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Raising awareness, changing behavior?

Combatting irregular migration through information campaigns

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Summary

Migration information campaigns that try to combat irregular migration have focused on the dangers of the journey, the difficult circumstances of living illegally in the country of destination, and, more recently, on the implementation of stricter policies in migrant receiving countries. Irrespective of whether such campaigns are framed as humanitarian attempts to prevent more deaths at sea or as a policy strategy to deter irregular migrants, including asylum-seekers, the effectiveness of campaigns is not clear. Irregular migration is a complex social issue that is influenced by many different factors, ranging from individual characteristics of potential migrants and transnational social networks, to macro level variables such as poverty, conflict and political instability.

Based on a desk study of 33 information campaigns on irregular migration and on a review of the migrant decision making literature and the broader public communications literature, this report identifies and critiques five assumptions on how information is used and on how people make the decision to migrate that underlie the presumed workings of migration information campaigns.

On the basis of these critiques, there is reason to believe the effects of migration information campaigns will be limited. In contrast to more general public information campaigns on, for example, health issues and road safety, the intended audience of irregular migration campaigns is extremely diverse and not easily identifiable. Moreover, while most public information campaigns stay within the borders of the nation state and are aimed at citizens, migration information campaigns by definition cross borders and target non-citizens. This makes it difficult to deliver credible messages, as states that finance the campaigns have different stakes from the non-citizens they are addressing. Furthermore, information through campaigns is not the only information potential migrants receive. Alternative knowledge about migration and stories of hope and success do the rounds in migrant support networks. Given that such knowledge and stories are generally transmitted by people connected to each other by prior relations of trust – by relatives, friends, neighbors, work colleagues, etc. – beliefs and understandings (and ultimately behavior) will be more likely influenced by these trusted networks than by foreign authorities. Finally, for people to feel they have options besides irregular migration, alternatives need to be offered, be it legal ways of migration (for example, humanitarian visa for those seeking protection or temporary work visa) or by combatting the root causes of migration, including poverty, conflict, lack of social opportunities and bad governance. This is not to say providing information is never useful. Better information provision might help those who arrive in Europe but do not understand their rights and duties. Providing factual information on key security measures during the journey might help migrants with a legitimate reason to migrate (including asylum seekers) to do so safely. Finally, a common European information strategy is important to prevent Member States from becoming at odds with each other in trying to deter irregular migrants from coming to their specific country.

1 Introduction

1.1 Background and aim

Public information campaigns are popular policy instruments attempting to shape public attitudes, values or behavior in the hope of reaching some desirable outcome (Weiss & Tschirhart, 1994, p. 82). Most public information campaigns are government-directed efforts to appeal the 'right' behavior: eat more nutritious food, avoid illegal drugs, recycle trash, refrain from drinking and driving, and so on. Campaigns often draw on a media mix of visuals and print, television and radio, and more recently social media outlets such as Facebook and twitter.

There are numerous campaigns that succeeded in raising *awareness* on important issues such as health risks and road safety (Weiss & Tschirhart, 1994). There is more debate on whether campaigns also lead to *behavioral* change. Public information campaigns generally aim to influence outcomes that are also affected by a broad set of other factors such as socio-economic circumstances, peer behavior and demographic characteristics. It is difficult to isolate the effects of information campaigns on behavior compared to competing influences (Rice & Atkin, 2012).

Irregular migration is an example of a complex issue that is influenced by many different factors, ranging from individual characteristics of potential migrants to macro level variables such as poverty, conflict and political instability (Kuschminder et al., 2015). Nevertheless, in the past two decades public information campaigns have become a popular tool in the so called management of migration. Migrant receiving countries such as Australia, the USA, and Western European countries have invested significantly in information campaigns in migrant sending and transit countries about the risks of migrating without authorization. Irrespective of whether such campaigns are framed as a humanitarian attempt to prevent more deaths at sea or as a policy strategy to deter more irregular migrants, including asylum-seekers, from coming, the effectiveness of campaigns is not clear. Compared to the numerous scientific studies on public information campaigns on health issues or road safety, little research is available on information campaigns focusing on irregular migration and even less studies report on their effectiveness.

Box 1 Irregular migration in the EU context

Irregular migration: Border crossing by third-country nationals who do not fulfil conditions of entry as set out in Article 5 of the Schengen Borders Code or other conditions for entry, stay or residence in that Member State.

Asylum-seeker: A person claiming international protection due to the risk of persecution in their home country (Article 1 A (2) of the UN Refugee Convention). EU law does at present not provide for the regulated arrival of asylum-seekers, so their entry to EU territory is in most cases irregular.

The aim of this report is threefold. First, to take stock of the types of migration information campaigns that have been developed thus far and how and by whom they were implemented. Second, to understand what the intended outcomes of different campaigns were and what assumptions campaigns were based on. And finally, to explore how migration information campaigns fit into the broader context of migrant decision making. This information will provide policy makers with a clearer understanding of the workings and potential effectiveness of migration information campaigns.

These three objectives translate in the following research questions:

- 1 What types of migration information campaigns can be distinguished?
- 2 By whom and how are information campaigns implemented?
- 3 What are the intended outcomes of different types of campaigns?
- 4 What are the assumptions underlying migration information campaigns? What evidence is there to support or contradict these assumptions?
- 5 What is the role of migration information campaigns in the broader context of migrant decision making?
- 6 Is there any evidence that migration information campaigns are effective?

1.2 Research method

Migration information campaigns can be seen as complex policy interventions. However, migration information campaigns are not implemented in rigorous experimental designs. A classical systematic review with clear conclusions on the effects of different campaigns is therefore not possible. We use a realist evaluation approach in this report (Pawson et al., 2005; Klein Haarhuis & Niemeijer, 2009). A realist review seeks to unpack the mechanism of how complex interventions work (or why they fail) in particular contexts and settings.

We took the following methodological steps in our synthesis of migration information campaigns:

- making an inventory of the types of migration information campaigns;
- typifying mechanisms meant to be triggered by these interventions;
- confronting assumed mechanisms with other theoretical explanations;

Desk research was carried out to take stock of the migration information campaigns that have been implemented since the mid 1990s. We collected information on 33 campaigns by accessing and reviewing websites, social media, government documents and academic literature. Campaign characteristics, such as parties involved in the campaign, target audience, aims of the campaign, implementation method and (when available) links to the materials used, have been described in Appendix 1. A further literature review on the topic revealed that studies specifically on migration information campaigns are rare and scientific evaluations of campaigns are scarce. Therefore, the broader literature on (irregular) migration, migrant decision making processes and migrant smuggling was taken into account. Additionally, literature on information and communication strategies was studied to put migration information campaigns in a broader perspective. This resulted in a general overview of which assumptions are thought to underlie migration information campaigns. A critical assessment of these assumptions revealed how information campaigns might (or might not) influence migrant decision making.

