

The Border Between Africa and Europe



Editor's Note

In late July 2026, the Spanish enclave of Ceuta witnessed the largest mass crossings in modern history. Tens of thousands of African migrants, around 72,000, breached the fortified border separating Morocco from European territory. Some arrived on inner tubes while others waded through waist-deep water in a 5-kilometre journey. The lion's share of the migrants were between the ages of 14 and 24, as well as many children travelling alone. About 100 died in the attempt. The images drew global attention, but the policy questions they raise are not new.

The European Union has spent years fortifying its external borders and outsourcing migration control to North African states. Spain has invested millions in surveillance systems and bilateral agreements with Morocco to prevent exactly this kind of crossing. Yet the arrivals have continued since 2005. The question is: what drives people to scale walls and swim through currents, knowing the risks? Even though reports attributed the influx to political motives, Moroccan youth at the centre of the influx continue to grapple with a shortage of opportunities, with the unemployment rate for Moroccans aged 15 to 24 at 37.2%, coupled with over 12 million people internally displaced across West and Central Africa.

Divergent views regarding the causes of the 2026 influx abound. Some believe that it was encouraged by a Spanish Supreme Court decision stating that migrants who arrive by sea cannot be immediately pushed



back across the border without due process. Some believe it was facilitated by an anonymous Instagram post shared later across social media, which some analysts believe was masterminded by traffickers. In another development, the Ceuta leader, Juan Jesús Vivas, believes that the assault was made possible by Morocco, saying it was "if not orchestrated, at least encouraged or permitted by Morocco." Some analysts believe that the renewal of cordial relations between Spain and Algeria, an arch-enemy of Morocco, is what triggered Rabat to support the crossing.

This issue looks at the Ceuta crossing and what it represents. The Migration Monitor maps the border crisis from 2005 to the present.

Cover Illustration

The cover design depicts the recent events in Ceuta. The country flags of Ceuta and Morocco are displayed in the midst of various border restrictions.

Migration Monitor

The Spanish enclave of Ceuta has been walled since Roman times, with fortifications built in the 16th century. From 2005 to the present, there have been repeated mass attempts to breach the border from Africa. Some succeeded, others were stopped, and many resulted in loss of life among migrants, security forces, or both. Below is a chronicle of those events.



2005

In late 2005, groups of 500 to 1,000 migrants assaulted Ceuta's border fence. On September 29 alone, 5 were shot dead by Moroccan police, and 214 entered the city. Between August and October of the same year, at least 11 died, and several hundred made it through. Spain responded by raising the fences, tightening cooperation with Rabat, and deploying 500 soldiers to establish what it called a "deterrent military presence."

2014

In February 2014, at least 15 migrants drowned while attempting to reach Ceuta by sea. The Interior Ministry recorded 19,000 entry attempts throughout that year. The incident, known as the Tarajal tragedy, called for scrutiny after Civil Guard officers used riot-control equipment against migrants in the water, which they initially denied. The Interior Minister later admitted before Parliament that the devices had been deployed.

2016

On December 9, 2016, approximately 800 migrants attempted to scale the heavily fortified border fence into Ceuta. Around 438 succeeded in reaching Spanish territory, while 49 others required medical attention for bruises and injuries sustained during the climb. The mass attempt underscored the continued pressure on the enclave's perimeter despite years of reinforcement.

2017

In 2017, repeated assaults hit Ceuta's border. On January 1, around 1,100 migrants attacked the fence with iron bars and stones; only 2 entered, but 5 Spanish officers and 50 Moroccan auxiliaries were injured. In February, over 1,100 tried again, with more than 850 reaching the city. In August, approximately 1,000 overwhelmed the El Tarajal crossing, while a December attempt by 700 saw none enter.

2018

Several coordinated attempts were recorded in 2018. On July 26, around 600 sub-Saharan migrants breached the fence using quicklime, sticks, and Molotov cocktails, injuring 22 Civil Guard officers and leaving 10 arrested. It was the largest organised crossing until 2021. Earlier that year, 500 were prevented in February and only 6 entered in June.

2021

In May 2021, over 10,000 migrants entered Ceuta in the largest single breach in the enclave's history. It came amid a diplomatic crisis after Spain admitted Polisario Front leader Brahim Ghali for COVID-19 treatment; Morocco responded by easing border controls. More than 8,000 succeeded, including hundreds of minors. Most were swiftly returned, though over 1,500 minors remained in Spain for nearly three months before repatriation began.

