# COVID-19 and migration in West and North Africa and across the Mediterranean

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In just a few months, the COVID-19 pandemic has dramatically changed the global migration and mobility landscape, and added a layer of complexity to migration in West and North Africa and across the Mediterranean. This rapidly spreading health crisis (Figure 1) has led to the implementation of mobility restrictions and border closures, as well as to the suspension of social and economic activities in most countries around the world, including in West and North Africa and Europe. While at the time of writing (end of July 2020) some governments were beginning to gradually lift these measures, public, research and policy attention was increasingly turning to the socioeconomic and political effects that these may have in the medium and longer term. As the crisis is still unfolding, these effects remain difficult to predict. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) foresees that the pandemic will lead to the worst global recession of the past century, and that the gross domestic product of sub-Saharan Africa will fall by 3.2 per cent in 2020 (IMF, 2020). Others have pointed to the longer-term consequences that the pandemic may have for domestic politics, international relations and trust in governments (Perthes, 2020), including in Africa (Devermont, 2020).

While broader trends and characteristics identified in the four sections of this volume are likely to persist, the COVID-19 pandemic and measures adopted to contain its spread are likely to significantly impact migration in West and North Africa and across the Mediterranean, in terms of migration and mobility trends (Section 1 of this volume), risks (Section 2 of this volume), development-related aspects (Section 3 of this volume) and governance (Section 4 of this volume). This chapter explores possible impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic on these various aspects, based on data collected by IOM's Displacement Tracking Matrix (DTM) and by the Mixed Migration Centre (MMC) in West and North Africa, as well as preliminary analyses and forecasts by other organizations and experts.

IOM Global Migration Data Analysis Centre.

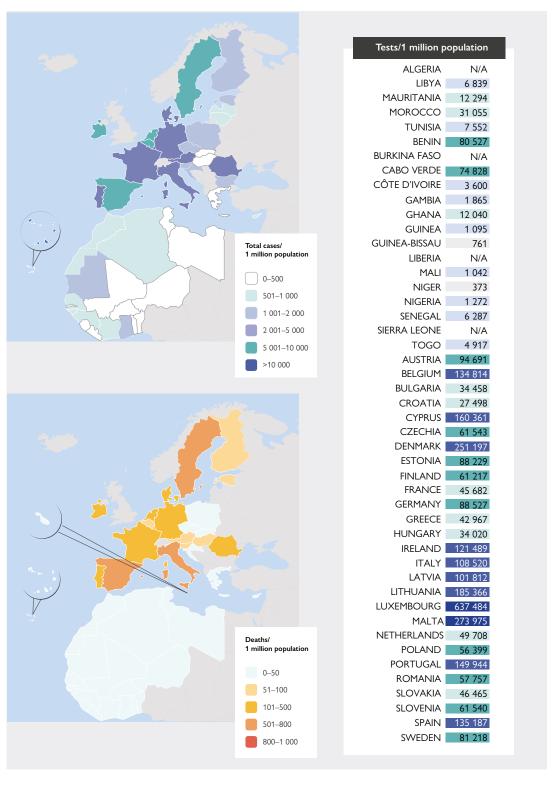


Figure 1. COVID-19 infection rates, deaths and testing in West and North Africa and Europe

Source: Worldometers, 2020.<sup>2</sup>

Note: Last updated: 27 July 2020. These maps are for illustration purposes only. The boundaries and names shown and the designations used on this map do not imply official endorsement or acceptance by the International Organization for Migration.

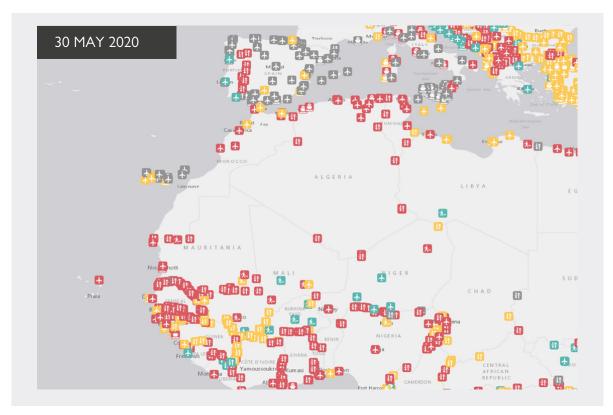
Available at www.worldometers.info/coronavirus/#countries. Worldometers data are based on a variety of sources, including official websites of Ministries of Health and of other government Institutions, government authorities' social media accounts, daily reports released by local authorities and press briefings. However, due to data availability issues, data presented here need to be considered indicative.