The report focuses on campaigns aimed at irregular migrants. Information campaigns geared towards attracting highly educated migrants or campaigns developed to present a positive image of migration to the general population¹ are beyond the scope of this study. The numerous campaigns aimed at informing women about the risks of forced prostitution after migration are also left out of this study since they have been discussed extensively elsewhere (see for an overview Andrijasevic, 2007). Furthermore, given the limited duration of the study it was necessary to

¹ For example the 'I am a migrant' campaign, a global campaign developed by IOM to fight xenophobia and anti-migrant prejudice. www.iamamigrant.org

focus on secondary sources. We did not evaluate information campaigns through the collection and analysis of primary data among (potential) migrants.

1.3 Structure of the report

Chapter 2 provides a description and classification of migration information campaigns based on the message the campaigns try to convey. Several examples of campaigns are described to illustrate how and by whom different campaigns were implemented. Chapter 3 takes a closer look at the assumptions campaigns were based on. We explore whether there is any evidence that supports or contradicts these assumptions. In Chapter 4, we draw the findings in this report together and discuss the implications of the findings. This might help policy makers to make more informed decisions on whether migration information campaigns can or should be used in different circumstances and, if so, how.

2 Migration information campaigns: an overview

Campaigns² about irregular migration in general focus on the negative aspects of this type of migration (for an overview of campaigns, see Appendix 1). An abundance of campaigns have focused on the dangers of the journey ahead and on the difficult circumstances of living illegally in the country of destination. More recently, the implementation of stricter policies in migrant receiving countries has been the focus of several campaigns. Most campaigns target potential migrants and the community at large; very few information campaigns specifically target migrant smugglers. The implementation of campaigns can take different forms, running from traditional communication tools such as posters, leaflets, advertisements in newspapers and television commercials to community meetings and workshops, public forums held in schools, and creating movies and comic books to educate people on the dangers of irregular migration and specifically trafficking (Schloenhardt & Philipson, 2013). The categories used in this chapter are not always mutually exclusive but are described here separately for the sake of clarity.

2.1 Focus on the 'dangers of migration'

Most migration information campaigns we came across, have focused on the dangers involved in irregular migration. Campaigns implemented in diverse geographical settings, such as Central and Eastern Europe, Sub-Saharan Africa, Southeast Asia and Central America, inform potential migrants about the risks and dangers involved in irregular migration (Pécoud, 2010; Nieuwenhuys & Pécoud, 2007). These risks and dangers concern the journey itself, pointing out the potential life-threatening situations at sea or in the desert, and the ruthlessness of smugglers. Other campaigns warn migrants about the risk of falling in the hands of human traffickers. Information campaigns have been deemed essential in fighting trafficking and smuggling, as they reduce the vulnerability of potential victims by raising awareness regarding the risk of being caught in criminal networks.

Box 2 The distinction between migrant smuggling and human trafficking

Trafficking of human beings is defined as: 'the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat, or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation'. The smuggling of migrants is defined as: 'The procurement, in order to obtain, directly or indirectly a financial or other material benefit, of the illegal entry of a person into a state Party of which the person is not a national or a permanent resident.'

Sources: UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons (2000); UN Protocol against the Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Sea and Air (2000) (From: Koser, 2005)

² Information campaigns are defined in line with Weiss and Tschirhart (1994) as 'intended to generate specific outcomes or effects in a relatively large number of individuals, usually within a specified period of time, and through an organized set of communication activities' (p. 82).

The United States border patrol agency for example cooperated with a commercial media agency to target a campaign, entitled 'No more crosses', mainly at Mexico but also at US cities with large populations of Mexican immigrants (see Kosnick, 2014 for an extensive description). The campaign is playing on the double meaning of the term: no more border crossings, and no more deaths resulting in crosses as seen in the graveyards shown on posters and video clips posted online. Attempts to cross the border are likely to result in death, the argument goes. One of the warnings issued on the graveyard posters reads 'Before you plan to cross the border, remember: It is hard to make a living if you lose your life,' and the writing over the tombstones insinuates a number of motivations for people's failed, deadly attempts at crossing the border: 'because everyone else was crossing,' 'because I wanted to earn some dollars' and 'because they made it look easy'. Another poster motive shows a line of human figures walking through the desert at dusk, the sun casting large shadows in the direction of the viewer. While the shadow of the leader is cast in the form of a coyote, the other shadows take the shape of crosses – the walking dead being led to meet their ends. 'With the coyote, nothing is safe. Not even your life,' the headline says.

The most recent example is the 'AWARE MIGRANTS' campaign jointly developed by the Italian Ministry of Interior and the IOM Coordination Office for the Mediterranean in Rome (launched July 2016). It aims to raise awareness among potential migrants about the dangerous journey across the desert and the Mediterranean. The campaign features video testimonials from migrants who have made it to Italy but endured physical and sexual abuse along the way.³ In one video, a man tells of his initial refusal to step into an obviously unseaworthy vessel before he crossed the Mediterranean, only to be told by smugglers that he would be left for dead on the beach if he did not agree. In another testimonial, a woman describes being bought out of a Libyan prison and then threatened with rape. UNHCR collected similar real life testimonials on their platform *telling the real story*.⁴

Australia, in contrast to showing real life experiences, invested \$6 million in dramatizing the experience of migration by producing a telemovie discouraging asylum seekers to come to Australia. Titled *Journey*, the ninety-minute film follows the story of a group of Afghan asylum seekers on a mission to enter Australia by boat. Commissioned by the Australian Department of Immigration and Border Protection as part of its anti-people smuggling campaign, the Hollywood-like film shows the hardships faced by asylum seekers who travel to Australia by boat. The telemovie has been screened in Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iraq and Iran.

2.2 Difficulties of undocumented life in the destination countries

Other campaigns focus specifically on the difficulties of undocumented life in the country of destination. The Swiss government, for example, funded a commercial which was shown on television in Cameroon and Nigeria.⁵ In the commercial, an African migrant phones his father from somewhere in Europe in the pouring rain and assures him that all is well and that he is attending university, while in reality he is living on the street, being chased by the police and having to beg for a living. The warning shown on the screen is: 'Don't believe everything you hear; Leaving is not always living.' In this campaign and numerous similar campaigns, a rather dark representation of migration underlies the messages sent to potential migrants:

³ www.awaremigrants.org

⁴ www.tellingtherealstory.org

⁵ www.youtube.com/watch?v=LNx6Alh33mU

leaving one's country systematically leads to failure, misfortune and exploitation (Pécoud, 2010; Heller, 2014).