2022

On June 24, 2022, between 500 and 2,000 migrants, mostly Sudanese, stormed the Melilla border. Moroccan authorities reported 23 migrants and two gendarmes dead, while Amnesty International cited 37 dead. The UN demanded an immediate investigation. In December, Spain's Prosecutor's Office shelved its inquiry, exonerating the Interior Ministry and Civil Guard.

2025

On July 26, 2025, at least 54 minors, mostly Moroccan, and some 30 adults swam from Morocco to Ceuta through rough seas and fog in one of the largest single-day maritime arrivals of minors that year. Spanish Civil Guard boats carried out rescues; no deaths were reported. Ceuta authorities described the situation as "critical" and a "matter of State," urgently requesting Madrid's help.

2026

In late July 2026, over 72,000 African migrants breached Ceuta's fortified border in one of the largest mass crossings in history. At least 100 died while trying to cross. Tens of thousands were intercepted and returned to Morocco, and thousands of others returned voluntarily, though about 3,000 to 5,000 refused to leave and camped on the beach. Some 862 unaccompanied minors entered with temporary protection, though only 29 child-specific beds were available. Madrid deployed the military, while France and Italy suspended Schengen.



From our Writers

THE REGULARISATION THAT LAUNCHED A THOUSAND SWIMMERS

Spain's offer of legal status was meant for migrants already inside the country. Instead, it sent tens of thousands plunging into the Mediterranean.

Isah Kamisu Madachi

THE SPANISH government, known for moving in the opposite direction to many other European countries about immigration policies, announced that 500,000 undocumented migrants already living in Spain, mostly Latin Americans who had overstayed their visas, would get a path to legal status. The paperwork was for people already inside.

But the message got twisted somewhere between Madrid and Morocco. By July, Instagram posts were claiming Spain's border was opening up. Facebook groups tracked coast guard patrols. TikTok videos showed the exact spot in Fnideq from which to swim the 5 kilometres to Ceuta. Then the Spanish Supreme Court weighed in. A late-June ruling maintained that migrants arriving by sea could not be immediately pushed back without due process, unlike those who crossed by land. Trafficking networks twisted this into a rumour that anyone who reached Spanish waters could stay.

Consequently, in late July thousands of young Moroccans — youth unemployment in Morocco stands at 37% — waded into the Mediterranean from



Fnideq and Belyounech. The highest volume came on Throne Day, when Morocco's government offices were closed for the holiday. Some of them swam the 5 kilometres around the breakwater in rough seas and thick fog. They arrived on Ceuta's beaches exhausted.

At least 57 people drowned in the July-August crossings. Others were crushed in stampedes at the border fence. On the Spanish side alone, authorities recovered 72 bodies. Another 11 died on the Moroccan side, totalling about 100 deaths.

"We came because we heard Spain was giving papers," one young man told local television, shivering in a foil blanket. He swam for three hours. His phone, sealed in a plastic bag, still displayed the TikTok video that told him where to start.

It took days for Spanish and Moroccan authorities to process the arrivals and recover the dead from the water. The regularisation forms, intended for migrants already living in Spain, sat undisturbed in their offices.



One Million Sudanese Refugees in Chad: The Collapse of a “Survival Economy”

Abla Salih Boush

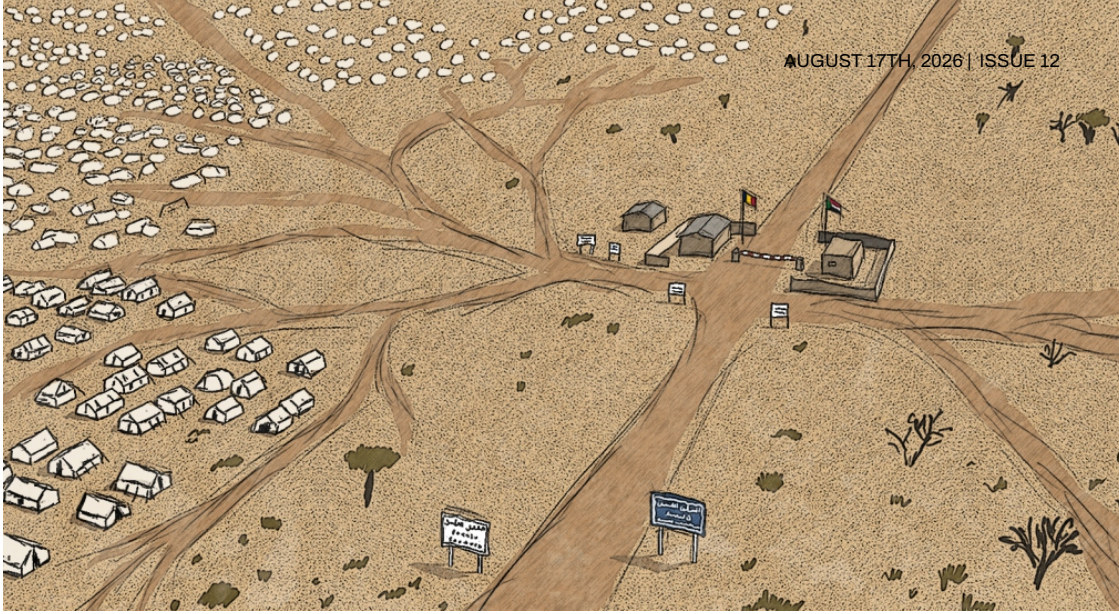
At the start of the fourth year of war in Sudan, the crisis was no longer just a power struggle between generals. It has become a systematic machine for grinding down human beings, dismantling the social fabric, and redefining the relationship between people and their basic needs. While the army and the Rapid Support Forces clash over the remnants of a devastated state, civilians pay the heaviest price: their lives, their dignity, and their children’s future. While millions have been displaced inside Sudan, more than 1,530,376 people have found their last refuge in neighbouring Chad, a country already suffering from poverty and desertification, which has transformed itself into the largest refugee-hosting region in the area. But today, as the war approaches its third year, these