# 1. COVID-19 and migration trends<sup>3</sup>

The outbreak of COVID-19 has led States in West and North Africa and in Europe to introduce travel and mobility restrictions, ranging from tightened border controls and restrictions to internal mobility and border closures (Figure 2). At the same time, transportation services have been disrupted. This has had a significant impact on migration trends and patterns (see IOM, 2020a; Milan and Cunnoosamy, 2020).

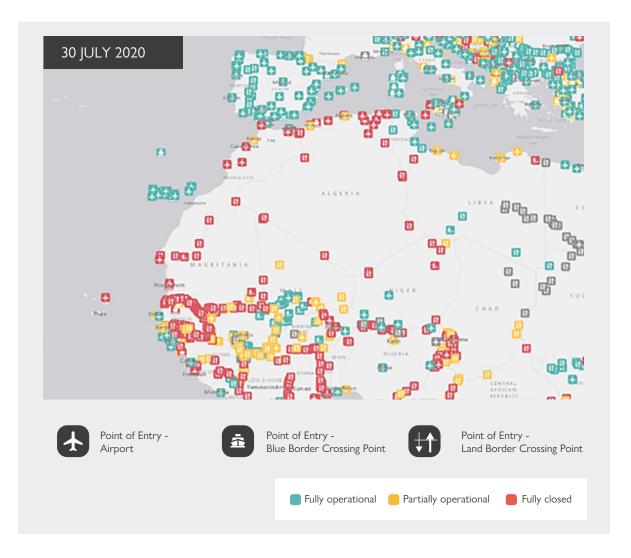
In the months following the introduction of mobility restrictions starting in March 2020, overall flows in West and North Africa and from these regions to Europe appear to have decreased. While movements are difficult to monitor due to the fast-evolving situation, data collected by the Flow Monitoring Registry (FMR) of IOM's Displacement Tracking Matrix (DTM) show a decrease of flows registered through key transit points in West and Central Africa between March and May 2020.<sup>4</sup> Between February and March 2020, the decrease was 14 per cent; between March and April, it was 40 per cent; between January and May, flows had decreased by 39 per cent. However, starting from May, flows increased again, by 65 per cent during the first month and by 29 per cent from May to June. According to FMR data, internal flows appeared to have increased more rapidly (by 153% between April and May, and by 33 per cent between May and June) than cross-border movements, which increased by 28 per cent the first months and by 25 per cent the last month, in line with persistent closures of international borders and progressive lifting of restrictions on internal mobility (IOM, 2020f, 2020g).





The authors are grateful to the DTM team for comments and suggestions on this section.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Due to mobility restrictions and the spread of the pandemic, DTM has put on hold FMRs in Burkina Faso, Guinea and Senegal. Data presented here refer only to Chad, Mali, the Niger and Nigeria. For further information on DTM's methodology and the generalizability of findings, see Fargues, Chapter 2 of this volume.



Source: Displacement Tracking Matrix (DTM), IOM, 2020.

Note: These maps are for illustration purposes only. The boundaries and names shown and the designations used on these maps do not imply official endorsement or acceptance by the International Organization for Migration.