The German embassy in Afghanistan in 2015 mounted an information campaign directed at potential migrants in Afghanistan, thereby trying to counter false rumors about life in Germany. The messages are in two native Afghan languages, Dari and Pashto and read: 'Leaving Afghanistan? Are you sure?' and 'Leaving Afghanistan? Think about it again!' Apart from printed ads, the campaign message was also disseminated via Twitter, with the corresponding hashtag '#RumoursaboutGermany'.

Very few campaigns also show positive images of migration or success stories. An exception is the non-profit project 'Surprising Europe'.⁶ This project documents the real-life experiences of legal and illegal immigrants from Africa, so as to provide potential migrants with a realistic idea of what life in Europe can look like, showing both positive and negative stories.

Campaigns about the difficulties of undocumented life are mostly implemented in migrant sending countries, but sometimes also in migrant receiving countries. In the United Kingdom, a campaign funded by the British government and implemented by the IOM targeted irregular migrants already in the UK. It included a poster showing a man looking worried and anxious; on the wall behind him, his shadow turns out to be a policeman, recognizable by the traditional 'bobby' hat. The message is clear – the police will chase irregular migrants – and the text is even more explicit: 'You cannot outrun your shadow! How long can you be on the lookout? [...] you risk being sent back home very swiftly... The only way is the legal way.'

2.3 Communicating stricter policies to deter migrants

Information campaigns can also be used to inform potential migrants about changes in (national) migration policies. The Australian Government has been particularly active in instigating such information campaigns on stricter policies. Australia's border protection policies firmly state that their goal is to deter irregular migrants, including asylum seekers, who come by boat. Examples of policy changes used in Australian campaigns to deter migrants are mandatory detention (both in Australia and Papua New Guinea), push-back of boats by the Australian navy, delays in processing asylum claims and preventing people to exit their homeland or the transit country altogether (Hightower, 2013). Migration information campaigns are used to get the message across, since restrictive policy changes can only be effective if potential migrants are made aware of these changes (Fleay et al., 2016). This kind of deterring messaging comes from crime reduction strategy (Stack, 2010). Making clear the risks, costs and punishments involved in criminal activities (e.g., irregular migration) is thought to change the behavior of potential criminals (e.g., migrants). Recent Australian governments have invested significant sums in deterrence messaging aimed at potential migrants and human smugglers, spending up to AUD 23 million in one year (The Age, 2014).

Recently, several European countries have been trying to deter potential migrants by providing information on current policy changes. The Belgian government, for example, bought commercial banners on Facebook with the message that there is no use for migrants from Iraq to apply for asylum in Belgium. These banners

⁶ The Project is an initiative by JvdW Film Amsterdam and Ssuuna Golooba www.surprisingeurope.com

appeared (in Arabic) on the Facebook timeline of a specific target group: young men in and around Baghdad (BELGA, 2015). Similarly, Finland and Norway launched Facebook pages and twitter messages to give factual information to migrants regarding their changing asylum policies, such as the reduction of benefits and the extended waiting period for family reunifications.⁷ Denmark provided similar information, albeit not through social media but by placing ads in newspapers in Lebanon. Austria launched a campaign specifically in Afghanistan warning economic migrants not to expect a warm welcome in Austria. The materials used in the campaign consist of advertisements on Kabul buses and the spreading of information through Facebook and TV broadcasts. Two examples of slogans used are: 'No asylum in Austria for economic reasons' and 'Even stricter asylum policies in Austria!' (The Local, 2016).

2.4 Campaigns targeting migrant smugglers

Whereas most campaigns focus on informing or deterring potential migrants, few campaigns specifically target migrant smugglers. The best known example is the 'I know Smuggling Irregular Migrants is Wrong' awareness campaign launched by the IOM in cooperation with the Australian Customs Service that ran in Indonesia from 2010 to 2014. The campaign targeted local Indonesian fishermen, who were often recruited by human smugglers to transport migrants to Australia by boat (Schloenhardt & Philipson, 2013). The entire campaign was conducted in Bahasa, the official language of Indonesia, and the messages were disseminated through various channels, including workshops, radio, newsletters, brochures, a movie night and the handing out of paraphernalia. In order to move the target audience to 'do the right thing', the campaign contained three key messages. The first was the emphasis on the fact that people smuggling is a criminal offense with a minimum sentence of five years' imprisonment.⁸ The second message was the probability of jeopardizing one's reputation, which was communicated by providing testimonials of Indonesian fishermen already in Australian prisons for people smuggling. Third, the idea that people smuggling was a sin was put forward prominently and religious institutions helped disseminate this message.

2.5 New actors

A new phenomenon is the spreading of information about the difficulties after migration by political parties that are not part of the government. For example, the Sweden Democrats claims the Swedish government is not doing enough to stop the great influx of migrants, so they have taken it upon themselves to start a migrant information campaign. The campaign consists of a minute and a half long video, showing the 'true Sweden' as opposed to the 'fairytale version' that they argue exists in the minds of potential migrants. The video clip is available on the website,⁹ accompanied by explanations as to why Sweden is not all it's 'pumped up to be.' Potential migrants are warned that there is 'no money, no homes, no jobs'. Swedish media have described the video as 'dystopian.'

⁷ www.facebook.com/asylumregulations/

⁸ The smuggling of people only became a criminal offense under Indonesian law in 2011.

⁹ www.welcometosweden.net

Social enterprises such as Farsight are not only looking at traditional information campaigns to inform irregular migrants. According to their website¹⁰ they use Community Migration Officers to help migrants assess their migration options and to help them make smart choices – although it remains unclear what is defined as a ‘smart choice’.

2.6 Conclusion: between humanitarianism and migration management

As shown above, migration information campaigns are formulated and implemented in a field of tension. On the one hand, the dangers of irregular migration, especially by boat, have made it a pressing humanitarian issue. Migration information campaigns focusing on the dangers of migration want to raise awareness about the risks involved in migration among potential migrants. This dissemination of risk information is taking place within the framework of protection and development and is, therefore, mostly funded by European development and humanitarian budgets (Pécoud, 2010). NGOs are willing to be an active partner in these campaigns not because they want to deter people from migrating, but because they support the idea of providing information and raising awareness. UNHCR, for example, claims the platform *telling the real story* is designed so that ‘through these testimonies, those who might choose to embark on the journey are informed of the full scope and perils they may encounter in order to help them make an informed decision and prepare them for their future movements.’¹¹ Similarly, a spokesperson of the German embassy stated that the ‘#RumoursAboutGermany’ campaign is not ‘aimed at deterring Afghans from coming to Europe, but rather at informing potential migrants. We want to tell them: Do not believe any rumors or deliberately spread false information [by smugglers] about the supposedly simple life in Germany’ (Federal foreign office, 2016).

