. The qualitative research depends the importance of the following:

- Studying what normally happens in the ‘real’ world, rather than what happens under experimental conditions.
- observing what happens rather than to rely solely upon respondents’ accounts in formal interviews or questionnaires
- allowing people to speak in their own terms in interviews if we are to be able to their distinctive perspectives



Since the journalistic reporter is similar in many ways a type of qualitative sociologist, especially when the journalist uses participant-observer techniques, journalism and sociology have long had a close relationship especially in documentary filmmaking which is based on observation. Hence, the filmmakers identified here are the journalistic reporters who seek truth, interview sources and rely on facts to conceive the challenges and the lives of the migrants they represent. It has also been largely presumed that sociology grew out of the womb of journalism” as both traditions have a long intimate history of nurturing each other. The journalistic approach to sociology, traces the notion of the sociologist as a super-reporter using participant-observation methods as an example of efforts to make qualitative methods a legitimate research tool in social science.

Where there is no unanimity regarding the core principles of qualitative research in social sciences, the following definition may work as a working one. Van Maanen & Kolb( 1982) put qualitative research as a form of first-hand observation conducted in close –proximity of the phenomenon under study. Participant observation of a natural phenomenon in its natural setting is the core of qualitative empirical research. Thus, such kind of qualitative sociological research is much applied here on these migratory filmmakers who travelled miles and challenged a lot to represent the interpretive practices, challenges and lives of African refugees.

### **3.2 Interviews**

The interviews sought here, as cited by Denzin and Lincoln reflects interpretive practices. Findings reveal that the productions of documentaries are better conducted when filmmakers are refugees themselves who lived and survived the battling journeys (2005). In addition, women, as the voice of the subdominant, are rarely addressed in contemporary migratory routes as their status-quo are scarcely spoken out in documentary films. The researcher conducted ten interviewees with different international and local filmmakers who made documentary films about the migration issue in Africa. Interviews here are used here as a strategy to gather experiences about the filmmakers’ beliefs, drives patterns and challenges concerning their migration films. In addition, these responses are analysed according to the muted group theory and the tenants of documentary filmmaking.

This research study uses the semi-conducted interviews, to account for the analytical realistic approach as the second part of the qualitative approach used in this study (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005). The interview technique is considered an important data gathering that involves “verbal communication between the researcher and the participant. Interviews are commonly used in survey designs and in exploratory and descriptive studies.” (Fox, 2009, p. 5). This is one of the main reasons behind using this technique in this study. Since it is a descriptive ethnography study that tackles documentaries, it had been deemed necessary to ask those who are involved in the filmmaking process to account for their own point of views, experiences and understandings and practices as documentary filmmakers who have made documentaries about migration issue in the

Mediterranean Sea.

The researcher used semi -structured interviews which are based upon open-ended questions. Unlike structured ones, it is useful when collecting attitudinal informal and knowledge on a larger scale. It is furtherly used when it is not possible to draw up a list of pre-coded questions. Thus, the researcher finds it more plausible here to use semi -structured interviews which are similar to structured interviews in that the topics or questions to be asked are planned in advance. However, instead of using closed questions, semi-structured interviews are based on open-ended questions. Semi-structured interviews are useful when collecting attitudinal information on a large scale, or when it is not possible to draw up a list of possible pre-codes because little is known about the subject area. However semi-structured interviews are much more time-consuming than structured interviews, because of the requirement to draw up coding frames and carry out content analysis on a large number of interviews. Responses can either be tape-recorded or written down by the interviewer. Obviously because of the use of open-ended questions it is difficult to establish uniformity across respondents. This is why the researcher has opted to use the kind of interview technique to make the filmmakers open about talking, discussing, narrating, and opening up conversations which are related to the topics at hand.

### **3.3 Sampling Technique**

In this part of the chapter, the responses of the filmmakers, directors, scriptwriters and reporters to the semi structured interview using the snowball sampling technique are recorded. The researcher used the snowball sampling technique in interviewing which involve people nominating other potential sources who can be as much useful to the research if the researcher is not able trying to reach others as well. For example, when trying to reach out a migrant filmmaker who made special award -winning films about migration, the researcher has been able to reach Kumut Imesh through David Fedele, another filmmaker. Imesh is a refugee from the Ivory Coast in West Africa, who now lives in France. He, had a long sufferable journey where he managed to record everything in his film “Revenir” (The Return) produced in 2018. In his film, he returned to his own African continent and attempted to record and film everything he had gone through, ten years ago, when he was a migrant himself. It would have been impossible to reach Kumut if not for the help and the support of David Fedele.