During the first six months of 2020, estimated overall irregular arrivals to Europe appeared to have decreased by 25 per cent compared with the same period in 2019, when irregular arrivals were already much lower than in previous years. Arrivals of migrants travelling along the Eastern Mediterranean Route (EMR) and the Western Mediterranean Route (WMR) appeared to have decreased by 48 per cent and 36 per cent, respectively. However, arrivals on the Central Mediterranean Route (CMR) increased in the first six months of 2020 compared with the same time period in 2019, when numbers were very low compared with previous years. According to DTM data, arrivals to Italy increased by 150 per cent and arrivals to Malta increased by 33 per cent. In fact, arrivals to Italy and Malta were lower than in 2019 only in March, but started increasing again in April (see Figure 3). Registered arrivals in Europe along the EMR and the WMR started increasing again in May 2020, as well; however, increases on the EMR have been slower (IOM, 2020h; Frontex, 2020). Such differences are likely to result from a combination of factors, including variations in COVID-19-related mobility restrictions, increased violence in the Sahel region and stricter patrolling at the Greek border. While this edited volume focuses primarily on international migration and mobility, internal flows have also been affected by mobility restrictions and lockdowns.

Migrant stocks in countries in West and North Africa and Europe may have remained relatively stable during the past months, also due to travel restrictions and related difficulties for migrants to return to their countries of origin.

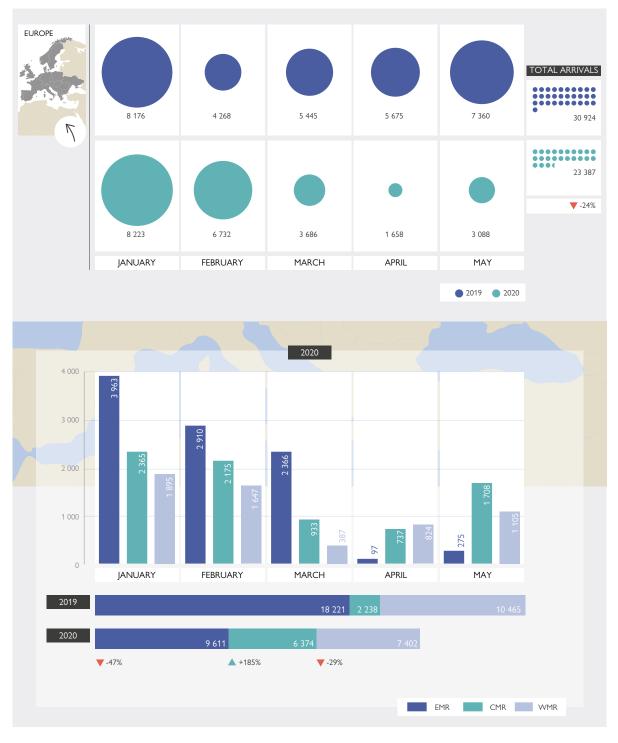


Figure 3. Arrivals to Europe by sea, 2019 and 2020

Source: IOM, 2020.

As a result of mobility restrictions within countries and across borders, migrants who were unable to move further or to return to their countries of origin have become stranded. In West and Central Africa, DTM counted 50,000 stranded migrants at international borders and in quarantine and transit centres as of the end of June 2020 (IOM, 2020g). In some cases, governmental forced-return operations (for example, of Libya and Algeria) have left migrants stranded in the desert (IOM, 2020i; see also Black, Chapter 12 of this volume). Restrictions affected persons moving within and beyond West and North Africa, including labour migrants, asylum seekers, internally displaced persons, international students, traders and visitors. Further measures to respond to the pandemic, such as lockdowns

and restrictions to social and economic activities, are also affecting migrants' current and future ability to move, in particular by limiting their access to work opportunities and other resources that may allow them to finance onward mobility. The vast majority of migrants interviewed by MMC in West and North Africa report that the pandemic has impacted their ability to continue the journey (MMC, 2020b).

Border closures and increased mobility restrictions can be assumed to have had an impact on irregular migration patterns. Routes may have become more remote and hazardous, particularly across the Sahara Desert, where travel conditions are precarious and access to health facilities lacking. While migration across the Mediterranean Sea continued, key countries of arrival, such as Italy and Malta, declared their ports unsafe for disembarkation. Approximately 500 migrants remained stranded on boats off the Maltese coast for weeks, when they were allowed to disembark due to deteriorating health conditions. Other migrants arriving to Italy had to spend quarantine periods on boats rented by the national authorities. Meanwhile, interception at sea and disembarkation in Libya and Tunisia continued. Disembarkation in Libya, in particular, increased by 60 per cent in the first five months of 2020 compared with the same period in 2019, despite growing political unrest in the country and IOM's call to end the return of migrants to Libya (IOM, 2020e). On 29 July, three migrants were shot dead by Libyan authorities as they were trying to escape while being disembarked in Khums. In June 2020, 1,496 migrants were disembarked in Libya, compared with 1,333 in June 2019 (IOM, 2020b). Non-governmental organizations search and rescue operations were suspended from April until the beginning of June 2020.