On the other hand, the persistence of irregular migration has raised vast concerns among both governments and general populations in migrant receiving states about the inability to control migration and about the security risks related to this lack of control. Some authors therefore argue that campaigns focusing on irregular migration have the (implicit) aim of discouraging departures and can therefore be seen as a form of migration control, having nothing to do with development (Heller, 2014). Indeed, Joran Kallmyr, the Norwegian State Secretary of Justice, told the press that ‘The aim [of spreading this information] is to get the number down’ (Orange, 2015). Overall, since most campaigns focus only on the negative side of migration and campaign budgets are generally too small to also deliver community development or alternative livelihood possibilities it is difficult to assess where to draw the line between awareness raising and deterrence.

¹⁰ www.seefar.org

¹¹ <http://tellingtherealstory.org/about/>

3 Do campaigns work? Assumptions and critique

Most campaigns state their aim to be the raising of awareness on the dangers of irregular migration, either among the general population of a migrant sending country or among a specific target group, such as minors or women. Few campaigns make explicit how they think an information campaign will accomplish this goal. However, based on the campaigns from our desk study and the literature study we identified, five assumptions on how information is used and on how people make the decision about migration underlie the presumed workings of migration information campaigns. In the next section we provide a critical evaluation of these assumptions on the basis of communication studies and migration studies literature.

3.1 Potential migrants lack information or rely on false information

One of the key assumptions on which migration information campaigns are based is that people leave because they lack information or are enticed by false promises of smugglers. They need objective information to make informed decisions or to counter the false information spread by smugglers. The underlying premise of numerous campaigns is that if migrants would know about the hardship awaiting them, they would not migrate. However, several studies show that in fact, most aspiring migrants are fully aware of the dangers and hardship migration can entail but they choose to migrate anyway (Alpes & Sorenson, 2015; Van Bommel, 2015). Prospective migrants can try to avoid negative information, discredit the validity of the information, or dismiss the information as irrelevant to their own situation (Hernandez & Carling, 2012). For example, a 2015 study exploring attitudes of 199 people in Iran preparing to emigrate found that most participants intending to go to Australia were aware of the harsh offshore detention policy, yet all considered that they would eventually be resettled in Australia (Farsight, 2016). A typical set of answers from respondents in this study showed a combination of awareness of restrictive laws towards immigration with a broader belief that Australia is welcoming towards migrants:

'I am aware of the tough immigration laws passed these past couple of years and I am prepared for all consequences, as long as I reach Australia. I am sure my refugee claim will be approved by the Australian government and then I hope to live and start a family in a free country...'

(Farsight, 2016). The same study shows that people do not necessarily have a lack of information but have a mindset in which they express high tolerance for long periods of uncertainty in the trip overall, and seemingly optimistic estimates of how long the process might take. For example, one respondent in Iran explained:

'I am completely aware of the latest restrictions and policies against new refugees arriving in Australia, such as a long process and possible detention period for up to one year. My fiancé and I have committed to such challenges in order to reach our dream of living freely for the rest of our life and establishing a better future for our children. The possibility for married couples to become approved as refugees and to enter the community is much higher than for single migrants' (Farsight, 2016). Such opposition of general knowledge about dangers, hardship and strict policies and the holding fast to positive ideas about one's own favorable individual situation were found in different empirical studies all over the globe (Schapendonk & Moppes,

2007; Sheridan, 2009; Van Bommel 2015). Aspiring migrants dismiss stories about unsuccessful migration claiming that migrants have been lazy, unlucky or behaved badly (Townsend & Oomen, 2015). The outcome of migration is viewed as being influenced by personal traits and, therefore, knowledge of failed migration does not necessarily influence the decision of aspiring migrants (who deem themselves better equipped). Information campaigns can actually strengthen this mechanism, if they portray irregular migrants as ignorant or credulous. If campaigns maintain the idea that only foolish people will, for example, fall in the hands of traffickers, people might ignore these risks, since they think they are smarter or more careful than the naive victims portrayed in the campaigns (Van Bommel, 2015).

Townsend and Oomen (2015) found that among respondents from sub-Saharan Africa, information is interpreted to support migration ambitions no matter what. An increase in maritime patrols may be seen as implying a safer journey, whereas reduced patrols may also be interpreted as a positive development, due to the decreased chance of detection. These interpretations highlight a mental framework in which potential migrants are determined to justify their decisions no matter what, even by interpreting contradictory events in one direction.

An often heard justification for migration information campaigns is that they are needed to counter false information spread by people smugglers and human traffickers. According to the IOM (2003:69) the dissemination of information is regarded as 'diminishing the capacity of traffickers and smugglers to exploit the limited knowledge of potential migrants and counter-balancing the false information provided by criminals involved in the facilitation of irregular migration.' This is consistent with a more recent report by the UN (2012: 6) which states that 'where migrant smugglers recruit migrants through misinformation about conditions of travel and the opportunities for remaining and working in a destination country awareness campaigns are crucial to counter such messages.'

Several campaigns indeed depict irregular migrants as the victims of the deliberate dishonesty of malicious human smugglers and traffickers while migrants themselves are being portrayed as people with insufficient knowledge about the forthcoming risks involved in crossing the border (van Bommel, 2015, p.19). Yet Ghanaian aspiring migrants interviewed by van Bommel (2015) confided they only contacted a smuggler after they had made the decision to migrate and were not lured into migrating by false promises. Migrants do put great care into the selection of smugglers. The reputation of the smuggler is crucial in this respect; preference is given to those who are vouched for by migrants who have successfully completed their journey (Hagen-Zanker, 2016). Depicting smugglers as malicious criminals and migrants as uninformed victims does not do justice to the perspective of migrants who feel forced to use a smuggler since no other options to migrate are available to them (Van Liempt et al., 2006).

3.2 Information campaigns will be trusted

A second (implicit) assumption migration information campaigns seem to rely on is that potential migrants will believe the information the campaign communicates and that they will value the information from the campaign higher than other sources of information. However, prospective irregular migrants are mostly well aware they are not wanted by the countries they intend to go to. Some empirical studies conclude that many potential migrants will discard information if they consider that its intention is to prevent them from realizing their aspirations (Alpes & Sorenson, 2015). For example, Mexicans who were asked to respond to the US campaign on border crossing (see Chapter 2) have, for the most part, responded critically and have dis-

missed the campaign as a far too obvious attempt to bring down the numbers of irregular border crossings (Kosnick, 2014). The finding that belief in the legitimacy of authority leads to greater deference to that authority has been replicated in a number of empirical studies across a variety of legal and organizational settings. Yet, little is known about how would-be unauthorized migrants view the morality of legal restrictions that prohibit their movement and the legitimacy of legal authorities that establish and enforce these restrictions (Ryo, 2013). Ryo (2013) claims that continuing efforts by the U.S. government to selectively target and marginalize unauthorized Mexican migrants might have the unintended consequence of producing lesser, rather than greater, voluntary deference to U.S. immigration law, as increasing numbers of Mexicans come to question the legitimacy of U.S. legal authority.