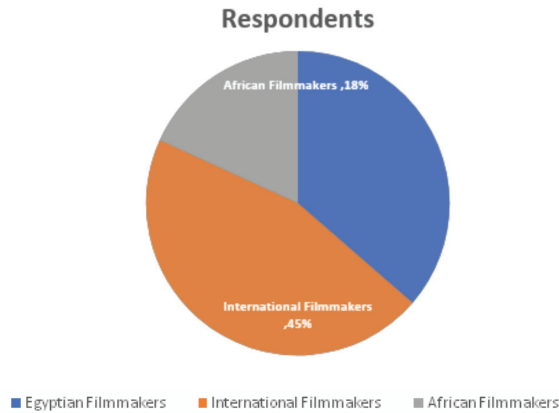
Finding the respondents, which are the filmmakers who did documentary films about the migration issue in Africa, has been very challenging to find due to the nature of the topic. The researcher is not only looking for general variables, but through specific variables which can be elicited in the below points:

- First, selecting filmmakers
- Second, selecting filmmakers who made documentary films
- Third, selecting filmmakers who made documentary films and migration in Africa
- Fourth, selecting filmmakers who made documentary films about migration in Africa in the last decade.
- Fifth, selecting filmmakers who made documentary films about migration in Africa in the last decade, both males and females.

Thus, the researcher has been prone to adopt this sampling technique when the sample size is smaller and less accessible. Thus, the snowball sampling technique has enabled the researcher to reach out filmmakers, scriptwriters, and reporters who were involved directly in migration films through every possible way. This has been applied to both local and international filmmakers as the researcher reached four interviewees, out of ten, through the snowball sampling technique: Mohamed ElMihiy, Karima ElHalfawy, Aly Ghoneimy and Kumut Imesh.

### **3.4 Who are the respondents?**

One of the main features of qualitative sampling is the small number of cases interviewed (Robinson, 2014) is why it was important for the researcher to focus on the depth of the interviews rather than the breadth of sampling. With ten local and international filmmakers interviewed, this kind of sampling which is identified to be ‘sufficiently small for individual cases to have a locatable voice, “provided a scope of intensive analysis of each case to be studied and analysed thoroughly” (Robinson 2014, p. 29). In addition, the sampling size helped developing cross-case generalities while preventing the researcher being bogged down in data, and permitting individuals within the sample to be given a defined identity, rather than being subsumed into an anonymous part of a larger whole (Smith & Robinson 2010) . The researcher was accordingly able to analyze large quantities of qualitative data as the interviews provided grounded academic and practical framework of journalism practices , in depth insights and experiences .On the level of the interviewees response, out of 30 filmmakers who made films about the African migration issue, ten responded.



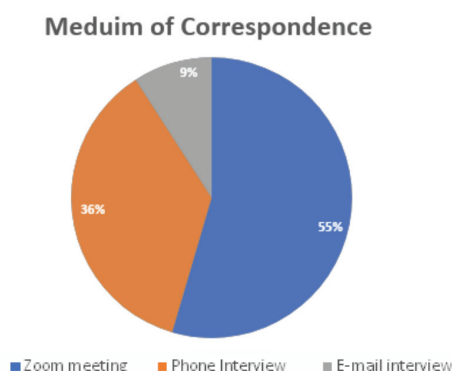
**Figure (1): The pie chart shows the percentage of the filmmakers interviewed: African, international and local ones who made films about migration issue in Africa.**

The pie chart drawn above shows the percentage of the filmmakers interviewed from different countries. However, they all share the knowledge about films, African migration and the feminization of migration. In addition, they all made one, two or more films about African migration routes and migratory flows. The African filmmakers interviewed were succinctly migrants themselves who took upon themselves the challenge to take the same hazardous journeys and routes again but this time in a documentary film. Ike Nnaube and Kumut Imesh are respectively Nigerian and Ivorian Coast African migrants themselves who have been granted refugee asylum permit in European countries. The international filmmakers identified here are those ones who made several documentary films about the migration flows in Africa: David Fedele, Mahdi Fleifel, Eric Campell, Sung-A-Yoon and Tal Amiran. Local filmmakers refer to the Egyptian ones who made documentary films about the migration issue in Egypt in particular; Aly AlGhoneimy, Mohamed ElMihy, Karima ElHelfawy and Ahmed AbdelHaleem. It is worthy to note here the fact that out of 15 female filmmakers who the researcher tried to reach, only two responded: Sung-A- Yoon and Karima ElHelfawy. However, the researcher believed that all respondents, including the male ones, gave ample insightful answers about the gender issue in migration.

### 3.5 The medium of correspondence

The researcher also used three mediums to make the interviews with the respondents. The most common one was the use of the Zoom meeting. This former medium has given the researcher ample of space and time to see the interviewee, react to the responses, follow them by a discussion and most importantly record the conversation. Second, telephone interviewing was used in cases where the respondent found it easier and more accessible to have a phone conversation. This was

the case with all the Egyptian filmmakers who found it easier and more convenient for them to answer all the questions and discuss them thoroughly. Third, the researcher sought the e-mail correspondence as a medium when the respondent had no time for zoom interviewing. This was the case with Eirc Campell, the prominent Australian foreign correspondent, who worked for the broadcast famous Australian ABC network. Campell found it more plausible and more convenient to answer the questions at his own pace, through e-mail correspondence. He was keen to answer thoroughly all questions even if the researcher needed follow up or more elaboration for a specific point. The below mentioned pie chart shows the percentage of using different mediums of communication for the interviews.



**Figure (2): The pie chart shows the percentage of the most used medium of correspondence and the least used with the interviews conducted.**

Through the interviews, the researcher has been able to discuss thoroughly the answers, put the respondent into context and follow up the answers for more elaboration and understanding. The discussion put in this chapter includes indirect and direct quotations from the interview data in order to substantiate the points being made. It is followed by specific findings that emanate from the responses to the interviews. In the final discussion of this section the researcher attempts to summarise the overall findings from these interviews.