The Central Mediterranean remains the deadliest maritime crossing in the world: the number of registered fatalities – which had decreased in April and May compared with the same period in 2019, in line with a decreased number of arrivals – grew again in the first weeks of June, reaching 98, compared with 27 fatalities registered on the CMR in the same period in 2019. The mortality rate has, however, decreased from 4.17 per cent in the first six months of 2019 to 1.48 per cent in the first six months of 2020 on the CMR. Meanwhile, the mortality rate of all Mediterranean crossings decreased from 1.07 per cent in the first six months of 2019 to 0.81 per cent in the first six months of 2020.6 However, increased difficulties in collecting data on migrant fatalities in 2020 may lead to an underestimation of these tragedies (IOM, 2020a).

Refugee resettlement operations carried out by IOM, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and other partners were put on hold from May to mid-June due to mobility restrictions, except for emergency cases. Within the European Union, relocation operations were also mostly suspended, with the exception of relocations of migrants disembarked in Malta, and of unaccompanied migrants from the Greek Aegean Islands.

Some countries – such as France, Spain and Germany – have delayed or reduced forced return operations, partially in line with the call of the United Nations Network on Migration (2020) to suspend them during the pandemic, whereas others, such as Libya and Algeria, have continued to carry them out, including by returning migrants to the desert. Other countries have granted visa extensions and temporary amnesties to migrant workers. Spontaneous return and assisted voluntary return operations, including of stranded migrants or migrants particularly affected by the pandemic, have also been hindered by mobility restrictions, but increasingly resumed since May 2020.

# 2. COVID-19, migration and risks

Travel and social restrictions linked to the COVID-19 pandemic have had multiple impacts on the lives and journeys of migrants. Impacts may vary widely, depending on migrants' legal status and socioeconomic characteristics. As was the case during previous crises (see IOM, 2011), migrants with regular status, better employment and housing conditions, skills recognized in countries of destination, better language skills, better access to information and supporting social networks are likely to be less exposed to the short- and long-term negative effects of the pandemic, such as health risks, livelihood crises, unemployment, worsening labour conditions and stigmatization. This is true

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> See www.iom.int/news/iom-deplores-killing-two-migrants-returned-sea-libya.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> All data used for these calculations, including notes on data issues, are available for download from missingmigrants.iom.int/downloads. For the calculation of mortality rates in the context of migration journeys, see Dearden et al., 2020.

both for migrants in transit and in countries of destination. Migrants living in camps and camp-like settings, reception centres and dormitories face greater risks, as they are less able to adopt protection measures against the virus and often lack access to adequate health care.

According to data collected by the Mixed Migration Monitoring Mechanism initiative (4Mi) of the MMC (2020a, 2020b), 757 per cent of migrants and refugees interviewed from 6 to 20 May in North Africa and 47 per cent of respondents in West Africa reported having suffered losses of income due to the pandemic. From 21 May to 8 June, these percentages had decreased to, respectively, 49 and 40 per cent of respondents in West and North Africa. This has affected their ability to afford basic goods, continue their journeys and send remittances back home. High percentages of respondents also said that they experienced reduced access to work opportunities (approximately 60 and 65%, respectively), higher stress levels (approximately 55 and 50%, respectively) and a reduced availability of basic goods (approximately 55 and 25%, respectively). In Libya, assessments of the socioeconomic impact of the pandemic on vulnerable populations on the move conducted by DTM Libya corroborate these findings, with rising unemployment being identified as one of the major risk factors that increase vulnerability of migrants to harm and create negative humanitarian consequences (IOM, 2020j). In 95 per cent of assessed locations, migrants who rely on daily labour opportunities were reported to have been negatively affected due to COVID-19-induced slowdown in economic activities, while rising levels of food insecurity among migrants were also observed as a result. Apart from the economic slowdown in Libya, mobility restrictions imposed to curb the spread of the pandemic further contributed to decreasing migrants' access to livelihood opportunities by limiting their mobility. In West and North Africa and in Europe, such losses of income, together with school closures, may worsen migrants' general living conditions and increase the exposure of vulnerable migrants and their families to age- and gender-specific risks, such as child labour and child marriages. Stigmatization and discrimination from national institutions and local communities also appear to have increased, worldwide and in these regions (IOM, 2020c).