Kyle and Siracusa (2005) analyzed the perception of migration control by irregular Ecuadorian migrants in Spain and the United States. They showed how these migrants are conscious of their contribution to receiving societies, where they do the dirty jobs refused by non-migrants and authorized migrants, and to their home country by the remittances they send. Immigration laws are seen as ungrounded and governments are seen as dishonest and corrupt (in case of the sending country) and unfair (in case of receiving countries). Far from seeing themselves as criminals or illegals, they see their lives within their own moral and political framework. Based on these findings, one can expect that campaigns trying to convince potential migrants they have under current policies no right to migrate will not be taken very seriously.

Moreover, information is received through many more channels than just through information campaigns. Family and friends, media reports and return migrants all are alternative sources of information. While migration information campaigns focus on the negative sides of migration, the reality is that there are also irregular migrants who are able to obtain a better life in Europe. Potential migrants receive these success stories through (social) media, through their own networks and they see it for themselves when successful migrants return home. Migration information campaigns are therefore one of many sources of information and the interpretation of information received through different sources becomes an important factor. Recent research by Dekker et al. (2016, in press) shows refugees from Syria relied much more on information from network members than on information from official sources. This trusted information was far more influential in their decision to migrate (to the Netherlands). Information received through mass media such as television, newspapers and radio played a very marginal role in migration decision-making (Dekker 2016, p. 7).

3.3 Fear appeal messages can scare people off migration aspirations

Quite a few information campaigns to tackle irregular migration rely on so-called *fear appeal messages*, assuming people can be 'scared off' migration. Showing a sea infested with sharks, overcrowded trucks, miserable migrants in Europe or pictures of detention camps should scare people enough to refrain from irregular migration. Kruisbergen (2005) however, reports that, based on empirical evidence, the influence of fear appeal messages on behavioral changes is quite modest.

Townsend and Oomen (2015; p.5) provide three reasons why fear appeal messages might not deter migrants from embarking on the journey:

- people are generally not very good at calculating risk, and routinely discount risk in everyday decisions;

- the risk of death or injury may seem worth taking, especially compared with immediate threats to personal safety;
- long-term risks are weighed against short-term risks, and may appear more important at a given moment; for example, migrants may worry more about future obstacles to finding work or summoning family members than about immediate risks to life and limb.

Van Bommel (2015) indeed showed that aspiring migrants in Ghana were very aware of and acknowledged the risks involved in irregular migration but still decided to leave. They expressed a strong belief that the risks involved could be mediated or be controlled by the risk taker. Faith, prayers and a strong belief in God were seen as factors that could minimize the probability of adverse outcomes. Also, more practical precautions such as proper preparations for the trip, contacting social ties abroad and developing skills that could be useful during the journey were believed to diminish risks.

3.4 Migration decisions are individual decisions

Most awareness campaigns seem to rely on the assumption that the decision to migrate is an individual decision that can be influenced by providing an individual with information. This goes against an abundance of literature that argues that migration is always socially and culturally embedded (Massey et al. 1993; Haug, 2008). The role played by family and networks in migration flows has been substantially documented. Families function as units, with one member leaving to guarantee the prosperity or survival of the whole group and to diversify its sources of income. Moreover, a 'cumulative' approach to migration stresses how a range of social, cultural, and economic factors converge to create a social dynamic or a migration culture, in which migration becomes a socially constructed norm. The context of the country of origin plays an important role here. Whereas, in some situations, people never had any intention to migrate until increasing conflicts, violence, human rights abuses and repressive governments forced them to leave (Syria), in other countries a 'culture of migration' that is particularly pronounced among young men has been established over time (some west-African countries). In such a context, migration becomes almost a rite of passage or a 'social expectation,' as documented by Mbaye (2014).

From this perspective, the role given to information implies an individual and rational migration process that ignores the embeddedness of such decisions in collective strategies and social structures. These may create strong incentives to leave through mechanisms that may not be affected by the diffusion of (negative) information on migration.

3.5 Staying put is an option, alternatives are available

Migration information campaigns that focus solely on the risks migrants face during dangerous journeys easily overlook the risks involved in staying put in the countries of origin. When local livelihood opportunities are scarce, when there are no opportunities for social mobility, when there is a (civil) war or political conflict, migration may be considered the only way to survive. While information campaigns regularly emphasize the need to migrate through legal channels, they do little to actually enable people to do so for the simple reason that very few legal migration channels are available – especially for low-skilled workers and for people fleeing war and

conflict (Pécoud, 2010). Recent campaigns such as *telling the real story* show the hardship migrants from Eritrea endured during their journey to Europe. However, people from Eritrea who want to apply for asylum in Europe in the main have no other option than to risk the dangerous journey across Libya and the Mediterranean to file their claim for asylum. The *telling the real story* platform provides no information on how an asylum claim could be filed without undertaking the dangerous journey to the EU and shares no stories by people who stayed in Eritrea and suffered the consequences.

3.6 Evaluations and effectiveness of migration information campaigns

Based on the critique of the assumptions in this chapter, it could be argued that information campaigns have little effect on irregular migration. However, despite the abundance of migration information campaigns over the past two decades, there is extremely little empirical evidence on the impact and effectiveness of these campaigns (Browne, 2015). Some evaluations of campaigns (Paramijt, 2012) show that they were successful in the sense that people reported that their awareness on migration-related issues increased and that they showed awareness of the pitfalls of irregular migration. These outcomes suggest a successful campaign but do not give any evidence on whether migration rates changed due to the campaign. Increased awareness does not necessarily result in a change of behavior. Proving a chain of causality between a specific campaign and reduced migration is extremely difficult (Browne, 2015). There is a strong anecdotal narrative in the literature that information campaigns have very limited effects on the decision to leave. Conditions such as economic opportunities and political conditions play a much stronger role in the decision to migrate (Browne, 2015). Reports from trusted social networks on conditions abroad are more important in informing the journey and the choice of destination.

Moreover, evaluations of information campaigns (if done at all) have largely been conducted by those who financed or implemented them, which leaves little space for critical perspectives (Kelly, 2005). A recent study evaluating the Australian counter-smuggling campaign mentioned in Chapter 2 problematizes the campaign's purported success by the implementers themselves (McNevin et al., 2016). The campaign was intended to alert local fishermen to the dangers of accepting payment to act as captains or crew on boats carrying migrants. The campaign incorporated a strong religious component, making a moral case against people smuggling. McNevin et al. conducted fieldwork among the targeted population and concluded the campaign did not take into account the economic and developmental factors that contributed overwhelmingly to the decisions fishermen took about becoming involved in the smuggling of migrants. The question of whether assisting with the smuggling migrants was illegal or sinful appeared to be secondary to the more pressing concern of whether such activity could provide a viable livelihood (McNevin, 2016, p. 5).