Since qualitative interview is concerned with the study of a natural phenomenon in its natural setting, this type of research fits largely the migrant environment and the gender migration African films under discussion. Interviews here are used here as a strategy to gather experiences about the filmmakers' beliefs, drives, patterns and challenges concerning their migration films. In addition, these responses are analysed according to the muted group theory and the tenants of documentary filmmaking.

### 3.6 Theoretical Framework & the Muted Group Theory

This study also uses the Muted Group Theory (MGT) as a sociological tool which counts for the interaction between the dominant and the subdominant group. The sub dominant refers to the voice of the women. The MGT was introduced by the anthropologist Edwin Ardener in 1972. Based on his own experience in Cameroon back at the time, he wrote a series of essays to explain the lack of anthropological data that are available on women. For this purpose, he designed the MGT “to encourage anthropologists and others to pay more attention than they did at the time to spheres of communication and modes of expression of commonly overlooked groups”.

(Ardener ,1975, p.20)

Ardener noted that women are “human group that forms about half of any population and is even in a majority at certain ages “(Ardener ,1975, p.1) were neglected in social anthropological studies. Ardener adopted the term “muted” over the word “inarticulate” to counter some feminists” misunderstanding that he was referring to a biological condition. Given that, the theory was quickly extended to any groups that are not part of the “dominant communicative system of the society – expressed as it must be through the dominant ideology...” (Ardener,1975, p.22). Refugees, in this sense are part of the sub-dominant group which have been constantly voiceless by the societies. Thus, muting occurs for anyone who is targeted for illegal or legal migration via the power structures in place across both physical places and cultural norms and the communication surrounding then.

MGT has three tenants that explain the relationship between the dominant and sub-dominant groups and how they communicate. First, dominance which is mainly concerned with the issues that result from unequal participation in generating and expressing ideas. Second, acceptability is concerned with the modes of expression which are used by the sub-dominant group and whether the dominant accept and respect these modes of expression or not; and whether these modes of expression are voiced via language or via any social communication tool (Barkman, 2018). Third, the resistance and the change which is concerned with tools that should be provided for confronting and resisting the muting of marginalized groups.

In his analysis, Ardener identified two parts to the problem; the technical and the analytical problem. He reported that females are more difficult to access and interview.

If the models of a society made by most ethnographers tend to be models derived from the male portion of that society, how does the symbolic weight 22 The European Journal of Women’s Studies 6(1) of that other mass of persons ± half or more of a normal human population, as we have accepted ± express itself.

(Ardener 1975.p 3)

In doing so, he pointed out that it was not unusual for ethnographers to return from a study of a particular society having talked only to men. Thus, he stressed the need to pay attention to women despite their lack of the “metalanguage of discussion” ‘ (Ardener 1975, p.3). Consequently, they are unable to share their perception of society with ethnographers. Ardener blamed this inability to articulate on the male-dominated structure of society.

Although the MGT was a breakthrough at the time it was introduced, in the seventies of the last century, it received a lot of criticism. Helney & Kramarae (1993) have proposed several hypotheses suggested by muted theory. One of these hypotheses is the presumption that the females cannot express themselves well or fluently within the dominant modes of expression (Helney & Kramarae, 1993). In reply to this, she posits that males have more difficulty in understanding what members of the other gender mean. She further adds that in both verbal conventions and non-verbal behaviour, females are able to find ways to express themselves outside the dominant public modes of expression used by males. In addition, Puckett (1986) recognizes the defect in the MGT, as proposed by Ardener, saying that it is problematic because it fails to acknowledge the fact that women do in fact speak, and they speak in public, too (Pucket,1986 as cited by Wall & Gannon Leary,1999).

Despite the problems adhered to MGT, it still has relevance and its three basic tenets on how a dominant group and a subordinate group communicate, remains pertinent and important under a gender-based ideology. This is why the study opts to use the Muted Gender Theory to account for the three tenants that could be found in the interviews analysed. In addition, it will explain how the African women voices are heard, what modes are nowadays used to speak in public and to be listened.

#### **4. Discussion and Analysis**

##### **4.1 Female Integration in Documentary Films**

###### **A) Dominance**

Since MGT has three tenants that explain the relationship between the dominate and the sub-dominate, the first tenant will be discussed thoroughly here in relation with the interviews conducted. The first tenant is mainly concerned with dominance or the issues that result from unequal participation in expressing ideas and generating them. This tenant has been shown in several examples where the respondents expressed their experiences and their view points of the films that they made and produced.

From the respondent’s answers, it has been quite obvious to notice that the films they made did not express any equal views of female vs. male sources and participants. Moreover, they expressed this succinctly in the interview questions. David Fedele (Resp.1) finds that interviewing women can be difficult for a male filmmaker because of mainly the gender. He says that it is dif-

difficult to interview “women from different cultures and from different religious beliefs”. He elaborates that women might find it more comfortable to talk with another woman. “I am white man so you get different potentials, reactions and different responses of people when I approach them. This is limitations. All I could do is to be as human as possible,” he added.