The ability to respect safety measures and access health care in case of need is essential during a pandemic. However, according to MMC data (2020a), between 6 and 20 May, less than 50 and 40 per cent of respondents in West and North Africa, respectively, reported that they were able to respect the 1.5 m distancing rule. During the weeks in which lockdown measures were implemented, only a minority of respondents in West Africa reported that they were able to stay at home to protect themselves. In the period from 21 May to 8 June, the number of people reporting staying at home had fallen from 54 per cent during the period from 6 to 20 May, to 36 per cent in North Africa, and from 8 per cent to 4 per cent in West Africa. Access to health care remains challenging in these regions, based on available evidence. Less than 25 and 55 per cent of respondents in West and North Africa, respectively, believed that they could have access to health care in case of need. Lack of money and information, discrimination against foreigners and fear of being reported in case of irregular status are the main barriers to accessing health services, based on MMC data. Migrants living in poor housing conditions, such as camps and camp-like settings, are particularly exposed to overcrowding, inadequate sanitation, poor nutrition and limited access to health-care facilities. This also heightens their risk of contracting and spreading the virus: according to IOM preliminary evidence (2020d), reports of confirmed cases in these environments are on the rise.

Furthermore, most migrants and refugees interviewed by MMC (2020b) reported needing extra assistance, particularly in terms of cash (as indicated by approximately 85 per cent of respondents in the two regions between 21 May and 8 June) but also of food, water and shelter, and of protective equipment (sanitizers, masks and gloves). However, at the beginning of June, less than 30 per cent of respondents reported having received the extra assistance they needed.

Measures adopted to contain the COVID-19 pandemic had and will most probably continue having an impact on migrant smuggling. In the short term, irregular migration movements – including those facilitated by smugglers – may have decreased due to mobility restrictions. However, available evidence indicates that, while migrant smuggling by air has nearly stopped during the pandemic, migrant smuggling by land and sea continues (EMSC, 2020). Some cases of "reverse smuggling" from countries of destination or transit to countries of origin have also been reported. People's need to move is likely to continue feeding the demand for smuggling services, and smuggling operations will probably

Respondents interviewed by 4Mi between 6 April and 8 June included 1,886 in North Africa and 1,129 in West Africa. For more information on the methodology of 4Mi and the generalizability of findings, see Fargues, Chapter 2 of this volume, and the following link: www.mixedmigration.org/4mi/4mi\_faq/.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> See https://elpais.com/espana/2020-04-23/mas-de-5000-euros-por-escapar-de-espana-en-patera.html (in Spanish).

continue to adapt to changing obstacles and circumstances. However, smuggling conditions are predicted to worsen in line with increased border control measures and travel restrictions; more remote and dangerous routes are likely to be chosen and prices, as well as the risk of exploitation, can be expected to increase (Sanchez and Achilli, 2020).

# 3. COVID-19, migration and development

Travel restrictions, lockdowns and quarantine measures have had a significant impact on economic activities in all countries. They have also led to a global recession, which is likely to generate higher unemployment and exacerbate poverty globally. Previous economic crises have shown that migrant workers are more exposed than native-born workers to short- and long-term consequences of downturns, such as unemployment and wage declines (World Bank, 2020). Clearly, migrants with different characteristics will be affected differently. Migrants who have arrived more recently, or those with irregular status, worse employment conditions and limited access to information or support networks are more likely to face income declines and a deterioration of their living conditions. Also, the COVID-19 pandemic has so far particularly affected sectors with a high concentration of migrant workers, such as the tourism and hospitality industry. Furthermore, social safety measures adopted by governments to mitigate the impact of job losses often do not include migrants and returnees, particularly if they had been working in the informal sector. Migrants whose work permits will expire risk losing their residence status and being returned to their countries of origin. At the same time, current travel restrictions are hindering migrants to return home temporarily to reduce their living expenses. In this sense, COVID-19 may act as "an amplifier of existing inequalities" (Crawley, 2020).