4 Conclusions and discussion

Weis and Tschirhart (1994), having performed an extensive review of public information campaigns, conclude that there are four rules a campaign should follow to produce the intended policy results: (1) capture the attention of the right audience; (2) deliver an understandable and credible message; (3) deliver a message that influences the beliefs or understanding of the audience; and (4) create social contexts that lead toward desired outcomes. These four rules are not easy to implement in campaigns on irregular migration, as we will show by providing an argument countering each of them. (1) The intended audience is extremely diverse and not easily identifiable. There is no register of potential migrants worldwide and who is a potential migrant can change rapidly. (2) While most public information campaigns stay within the borders of the nation state and are aimed at citizens, migration information campaigns by definition cross borders and are aimed at non-citizens. This makes it difficult to deliver credible messages, as states that produce the campaigns have different stakes from the non-citizens they are addressing. (3) Alternative knowledge about migration and stories of hope and success do the rounds in migrant support networks. Given that such knowledge and stories are generally transmitted by people connected to each other by prior relations of trust – by relatives, friends, neighbors, work colleagues, etc. – beliefs and understandings will be more likely influenced by these trusted networks than by foreign authorities. (4) Creating a social context that leads to desired outcomes implies combating the root causes of migration, including poverty, conflict, lack of social opportunities and bad governance. No small task.

Nevertheless, migration information campaigns remain a popular tool among policy makers (Weiss & Tschirhart, 1994). This is not surprising considering the fact that the effectiveness of such campaigns remain relatively unquestioned. In contrast to classical migration control initiatives, in which police forces and border patrol agents implement a top-down surveillance of people, stopping them at the border or removing them from the territory of the state, information campaigns can count on more support by sending countries and NGOs (Carling & Hernandez, 2011; Nieuwenhuys & Pécoud, 2007). Information campaigns are also relatively cheap and quick to implement. They can also symbolize government concern to the general population in migrant receiving countries, as seen, for example, in the recent spread of information on stricter policies in countries with a high influx of asylum seekers. However, if the aim of information campaigns is to 'get the number of irregular migrants down' expectations of the effectiveness of only using such campaigns alone – especially campaigns based on a *fear appeal message* – should be low.

This is not to say migration information campaigns are never useful. Who would argue that people should *not* be provided with information? (Carling & Hernandez, 2011). Better information provision might help those who are arriving but do not understand their rights, and providing factual information on key security measures during the journey might help migrants with a legitimate reason to move (including asylum seekers) to do so safely. Moreover, false or misunderstood information circulating on social media could be countered by the provision of clear information, although thought should be given to who should provide this information in order for it to be taken seriously.

However, information campaigns aimed at deterring or scaring migrants should not only be questioned in terms of effectiveness but also from an ethical point of view. According to the IOM, campaigns should not threaten or command their audience to stay in their country but should provide them with balanced and factual information

(1999, p.19). These suggestions are not followed by campaigns that only use the 'Don't Come' narrative. The overly negative, fear mongering messages used in, for example, Australian campaigns may have the effect of deterring persons in desperate situations, facing prosecution, torture, discrimination and human rights abuses, from seeking asylum and safety. Several NGOs have criticized Australia's 'no way' narrative as possibly representing a violation of the principle of non-refoulement. If preventing hazardous journeys is indeed the underlying goal of EU information campaigns, more could be gained by giving asylum seekers the possibility to apply for asylum from outside the EU, preventing them from undertaking dangerous journeys altogether.

Finally, recent campaigns by individual EU members in countries with large numbers of potential migrants are unlikely to deter people from migrating to Europe but might convince people to choose to go to a country different than the one they had originally intended to go to. When a migrant's ideas about their final destination are unstable, they may, at some point along their trajectory, consider going somewhere they had not thus far thought of (Hagan-Zanker, 2016). This has not been empirically studied so far. Strong networks in destination countries or labor market opportunities might still be more important in guiding migration processes than these types of (deterrence) information campaigns. Even if (deterrence) campaigns would influence the choice of destination of migrants, it is questionable whether European countries competing against each other in convincing migrants not to come to their specific country is a structural solution for the current migration-related challenges Europe is facing. In this context, the 'common information strategy' aimed at (potential) migrants to be set up by the EU Task Force on Migrants' Information Strategy is a step in the right direction.

Samenvatting

Bewustmaking, gedragsverandering?

De bestrijding van irreguliere migratie door middel van voorlichtingscampagnes'

Migratievoorlichtingscampagnes die trachten irreguliere migratie tegen te gaan, hebben zich gericht op de gevaren van de reis, de moeilijke levensomstandigheden bij irregulier verblijf in het bestemmingsland en, meer recentelijk, op de implementatie van strikter beleid in bestemmingslanden van migranten.

Ongeacht of dergelijke campagnes zijn 'geframed' als humanitaire pogingen om meer doden op zee te voorkomen, of als beleidsstrategie om irreguliere migranten, onder wie asielzoekers, af te schrikken, de effectiviteit van de campagnes is niet duidelijk. Irreguliere migratie is een complex sociaal fenomeen dat beïnvloed wordt door velerlei factoren, variërend van individuele kenmerken van potentiële migranten en transnationale sociale netwerken, tot macro factoren als armoede, conflict en politieke instabiliteit.

Gebaseerd op een desk study naar 33 informatiecampagnes betreffende irreguliere migratie en een review van de literatuur over besluitvorming inzake migratie en de bredere literatuur met betrekking tot overheidsvoorlichting, werden vijf assumpties die ten grondslag liggen aan de veronderstelde werking van migratievoorlichtingscampagnes tegen het licht gehouden. Het gaat om assumpties over de wijze waarop informatie wordt gebruikt en waarop mensen de beslissing nemen om te migreren.

Er is reden om aan te nemen dat de effecten van migratievoorlichtingscampagnes beperkt zullen zijn. In tegenstelling tot meer algemene publiekscampagnes, bijvoorbeeld over gezondheid of verkeersveiligheid, is de doelgroep van campagnes tegen irreguliere migratie zeer divers en niet gemakkelijk te identificeren. Bovendien blijven de meeste publiekscampagnes binnen de grenzen van de nationale staat en zijn zij gericht op staatsburgers, terwijl migratievoorlichtingscampagnes per definitie over de landsgrenzen heen gaan en gericht zijn op vreemdelingen. Dat maakt het moeilijk geloofwaardige boodschappen af te geven, omdat landen die de campagnes financieren andere doelen hebben dan de vreemdelingen tot wie zij zich richten. Bovendien is informatie via campagnes niet de enige informatie die potentiële migranten krijgen. Alternatieve kennis over migratie en verhalen van hoop en succes doen de ronde in migrantennetwerken. Gezien het feit dat zulke kennis en verhalen meestal doorgegeven worden door mensen met wie er een vertrouwensband bestaat – familie, vrienden, burens, collega's van het werk, etc. – is het waarschijnlijker dat ideeën en uiteindelijk gedrag beïnvloed worden door deze vertrouwensnetwerken dan dat dit gebeurt door buitenlandse autoriteiten. Om vreemdelingen andere opties te bieden dan irreguliere migratie zullen er manieren moeten worden geboden om legaal te migreren (bijvoorbeeld in de vorm van humanitaire verblijfsvergunningen, of tijdelijke werkvergunningen), of zullen de grondoorzaken van migratie, inclusief armoede, conflict, gebrek aan maatschappelijke kansen en slecht bestuur moeten worden bestreden.