### **b) Acceptability**

The second tenant of the MGT is concerned with the acceptability. In other words, these are the modes of expression which are used by the sub-dominant group and whether the dominant accept and respect these modes of expression or not; and whether these modes of expression are voiced via language or via any social communication tool (Barkman, 2018). From the interview analysis, the researcher has found out that the filmmakers had accepted that they had no access to female interviews. Even if they got access to one or two female sources, they were redundant to ask them for interview or they were afraid of cultural and societal barriers. Drawn from the analysis of the “dominance” in the aforementioned section, most of them said that because they were male filmmakers, they would not quite access females. Some of them said because the females were shy in front of the cameras, others said that it was mainly because of them being “male white” filmmakers.

The only two episodes where the filmmakers had access to female voices was in the case with David Fedele and Aly AlGhoneimy. In his film “The Land Between”, Fedele was able to access Aisha, a West African illegal migrant who was stuck in Morocco, trying to reach Europe. Aisha had three sons and one daughter. To Fedele, he did not only want to “bring voice of people /migrants themselves but must have female voice in” In the interview, he elaborated how he was careful when approaching Aisha, not as a source first but as someone who wanted to offer his help. As an activist, Aisha was living in the forest with her children and she started talking with Fedele who approached her as a human being first. At the end, it was luck or chance which enabled him to tell her story “Sort of by chance or by luck, among all the people in the world, she is the one woman who agreed. Ten years later, I am still in daily and weekly contact with her. Nevertheless, Fedele does not approve of the common ongoing statement “Give them a voice” saying that everyone has already a voice but he doubts the opportunity of whether the voice is heard or not.

I hate when people say “: Give someone a voice”. This is wrong because everyone has a voice but not everyone has the opportunity for the voice to be heard. I think we should keep continuing to give people platforms for their voices to be heard. we hear of men’s stories, hardly women stories but children are never given a voice.

(Fedele, Resp. 1)

Parallely, AlGhoneimy in his film “Youm ElRaheel” (The Day of Departure) has interviewed several Egyptian women, not refugees, but those who had acquaintances with the male refugees. He had access to mothers and wives who talked about their experiences losing their sons or husbands at seas, or waiting for them to return back. To AlGhoneimy, he was not trying to reach female refugees and migrants because Egypt has no illegal female migrants who travel by sea.



However, he tried to reach female voices in context to see how the problem affects them, and how much involvement they are endorsed in the migration problem. One source he can never forget was Haga Laila, a seventy-year-old mother whose son left her without saying a word, ten years ago. She does not know whether her son is alive or not. She only wants to see her son corpse if he is dead, or to hear that he is alive. Haga Laila was one of those sources whom AlGhoneimy shall not forget. In this context, he said:

But no Egyptian females migrate illegally by sea or by any other way. They are affected in many other ways and the problem touches them to the core.

There is the wife who loses her husband, the mother who loses her child,

The females I filmed in the film were either mothers, wives or daughters of their men who left them and migrated.

AlGhoneimy (Resp.9)

Even through AlGhoneimy and Fedele were the only filmmakers who were successful to get the voices of the females heard in one instance in their films, Campell in his film “The Cruel Sea” was keen to observe the number of pregnant women with babies or small children on boats in his film. While they were filming in Lampedusa and the main island of Sicily, they tried their best to access and interview women but time was not in their favour. “My cameraman and I did our best in Lampedusa and the main island of Sicily to find women to interview, but in the time available could only convince men to talk to us on camera. So that was a definite fault in the story” (Campell, Resp.3).

### **C) Subordination**

The third tenant is concerned with how the sub-dominant group uses the dominant mode of communication to express their voices. This tenant is interested with how the dominant group normalize and centre all points of reference within the dominant experience, while the voices of non-dominant individuals and groups are minimized, stigmatized, or muted, can be described as cultural imperialism. (Ardener, 2005). In the interview analysis, it has been found out that the females have not spoken their voices as they were not interviewed in the first place. Therefore, it was not clear whether they used the same communication language of the dominant group- male migrants or not.

### **d) Resistance and Change**

In addition, though not explicitly stated by Ardener (2005) as the fourth tenant, many academics identify it as the fourth tenant of the MGT theory. Resistance and change are concerned with tools that should be provided for confronting and resisting the muting of marginalized groups. The analysis of the interviews provided that the only female voices interviewed showed resilience and challenge. Karima ElHelfawy, who also showcased the effect of migrant issue on women in

Egypt says that films should revolve around the issue of breadwinner women or the care taker. She discussed the effects that the male migrants leave on their wives, mothers and daughters not only financially, but also psychologically and socially.

“Sometimes, they are forced to sell their gold to help their sons or husbands, and they end up left out. We also need to raise awareness among females themselves about the dangers of illegal migration. Females are mothers so they need to stop inciting their sons,”

(ElHelfawy, Resp 10)

The quotation above shows how much females play a major role in the migration problem in Egypt. In her film, ElHelfawy noticed how females sometimes incite their sons to go abroad and try their luck with migration. She also noticed that some wives become jealous of what other families earn if they are successful in migration and urge their husbands to travel by sea.