Migrants significantly contribute to the resilience of their household and community members living in other countries, through financial and non-financial remittances. In times of crisis, remittances often act as an insurance mechanism, allowing households to compensate losses of income due to economic or other shocks. They therefore tend to be countercyclical and to increase with downturns in recipient countries (Frankel, 2009). However, as the current crisis is likely to be more severe than previous ones, and to simultaneously affect countries of origin, transit and destination, migrants will likely find it harder to send remittances. Approximately 35 per cent of migrants interviewed in West and North Africa between 21 May and 8 June reported such difficulties (MMC, 2020b). This is particularly worrying given that remittances could help households to cope with the effects of the pandemic, such as income losses in countries of origin and health services costs. Lower remittance transfers are also likely to negatively impact livelihoods and health and education outcomes in countries of origin. In addition, the pandemic appears to have exacerbated existing difficulties with regard to remittance transfers, as office closures have made it difficult to send money in person. As was the case during previous crises, transfer costs and foreign exchange rates may also increase (Bisong et al., 2020). While some have greeted this as an opportunity to promote digital transfer services, others have pointed to the lack of bank accounts or mobile Internet access experienced by a relatively high share of receiving households in Africa, and at access challenges related to an irregular migration status (Kalantaryan and McMahon, 2020). Households that are likely to be more impacted by falling remittances are those already experiencing socioeconomic vulnerability, and lower access to financial and digital infrastructure (ibid.).

Migrants also contribute to development in countries of origin, transit and destination (see Quartey, Addoquaye Tagoe and Boatemaa Setrana, Chapter 21 of this volume). During the economic downturn that followed the 2007–2008 financial crisis, remittances proved to be more resilient than initially foreseen. They also appeared to be more resilient than official development assistance and foreign direct investment (Gagnon, 2020). However, the World Bank estimates that – as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic, and subsequent job losses and wage reductions – remittance flows to sub-Saharan Africa could fall by 23 per cent and remittances to the Middle East and North Africa region by about 20 per cent (World Bank, 2020). More pessimistic estimates underline the fact that these projections are based on falls per worker, whereas overall remittance flows are also likely to be affected by lower migrant numbers due to reduced regular migration opportunities and jobs (Clemens, 2020). At the same time, the relative importance of remittance flows as a source of external financing for West and North African countries is not only already quite high, but also likely to increase. This is because official development assistance and foreign direct

investment can be expected to decline due to several factors, including travel restrictions, investment slowdowns, trade and tourism disruptions and changed priorities for donor countries (World Bank, 2020). Diaspora engagement policies are therefore likely to gain additional relevance.

The COVID-19 pandemic has highlighted the dependence of economies in countries of destination on migrant workers, including from West and North Africa. As border closures and lockdown measures were implemented, some European countries, in particular, were faced with the need to adopt measures to facilitate migrants' access to the labour market and their contribution to essential economic sectors, such as health, agriculture and the food industries (IOM, 2020a). While migrant labour needs may decrease in the short term due to the economic downturn, they are likely to increase again in line with longer-term demographic and labour market trends.

# 4. COVID-19 and migration governance

Starting from mid-March, States in West and North Africa have implemented border closures and travel restrictions. At first, such measures were mainly adopted at the national level, but later gained a more transnational and multilateral dimension, with a higher involvement of continental and regional organizations, such the African Union, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the European Union, as well as international and United Nations agencies, including IOM.

As recalled by the African Union in April (African Union, 2020) and by the United Nations in June 2020 (United Nations, 2020), finding a balance between the need to restrict movements across countries and the importance of preserving regional agreements and continental agendas on free movement (Schöfberger, Chapter 30 of this volume) – as well as international conventions, regulations and guidelines relevant for people on the move – has been challenging. However, preserving international laws and conventions remains of upmost importance. These include in particular the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, the International Health Regulations and the Guidelines to Protect Migrants in Countries Experiencing Conflict or Natural Disaster. Equally challenging has been to balance health safety measures with measures intended to preserve formal and informal livelihoods and economies, which in these regions rely heavily on cross-borders movements and trade (Bouët and Laborde, 2020).