Dit wil niet zeggen dat het geven van informatie nooit nuttig is. Betere voorlichting zou mensen die in Europa aankomen op de hoogte kunnen brengen van hun rechten en plichten. Migrant die een legitieme reden hebben om te migreren, inclusief asielzoekers, zouden baat kunnen hebben bij feitelijke informatie over de belangrijkste veiligheidsmaatregelen tijdens de reis. Tenslotte kan een gezamenlijke Europese voorlichtingsstrategie voorkomen dat lidstaten met elkaar in conflict komen als

ze proberen irreguliere migranten af te schrikken om naar hun specifieke land te komen.

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Appendix 1 Overview campaigns

Overview campaigns						
Name	Aim	Target audience	Implemented by	Content	Link	
1	Aware Migrants (2016)	Raise awareness about the dangerous journey across the desert and the Mediterranean.	Potential migrants in Africa	Italian Ministry of Interior and the IOM Coordination Office for the Mediterranean in Rome	Videotaped stories and accounts narrated by migrants themselves	www.awaremigrant.org
2	Supporting Informed Migration in Niger (2016)	Sensitize migrants and the local community to the risks of irregular migration	Migrants and local community in Agadez, Niger	Italian NGO Cooperazione Internazionale (COOPI), and IOM Niger	Cultural activities including a football match for men and a basketball match for women. A participatory theater performance and the screening of four short documentaries	
3	Odysseus 2.0 (2016)	'Odysseus 2.0' is a project which shows the main route of migration from West Africa to Europe, presented through the eyes of migrants going to Libya and Europe from various African countries	Migrants and local community in from Niger, Mali, Burkina Faso and Senegal.	Project directors Luca Pistone and Andrea de Georgio co-financed by the European Union and the Italian Ministry of Interior.	30 pictures and six videos	Senegal : www.youtube.com/watch?v=CTIrC4cydIA Mali: www.youtube.com/watch?v=jO_pqAmiSDk Burkina Faso : www.youtube.com/watch?v=YOqchRqLPhE Niger: www.youtube.com/watch?v=PTIHFush2II Libya: www.youtube.com/watch?v=ncrbXhBdbh8 Italy: www.youtube.com/watch?v=ewRXbamIqm0

Overview campaigns						
Name	Aim	Target audience	Implemented by	Content	Link	
4	Telling the real story (2016)	Inform those who might choose to embark on the journey of the full scope and perils they may encounter	Migrants and asylum seekers from Eritrea and Somalia	UNHCR	Platform providing a collection of authentic stories, told by migrants and refugees themselves.	http://tellingtherealstory.org
5	Start smart, end with success (2016)	Encourage potential migrants to practice safe migration and make informed decisions throughout the migration process.	Address irregular migration in the region, particularly in the Bay of Bengal.	Thailand's Ministry of Foreign Affairs In cooperation with IOM	Multimedia campaign including an animation, a migration tips brochure, infographics, a social media kit, and a website. Supplemented by grassroots activities, implemented according to specific country needs and contexts.	
6	Safe migration and child protection in Zimbabwe (2009)	Sensitize public on key protection issues including the impact of irregular migration and human trafficking on children and on child abuse.	Communities in Zimbabwe	IOM and the UN Children's Fund (UNICEF) with support from the UK's Department for International Development (DFID), the European Union and the Zimbabwean government	Road show, inter-active community theatre performances, music, dance and films	
7	Des clandestins à la mer, les aventures de Yado (2010)	Raise awareness of the dangers of irregular movements and demonstrate the realities of living in Europe. Also highlights the benefits migration can have on the development of countries of origin	Young people in French speaking Africa	Pie Tshibanda and Leon Tchibemba, supported by UNHCR	The comic strip includes three storylines which draw attention to migrant and refugee situations and the necessary safety precautions that should be taken prior to travelling abroad.	www.coccinellebd.be/Des-Clandestins-a-la-Mer,244

Overview campaigns						
Name	Aim	Target audience	Implemented by	Content	Link	
8	To Leave...But at What Cost? (2008)	Raise public awareness of the dangers of irregular migration in order to better prevent it.	General public in Mali	Government of Mali in cooperation with IOM funded by the European Commission following similar campaigns in Senegal, Niger, Cameroon, Nigeria and Ghana.	State-run and private media and with the involvement of local artists, the month-long campaign aims to combat significant levels of irregular migration from Mali.	
9	<i>Toda Tierra es Tu Tierra</i> (All Land is Your Land) (2007)	This play depicts the experience of having to flee ones home countries, as well as the xenophobia and discrimination encountered in the host country.	Young people and their families in Costa Rica	Sponsored by UNHCR and developed in cooperation with ACAI an NGO for Refugees, the Costa Rican Ministry of Culture and Youth, and teachers and students at <i>'Conservatorio Castella,'</i> a State-run school.	Street play. The play is a combination of dance, poetry, music and theatre and was presented in several locations in Costa Rica. Its cast of 45 young people includes Costa Rican and Colombian refugees, migrants and adolescents.	
10	Surprising Europe (2015)	Document migration experiences from legal and illegal immigrants from Africa	Potential migrants from Africa and general public	JvdW film Amsterdam and Ssuuna Golooba sponsored by the European Return Fund and the Dutch ministry of foreign affairs	Web platform and Television series showing stories told by migrants themselves	www.surprisingeurope.com/
11	Safe journey roadshow (2006)	Reducing risks for potential migrants and informing citizens on HIV prevention and the dangers of irregular migration.	Potential migrants in Zimbabwe	IOM	Radio, print, billboards and bumper stickers to convey safe migration messages. Using drama, dance, music, three 30-minute films, interactive discussions and games for prizes such as t-shirts, cassettes and posters	