refugees face a new humanitarian catastrophe no less lethal than bullets: the spectre of mass famine due to an international drought of solidarity.

Chad: A Poor Country Hosting a Global Crisis

Chad currently hosts nearly 1,530,376 refugees and asylum seekers, according to June 2025 statistics. Of these, more than 844,000 have arrived since the war erupted in April 2023; before this, Chad was hosting roughly 409,000 Sudanese refugees who had fled earlier conflict in Darfur. This staggering number means that one in every 13 people in Chad is a refugee. In the eastern regions bordering Sudan, that ratio rises to one in every three people. The Chadian government has kept its borders open throughout the conflict, a noble humanitarian stance, but it has placed the country under unbearable pressure. The already fragile infrastructure, overcrowded schools, and collapsing health centres simply cannot absorb this influx.





But the deeper problem lies not with Chad itself, but with the international community, which has begun to look away from this tragedy. On April 9, 2026, UNHCR and the World Food Programme (WFP) issued an urgent distress call: a massive funding shortfall of \$428 million (\$289 million for UNHCR, \$139 million for WFP). Without this amount, essential aid food, water, and shelter will face “life-threatening” cuts in the coming months.

The “Survival Economy”: When Chaos Becomes the Norm

To grasp the scale of the catastrophe, we must look beyond the numbers. The war has not only destroyed cities; it has destroyed the entire “livelihood economy.” Estimates suggest losses of nearly \$15 billion in GDP, about 48% of Sudan’s economy, with 5.2 million people losing their jobs. But in Chad, this collapse takes an even more brutal form, as a “forced survival economy” becomes a way of life.

This new economy is measured not by what you earn, but by what you manage to survive on. Food is no longer a commodity but a rare lifeline subject to haggling. Water has become a tool of pressure, and health is a privilege for those who can access it. In the camps of eastern Chad, especially in areas like Ouré Cassoni in the Indé Est province, refugees live on less than half the daily minimum of water. Eighty thousand families are shelterless, sleeping in the open or under the burned branches of trees, as photos document.

Testimonies from Hell:

At the heart of this collapsed economy, we meet real faces carrying stories of daily torment. Mariam (40), a widow and mother of four, fled a small village in South Darfur after the city fell to the Rapid Support Forces on October 26, 2023. She sits today at the edge of a crowded market in the border town of Adré, her face marked by exhaustion beyond her years. Mariam used

to receive monthly food aid that barely sufficed, but after recent cuts, there is no longer enough. She says, her voice laced with bitterness: “Before the aid cuts, we lived with difficulty, but now it’s impossible. I work double the hours I used to. I work as a cleaner in the market from dawn until dusk, carrying garbage bags and sweeping streets, just to provide a loaf of bread for my children. My body is tired, but my fear for them is greater. At night, I don’t sleep. I think about how I will feed them tomorrow.”

Salwa (30), a mother of five, lost her husband in the massacre that struck the city of El Geneina in West Darfur on June 14, 2023. Salwa now heads a household of seven (herself, her five children, and her elderly mother). She speaks in a voice devoid of tears. The tears have long dried up: “My husband was killed before my eyes. He left me with five children and endless sorrows. Here in the camp, my eldest son (12) has left school and works in the market, carrying goods on his back for a few coins. My little daughter (10) goes with me every morning to Chadian women’s homes to help them clean and do laundry, but the income isn’t enough to buy medicine. Every day is a battle to survive.”