“It is a culture mindset where people become jealous of others and want to imitate others. If a migrant is successful abroad and sends money, the mother or and the wife sometimes encourages their men to follow the same route, not adhering to the consequences that might occur”

ElHelfawy (Resp. 10)

At the same time, the female migrants exemplified by Fedele documentary film, “*The Land Between*,” shows strength, resilience and acts of sheer heroism by Aicha, the migrant who is stranded in Moroccan forests. Aicha and the children fled their home at the Ivory Coast due to civil war as she arrived to Morocco in 2011. She lost her husband, so she had to take care of her 4 children and bring them to safety. “*I have no choice*” she said (Aicha, 31:43) (*The Land Between*). Moreover, Aicha spoke explicitly about her situation as a migrant who was forced to flee war and was rejected as an asylum seeker. She says that a lot of people are political refugees and a lot of them are fleeing war. “*f they are here, it is because the United Nations could not take care of them*”, she added. (Aicha, 32:31).



In such context, there is salience amount of anger and activist change where she is demanding change not only for females but for all refugees who are fleeing wars and conflicts. She also poses rhetorically a hypothetical question: If she cannot guarantee humanity from the countries she is travelling to, then what she can do? In addition, she questions the role of the United Nations which is not resolving the issue of the migration problem and is not resolving the core issues of these

countries in conflict. She questions the role of the international community which has failed her and her children. Succinctly, the sub-dominant voice of Aisha was able to explicitly speak on behalf of many others, including the dominant voice-male sources. Her words show change, resilience and strength which has rarely been articulated by other male voices in this documentary or by others.

Within the context of change and resistance, the filmmakers interviewed were keen to highlight the pressing issues of gender inequality when it comes to migration across the Mediterranean Sea. In ElSharkya , a third most populist country in Egypt for example, it has been noticed that there is a social disorder which has happened between the males and the females. the number of females outnumber the number of males because of an accumulated migration effect which has happened throughout the years. As AlGhoneimy and ElHalfawy narrated, because lots of males die or travel during the migration journey, this resulted in social disorder. Some males marry abroad and they never return back.

#### **4.2 Migrants as a Sub-Dominant Group and Marginalized group**

In the above section, female migrants were highly examined across the different documentaries the filmmakers have made. They were also investigated thoroughly through the interview answer's analysis which gave the research a clue to their actual standings in documentary filmmakers. It also gives us insights to the challenges of acceptability, accessibility, resistance and change. However, the analysis also constitutes the ill-representation of females in documentaries as sources and subjects which are able to tell their stories and articulate their narratives.

The MGT is about establishing the relationship between the dominant and the sub dominant group. Since then, Muted group theory also applies to marginalized groups whose voices may be disregarded by the dominant group, it is quite applicable here to notice how the migrants as a marginalized group were represented in documentaries and how filmmakers portray them.

The mutedness and the muting process that the marginalized group are derived from different factors as analysis of the interviews reveal. The analysis of the interviews has revealed significance number of subjects and sources, predominantly males, but they are marginalized and muted by the society which does not want to recognize them or identify their existence. Such interview's analysis has been elicited by three questions. The filmmakers' answers to these questions were quite narrative as they used to tell their stories and open up about their experiences, their motives, and their struggles in documenting the reality of the migration journeys in the Mediterranean Sea.

1. How did you see your protagonists in this film, as characters, as sources or as victims?
2. How much reality differed from your own perception, towards the African migration topic?
3. What challenges do you face as a filmmaker /director to shoot and direct migration journeys in Africa?

**a) Sub Dominant Migrants Narrating their traumatizing Journeys as documented by African Filmmakers themselves**

In his film “Revenir” (To Return), Kumut, the Ivorian Coast filmmaker, talked about his journey as a migrant himself. When he returned back to make his own journey as a film, he was actually captured and imprisoned. The authorities requested a large sum of money from him to be released mouting 500 EUR. He was actually subjected to imprisonment even though he had a French refugee identity card. Kumut, as a filmmaker is no different than being a migrant, he spent eight years before France grant him a refugee asylum residence permit. As a migrant, he was subjected to low wage payment, arrests and many hazards he saw in streets. That’s why he was keen to make this journey again to show people how migrants suffer and how the road can be traumatizing, daunting and full of danger.

Despite the fact that Kumut had somehow reached France safety, he kept thinking of his country, family and friends, the projects he dreamt of and the dreams he did not fulfil. Actually, Kumut talked about the fact that he is now banned to enter his homeland, the Ivory Coast though he was longing just to cross the borders. Emotionally, he said:

“I left my friends, my family, my job and my training to find myself in a neighbouring country against my will. Without any preparation of the journey. And I was here with a document which is not even mine with only one note of money (5000 CFA) =8 \$.....I have to go to Accra where I do not know anybody .I go to Accra where I have nowhere to say .I go to Accra where I have no money for an hotel .