Overview campaigns						
Name	Aim	Target audience	Implemented by	Content	Link	
12	Challenge Yourself, Do Not Defy the Sea (2009)	Address the increasing number of unaccompanied Egyptian children arriving in Italy. The campaign raises awareness about the risks associated with irregular migration and promotes safe alternatives.	Children and their families in Egypt	Governments of Egypt and Italy in cooperation with IOM	Education and project which provides technical education and language training to potential migrants to meet labour demands in Italy.	
13	No economic asylum in Germany (2015)	Deter migrants who come for economic reasons	Potential migrants from Albania	German Embassy in Albania	Ads in newspapers	
14	Smugglers are lying (2015)	Deter migrants who come for economic reasons	Potential migrants from Kosovo	Austrian government	Ads in Newspaper. Austrian Interior Minister raised the issue during a visit to Kosovo	
15	Don't risk your life for nothing (2007)	Warning individuals about the dangers of irregular movement and information about living conditions in Europe. Also reminding people of their value in their home countries.	General public in Senegal	Spanish government in conjunction with Senegalese authorities the International Organization for Migration and a local advertising agency	Television campaign supplemented by both radio and print messages. Using famous local sportsmen and musicians in campaign.	www.youtube.com/watch?v=5pPA0DIjYKM .
16	Migration Aware (2008)	Fill the information gap that prevents potential irregular migrants from making an informed decision on whether to embark on the migration process	Potential migrants and general public in Nigeria	Coventry University in the UK and the Child Adolescent and Family Survival Organization (CAFSA), a Nigerian-based NGO	Posters, video, bulk text messaging, street theater, self multiplying groups	

Overview campaigns						
Name	Aim	Target audience	Implemented by	Content	Link	
17	Preventing migration of unaccompanied minors (2008)	To raise awareness of dangers of irregular migration of unaccompanied minors.	Youths in high migration areas in Morocco	Italian International Cooperation South South (CISS) in partnership with the Moroccan NGO Tanmia funded by the Italian Cooperation and managed by <i>Programme des Nations Unies pour le Développement</i> (UNDP) in Morocco.	A pedagogical kit aimed to raise awareness of dangers of child migration, using comics and cartoons, and has produced user guides designed in relation to different users. The cartoons on the stories of children at risk of immigration are multilingual (Arabic, Berber, French and Italian).	
18	Sensitizing youth on the dangers of irregular migration from Senegal to Europe (2006)	Campaign against irregular migration to Europe.	Youths in Senegal	Women's Association against irregular migration	The Association mobilized mothers who have suffered a loss to speak about the dangers of irregular migration.	
19	Pay a people smuggler and You'll pay the price (1999-2001)	Warn about consequences and risks of using smugglers to come to Australia	Prospective migrants from various Arabic and (South) East Asian countries	Australian Department of Immigration	Printed materials, videos and information kit	
20	I know smuggling irregular migrants is wrong (2010-2014)	Create awareness on the risks of becoming a smuggler	Local Indonesian fishermen	the Australian Custom Service in cooperation with IOM Indonesia	From workshops to printed materials and giving out paraphernalia	
21	Don't be fooled by the promises of people smuggler' (2010)	Reduce the number of irregular migrants aspiring to move to Australia	Potential migrants residing in Malaysia (important transit country)	Australian Custom and Border Protection Service	Workshops, public forums, printed materials, comics	

Overview campaigns						
Name	Aim	Target audience	Implemented by	Content	Link	
22	No Way (2014)	Part of the 'Operation Sovereign Borders' aimed at stopping asylum seekers from reaching the Australian coasts by boat.	Asylum seekers coming by boat to Australia	the Australian Defence Force	Poster and video	www.youtube.com/watch?v=rT12WH4a92w
23	Danish ads in Lebanese newspapers (September 2015)	Inform on changes to the regulations regarding the asylum procedure in Denmark	Potential asylum seekers from the Middle East	Danish Ministry of Immigration, Integration and Housing	Advertisement in newspapers, government website and social media	
24	Facebook warning letter by Belgian government (winter 2015-2016)	Dissuade migrants from Iraq from trying to apply for asylum since it will be denied	Iraqi men (25-40) who want to apply for asylum in Belgium	Belgian government	Facebook	
25	'Don't come' (October 2015)	Give objective view of the possibility of obtaining asylum in Finland	Young men in Iraq and Turkey who wish to enter Finland	Finnish government	Facebook	
26	Stricter asylum regulations in Norway (winter 2015)	Give information on the changing (stricter) asylum policies	Potential migrants who want to apply for asylum in Norway, especially Afghans	Norwegian government	Facebook and Twitter	www.facebook.com/asylumregulations/info/?tab=page_info
27	Information Campaign by Austrian government (March 2016)	Inform migrants on the strict asylum laws	Afghans who are regarded as 'economic migrants'	Austrian Government	Facebook, advertisements on Kabul buses, TV, newspapers, social media	www.youtube.com/watch?v=bryZyTQYsmk
28	'Rumours about Germany' (winter 2015)	Counter the rumours spread by smugglers	Afghans wanting to migrate to Germany	German embassy in Afghanistan	Printed ads, billboards, social media such as Twitter	www.rumoursaboutgermany.info

Overview campaigns						
Name	Aim	Target audience	Implemented by	Content	Link	
29	The Journey (2016)	Deterring potential migrants by showing them the difficulties they might encounter during the journey	Potential migrants in Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran and Pakistan	Australia's immigration department	Telemovie	www.youtube.com/watch?v=7WdQiabQEpo
30	Dangers of illegal migration (2007)	Discourage would be migrants	Potential migrants in Cameroon	Swiss migration office in cooperation with IOM and EU	Tv commercial	www.youtube.com/watch?v=dfzvPwykU1o
31	Know the facts (2015)	Warning about dangers of illegal immigration	Aspiring migrants in Mexico and three Central American countries	U.S. Customs and Border Protection agency	Advertisements, website and short videos	http://apps.cbp.gov/knowthefacts/index.html
32	<i>No Más Cruces en la Frontera'</i> (No More Crosses on the Border) (2009)	Warning about dangers of crossing the border illegally	Aspiring migrants in Mexico	US Border patrol and advertising agency Elevation	Television and radio spots, music album with folk ballads	www.elevation-us.com/portfolio/us-border-patrol/
33	Counter to zero (2012)	Risks and realities of irregular migration	Potential migrants in DR Congo	Belgian Immigration Liaison Officers	Play, supplemented with brochures, posters and placards and by the organisation of debates on television and radio.	

Appendix 2 Members scientific committee

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Rianne Dekker	Erasmus University Rotterdam
Edwin Kruisbergen	Ministry of Security and Justice (<i>WODC</i>)
Elly van der Munnik	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Tanja Pacifico / Adri Zagers	International Organization for Migration
Patty van Rossem	Ministry of Security and Justice, <i>Directie Voorlichting</i>
Tycho Walaardt	Ministry of Security and Justice, <i>Directie Migratiebeleid</i>

* Participated in a personal capacity.