ECOWAS Member States initially implemented national measures, ranging from travel restrictions to border closures (see Figure 2). However, multilateral regional measures were adopted in the following months: on 18 June 2020, Member States agreed on a gradual reopening of borders by the end of July, and to resume the free movement of goods and people. This would involve in the first instance facilitating internal transport within Member States, then opening land and air borders between them, and finally opening borders to countries with low and controlled levels of COVID-19 contamination (ECOWAS, 2020). In North Africa, as well, States initially implemented travel restrictions and border closures; while regional free movement policies of the Arab Maghreb Union have not yet been implemented in the region, some countries have started negotiating bilateral border openings. In the European Union, travel restrictions and border closures were first adopted at the national level, including a temporary suspension of the Schengen Agreement, followed soon after by a more coordinated closure of the European Union external border. Whereas most member States had reopened their borders for intra-European Union travels by 15 June, borders remain closed with most extra-European Union States. The Commission then recommended a common approach to the gradual reopening of the European Union external borders to 15 countries – including Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia – from 1 July.

In the longer term, combining national approaches with transnational and multilateral approaches on migration may become more challenging. COVID-19 and migration are transnational in nature, and related opportunities and challenges simultaneously affect multiple countries and regions, requiring transnational approaches. However, diversified impacts of the pandemic on national societies and economies may lead to wider divergencies in migration-related priorities for States within regions, and further hinder the identification of shared approaches on migration that are currently being negotiated at the level of the African Union, ECOWAS, Arab Maghreb Union and European Union. In this way, it may reinforce current trends towards tightening border controls.

The impact of COVID-19-related measures on migrants, as described in the previous sections, has relevant policy implications, as it reveals the consequences of longer-term dynamics and structural trends. The pandemic has impacted and will continue impacting migrants' journeys, the risks they are exposed to, and their ability to contribute to resilience and development. As a matter of fact, travel restrictions and border controls have disproportionately affected migrants, asylum seekers and refugees, among other vulnerable groups (Sanchez and Achilli, 2020). Longer-term socioeconomic consequences of the crisis are also expected to affect them more strongly (ILO, 2020). The pandemic has also brought to light the cost of poor socioeconomic integration of migrants in countries of destination and transit: this includes often inadequate access to health care and social security services (Gagnon, 2020). As illustrated above, less than 25 and 55 per cent of respondents in West and North Africa, respectively, believed that they could have access to health care (MMC, 2020b). Access to health care has also been a long-standing challenge for undocumented migrants in Europe.

The pandemic has also revealed the need for better inclusion of international labour standards and the needs and rights of migrant workers in bilateral and multilateral cooperation frameworks, involving countries of origin and destination of migrants, as well as the need for social dialogue and full involvement of employers' and workers' organizations in the development of COVID-19 responses (ILO, 2020).

In recent months, it has appeared clear that limited availability of comprehensive, timely and disaggregated data can hinder the identification of targeted policy and programmatic measures – for example, with regard to consular assistance to nationals abroad.

The current crisis has raised awareness of the fact that risks and missed opportunities of policies penalizing migrants affect not only migrants themselves, but also societies at large. The COVID-19 pandemic has shown that, while unequal access to health care (Milan and Cunnoosamy, 2020), bad housing conditions and crowded workplaces may affect some more severely, they also imply risks for all. Labour market access barriers for migrants and poor employment conditions, such as inadequate recognition of skills and lack of social assistance, stifle migrants' economic contributions in countries of transit and destination, and limit their ability to support their communities in countries of origin. While countries such as Italy and Portugal have adopted temporary regularization measures for migrants with irregular status, more comprehensive and longer-term policy measures are needed. Such measures would also contribute to support migrants as transnational resilience and development actors. Ultimately, the current crisis shows that migrants' rights are for the benefit of all.

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