(Kumut in Revenir ,2018)

In this above quotation, Kumut was emotionally distressed because he abandoned everything in his home county and went searching for something with no resources and with no plan to what will become of his journey. Remorsefully, he repeated the sentence “I go to Accra where I have nothing” to stress on the point that he went on a journey with nothing in his hand. As a migrant himself, he accepted all what happened to him from getting sick in a different country on the road, from trying to sell clothes and petty stuffy with little payment, from trying to find anywhere to sleep on at night, from being ill-treated by some nations, from suffering of diarrhoea for several days without anyone looking after him. As a migrant, he should accept everything so that he would just continue on the road and accordingly, he sacrificed lots of things. Kumut himself represents a sub dominant group of migrants whose despite having seemingly successful journeys in Europe and having a French asylum seeker document, he still suffers from being a second and third degree citizen whose rights have been deprived from him, not only from his own homeland ( Ivory Coast) but also from the destination country he went to ( France).

### **b) Under the Control of Smugglers and Traffickers**

Fedele in his film “The Land Between” discussed how migrants are always under the control of smugglers and traffickers. While he was filming in Morocco and went to the mountains where most migrants go to, he was shocked to find out that these migrants are under great scrutiny and control from the smugglers and traffickers who literally control their whole lives. Those migrants had to “*pay them money to live where they are to access for water, electricity*”. In one area, he was asked to see the bosses who were Nigerians and were in control of this area and of those people and was asked to give them 10000 EURO to give me access to film those migrants. As an eye witness, Fedele witnessed how smugglers and traffickers abuse and exercise complete control over migrants who are subjected to physical, mental and financial exploitation.

### **c) Imprisoned and tortured in Europe**

Not only do migrants suffer in their homeland countries or during their journeys from the African countries to Europe, but they greatly suffer in Europe. They are mistreated, chased upon and can even be killed in Europe. In his film, “Dafa Metti”, Amiran discussed the sufferings of the Senegalese migrants who sell souvenirs in Paris. It talks about several stories of these migrants who escape death not only in the Med Sea but also during all their stay in Paris. Amiran was shocked to find out how difficult the migrant lives in Paris and how and how they dealt with discrimination and violence from the French police. He learned about their journeys and how difficult their lives are when they were arrested and spent some time in Libya, too.

“I have learned how difficult their lives in Paris are and how they dealt with discrimination and violence from the French police. That was something that was new to me, learning about their journey and how difficult their lives are when they were arrested and spent some time in Libya. That’s something I did not know about before. This really surprised me,”

(Tal Amiran, Resp.4)

### **d) Authorities vs. Migrants**

Much of the muteness and the muting process that marginalized groups face come from the authorities themselves. As was seen in the first sections, the marginalized groups – the migrants -face torture and abuse from several authorities in given country. As defined by Collins Dictionary, authorities here are the “are the people who have the power to make decisions and to make sure that laws are obeyed.” (Collins Dictionary, 2024, p 1). In the context of the interviews analysis, these authorities can be an official organization or government department that has the power to make decisions. They can be police and police officers that sometimes chase the migrants or imprison them. The authority can be exemplified by the European Union law or by countries which mistreat and abuse migrants.

In relation with the MGT which extends into real-world applications including mass media, social rituals and authorities, the filmmakers' interviews give much insights and context to how authorities treat migrants. Though each filmmaker has seen a different experience, went to a different country, witnessed different kinds of migrants, most of them noticed how migrants are being abused by different countries and authorities. Tal Amiran, for example, when filming his project "Dafa Metti" (2020) in Paris, he met the contributors of the film. "I have learned how difficult their lives in Paris are and how they dealt with discrimination and violence from the French police." (Amiran, Resp 4).

He was shocked to find out that these Senegalese migrants, who were just selling souvenirs in Paris streets, were being chased and harassed in streets by the French authorities. He even questioned how a democratic country such as France, which is supposed to hold the rights of the human rights firmly tight treat the migrants in such a inhumane way. He questioned why the French authorities did not give those migrants any papers. In addition, they kept chasing them, imprisoning them and sometimes accidentally killing them.

Parallely, Campell in his film "The Cruel Sea" was shocked by how authorities deal with boats of despair in the sea. Regardless of how many migrants whose lives were at stake and how many boats pass, authorities do not turn the rescue team calls. Sometimes they totally ignore them and other times they just follow bureaucratic procedures asking them "to send them an email". While being in "Open Arms" rescue ship, he witnessed several times how multiple authorities escape from their main mission- saving lives at sea. He said that he was shocked by "the refusal of the Maltese authorities to take any action to rescue people. The Italians in Lampedusa were reluctant, but always came in the end. The Maltese simply ignored their mandated responsibility." (Campell, Resp.3).

Several Arab authorities have also been revealed by interviews' analysis of the filmmakers. The Moroccan and Egyptian authorities have been similarly pronounced by many filmmakers during their interviews. Fedele in his film "The Land in Between" said that he had to hide every day from the Moroccan police and the military while he was filming the migrants in Moroccan mountains. The migrants in the Moroccan mountains had two authorities that exercised over them absolute power and abuse: the Moroccan police and the smugglers. Ironically, Fedele was protected because he possesses a European citizen and has two foreign passports. However, his assistant and translator for example Reda, though a Moroccan himself, was not protected against arrest or persecution this context, Fedele added: "The bigger risk was for Reda because I have two passports, they gave me more protection in Morocco than the Moroccan passport gave Reda. My concern is about him and for the people who are filming." (Fedele, Resp.1)

Unlike the Moroccan authorities, it seems that the Egyptian authorities played a major part in the documentary films which handled migration issues. AlGhoneimy in his interview talked about the Egyptian authorities and how they protected the filmmakers against thugs or barbaric acts. He

sought the assistance of police officers who put them through several migrants who attempted to cross the Mediterranean region and his families. They also made things easier for them in terms of accessibility, permissions and consent. In this realm, AlGhoneimy said:

It was a matter of security. We had to be backed up with security and police officers who did make things easier and more accessible for us. We also faced sometimes sort of thugs and barbaric acts from the families who think they we might harm them (camera fright). People might hinder our shooting. So we had to be surrounded by police officers and the security so that they can make things much easier for us .

AlGhoneimy (Resp.9)

As a matter of fact, the Egyptian authorities, exemplified by the police officers and the Egyptian coastguard, provided consents and support to the two Egyptian filmmakers who made the film “Barkat Galion” (Galion Pond). These attempts made by the Egyptian authorities helped the filmmakers while taking their shots, while interviewing. The only drawback the filmmakers drew attention of is taking lots of permission from these authorities to be able to shoot, film and use the camera in multiple sensitive locations. It is worthy to note here the fact that Egypt has launched a strategic plan to combat illegal migration and human trafficking in 2016. The strategy is supported under a regional IOM project. It aims at “addressing irregular migration flows and upholding human right of migrants along the North-Eastern African Migration Route and North Africa – NOAH” (IOM Egypt, 2016 ,p.1). In fact, this strategy has been largely successful in combating illegal migration, stopping many boats and implementing the legislative procedures. The new strategy implements the international paradigm to combat trafficking in person (IOM Egypt, 2016).

#### **e) Different reasons for being marginalized**

##### **Economic Reasons**

Migrants have different reasons of migration. As discussed in the Literature Review section, migration can be a result of war, famine, conflicts and compulsory reasons. However, this was not the case with the migrants that the filmmakers interviewed or with the filmmakers themselves who happened to be migrants such as Ike Nnaebue and Kumut Imesh. For Nnaebue, for example, the decision of migration was mainly because of improving the social status and for purely economic reasons. In his film, the “No U-turn” he talked about his own journey of migration. He talked about how much the road is difficult, and how much he did not know that. Though his attempts of migration to Europe was not successful, he made the film to tell other people about what kind of route /road they are taking. In the interview, he said “Seven years ago I was a migrant myself. I left Nigeria and wanted to travel to Europe by road. I did not make it. After three years, I went to Gambia and I stayed there for two years.” (Nwaebue, Resp.7) .

After that, Nnaebue returned back to Nigeria. Before he left to Nigeria, no one told him about the road, the dangers and risks he had to make. As a young man whose age was only twenty years old, he just wanted the adventures, hoping for a better life in Europe. In his film, Nnaewbe realized the same reasons of the subjects he interviewed. It was purely economic reason. "They want better opportunities and better lives. It was not about war or famine or things like that. It was purely economic reasons," he added.

These very same reasons were uttered by the Egyptian filmmakers: Aly AlGhoneimy, Ahmed AbdelAleem, Karima ElHelfawy and Mohamed ElMihiy who made different films to document migration issue in Egypt. In her interview, ElHelfawy witnessed how youth at the same village in ElFayoum, incite each other to travel. They do not suffer from famine, conflicts, wars or any of the sort. They are just looking forward for better lives in Europe. They dream that the other side of the Mediterranean is just a paradise and full of roses. In such context, she says: "Their lives are poor, yet they are living. When we are talking that one migrant can save up to 60 000 pounds before 2010, this is a wholesome of money which can make him buy a decent apartment, or initiate a project, or build a farm etc." ElHelfawy questions the reasons and the motives of these youth travelling abroad and the insistence of travelling once, twice and thrice even though their attempts could be failure. AlMihiy agrees with AlHalfawy who filmed in Kafr ElSheikh, one of the most common places for migration in Egypt. Kafr ElSheih has one of the highest rates of migration in Egypt where the villages are poor and youth want to travel. In his interview, he said that youth encourage others to do the same cycle. "This builds a kind of mental image in the youth minds. That's a mental image that they dream of. Many families also lost some of its members in this migration process, yet, they insist on migrating again.,"

### **The False Dream**

AlMihiy also realized how much Egyptian youth are seduced by the false dream of Europe. In addition, they fall into the trap of their own friends and family members who talk to them falsely about Europe's dream land. The Egyptian filmmaker remembers the time when he was shooting with Ahmed, the handicapped on a wheel chair who happened to take the dangerous sea route. "Ahmed went there after calls from his cousins that he would find him job, home, money, etc. When he went there, he kept calling him ( his cousins )with no responses. He found himself all alone, after false promises. That forced him to return back to Egypt deported" AlMihiy added

AbdelHaleem in his film "Gowa ElSekoon" (Inside Silence), showcased the reasons of Egyptian youth migrating. He agrees with AlMihiy that it is a social or a psychological trend where people find themselves want to imitate others. They see, for example their neighbours or friends have succeeded in travelling abroad, sending money to their families and so they want to imitate them. nevertheless, they do not know that millions of others died while trying to reach the other shore. AbdelHaleem said that there is a large sector of youth who want to travel abroad despite the fact that some of them are well off and are living a wealthy life. "The problem is that some



people travel without having any plan abroad. If you are travelling to study or work for better chances, then go for it, but if you are travelling to be on Europe streets, you will face death and humiliation”he added. In his film, he also stresses on the fact that people must have real motives to migrate and must seek opportunities in their countries first, before thinking of migrating . In this context, he added, “I wanted also to stress on the point that the country /the government is offering lots of opportunities and youth must use them all before thinking of migration “he added.

## 5. Conclusion

The Muted Group Theory was able to provide extensive answers when analysing the filmmaker’s interviews. The interviews analysis resulted into major findings that are concerned with sub-dominant group and African migration as portrayed in documentary films. When analysing the ten interviews made by different filmmakers, the researcher was able to investigate thoroughly how the migrants groups are marginalized, abused and downgraded not only by their homeland countries or by the transit countries but by the European countries they travel to.

In regard with the female migrants, the filmmakers were interested in trying to reach the voice of women as they wanted to perpetuate it. Nevertheless, most of them find it difficult to interview female subjects except for only two ones who were able to perpetuate female voices. In fact, those females interviewed opened up several important subject matters and were able to provide significant analysis to their migration stories. Aicha, for example, showed much resilience, resistance and change when she spoke up about her situation and the migrant situation in Morocco, when they were trying to reach Spain. She questioned the authorities, the United Nations, the European Union and every human being who is not doing enough to solve the issue of the migration and the countries in conflict. Aisha represents powerfully the voice of human who is forced to flee conflict and war zones. What should these people do? Should they reside in their countries with their children to die? Or should they try to travel to a safer area? Accompanied by her four little children, she questions the role of the international community which has failed her and failed all children. Succinctly, the sub-dominant voice of Aisha was able to explicitly speak on behalf of many others, including the dominant male voices as well.

Another significant finding was placed within the context of change and resistance. The filmmakers interviewed were keen to highlight the pressing issues of gender inequality when it comes to migration across the Mediterranean Sea. The filmmakers talked and discussed the consequences of migration to any given society. The Egyptian filmmakers were successful in interviewing female subjects who discussed how they felt and coped with losing a husband or a father at sea. They also noticed the gender gap that could take place in these highest populist migration societies where the females had outnumbered the males, which consequently resulted in a societal disorder. As AlGhoneimy and ElHalfawy narrated, because lots of males die or travel during the migration journey, this resulted in social disorder among families and societies, at large.

Despite having interviewed ten filmmakers with almost 15 documentary films about the migration and the refugee crisis in the Mediterranean region, the voices of female refugees were hardly represented and heard. It was only male characters which were dominating the whole scene, jumping from interview to another representing different ages of male migrants. Such a note places a dire need from filmmakers to be keen on interviewing female subjects who can provide much knowledge, different stories and new enlightenment to the African migration issue from different perspectives.

Another key finding exacerbated through the interviews is the treatment of both male and female migrants as sub-dominant groups. Both male and female migrants are treated as sub-dominant marginalized groups who are being abused by smugglers, chased upon by authorities, and exploited by their own conditions. The filmmakers heavily talked about the role that smugglers play in the lives of migrants. They exploit them financially by demanding much money for food and protection. Worst of all, they treat them as slaves who lie under their total control, starting from their journeys in their home countries, passing through the transit countries, until they reach their destination countries, if they are successful enough.

The role of authorities is being heavily questioned not only by the filmmakers but also by the narratives of the films that represent different migrants' routes and stories. Campell, for example, questioned the role of the European Union and the authorities of the Mediterranean countries which can cause the death of many migrants. He questioned the role played by the European Border and Coast Guard Agency (Frontex) which main's aim is to deploy operations in the Mediterranean to rescue migrants at risk and fight migrant smuggling. But what he saw on board of the Rescue Open Arms ship, was totally different. He saw authorities who are refusing to help. He saw others which are reluctant to help. He saw migrants dying at sea because some authorities were late to send any rescue team or make the rescue team involve in helping. Thus, the migrants here are being marginalized and ignored by the same authorities which should have helped them from drowning. "Protecting us is not a crime. It is their duty" is a sent was clearly the summon up of how migrants feel towards the international community which has always failed them to address their problems, needs and their sincere humanity.

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- (\*) Filmmaker is a term that is used to refer to a producer or director of motion pictures especially one working in all phases of production (Singleton & Conrad, 2000). He /she is someone who creates the film or movies by seeing overall aspects of the production process including writing, directing, editing and sometimes even producing. The term “Filmmaker” is used interchangeably here with respondents and interviewees which refer to the same concept in this research.
- (\*\*) Butler argues that “in the politics of immigration [...] certain lives are perceived as lives while others [...] fail to assume perceptual form as such” (Butler, 2006 ,p 24), She is concerned with the existential dimension comes to be framed as something separate, distinctive or irrelevant from concrete questions of politics and power. In her book: *Frames of War :When is life Forgivable ?*, she asks the questions of what it means to be ethically responsive to consider and to attend the sufferings of others and which frames permit for the representations of the human body and which do not.