Mohamed (45), a merchant who owned a shop in the El Fasher market, the capital of North Darfur state, before the city fell to the Rapid Support Forces on October 26, 2025. He fled with his large family: two wives and ten children. But the war showed no mercy; his first wife died during displacement due to illness and lack of medicine. His second wife now cares for the children and helps

secure a modest income by volunteering with a small charity. Mohamed says, his voice choked with sorrow: “I had a shop. I was a respectable man. Today, I own nothing. My older children look for any daily menial work: digging temporary wells, carrying bricks, anything. The income isn’t enough to feed ten children. The yoghurt that Chadian children eat is a dream for my children. I am terrified of watching my children die of hunger before my eyes, after I saved them from bullets.”

Climate Deterioration: A Silent Enemy Striking the Camps

Worsening the situation is that this humanitarian tragedy is unfolding in one of the harshest climatic environments in the world. Eastern Chad is a semi-desert region, subject to severe droughts, dust storms, and extreme heat. With water systems collapsing due to lack of funding, drinking ordinary water becomes a luxury. With every delay in moving refugees from overcrowded border areas (more than 243,000 people remain stranded there) to inland camps, the risks multiply: skin diseases due to lack of hygiene, heatstroke, and outbreaks of epidemics like cholera, which has struck Sudan and looms over Chadian camps.

Funding shortages have halted even basic environmental protection programs. There is no tree planting, no sand barriers, no waste management. Camps are drowning in garbage, turning into disease hotspots, while hot winds carry both illness and despair. These shortages are the result of deep aid cuts from the new U.S. administration and European donors

shifting to defence spending, which have slashed UNHCR and WFP programs in half, leaving only four out of every ten refugees with basic assistance.

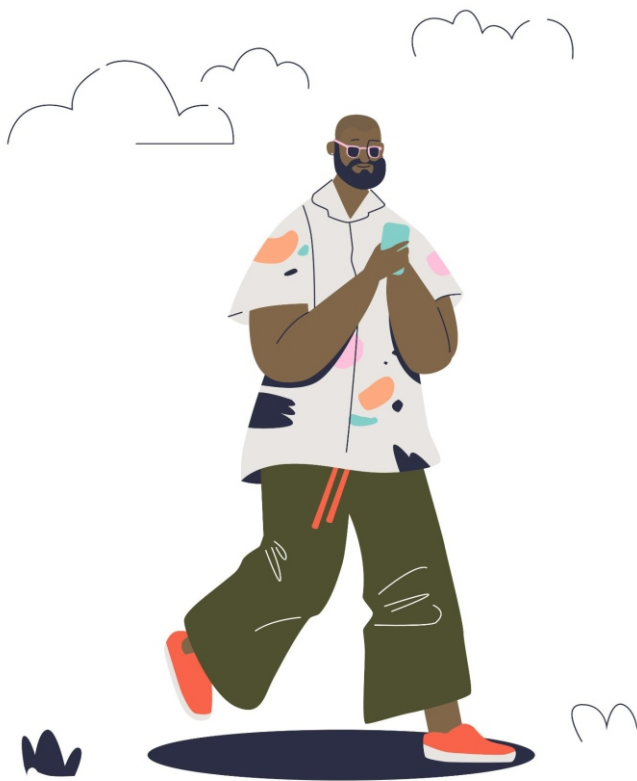
The Final Plea: Before the Camps Become Mass Graves

The joint appeal issued by UNHCR and WFP in April 2026 is not just an ordinary funding request. It is a cry for help before it's too late. Field indicators paint a grim picture: 70% of refugee families have been forced to reduce their number of daily meals; stunting rates among children are rising sharply; and fights over dwindling food aid are becoming daily occurrences. Chad has become the world's largest open-air camp, hosting survivors of genocide and severe hunger, while the international community watches. Aid cuts from the new U.S. administration and European donors shifting toward defence spending have dried up the springs of hope. The stability of the

entire Sahel region is now tied to what happens in these camps. If aid collapses, refugees will not only die of starvation; new waves of displacement will emerge, camps will turn into dens of despair and extremism, and borders will ignite once again.

The choice before the international community is clear: either act now to provide \$428 million paltry sum compared to the cost of war or irregular migration or later bear responsibility for the crime of leaving more than a million people to die slowly on the doorstep of the 21st century. The war in Sudan has shown the brutality of humans toward their fellow humans. The Chad crisis is now testing our collective humanity. Will we pass the test, or will history record that we turned away while the world burned?





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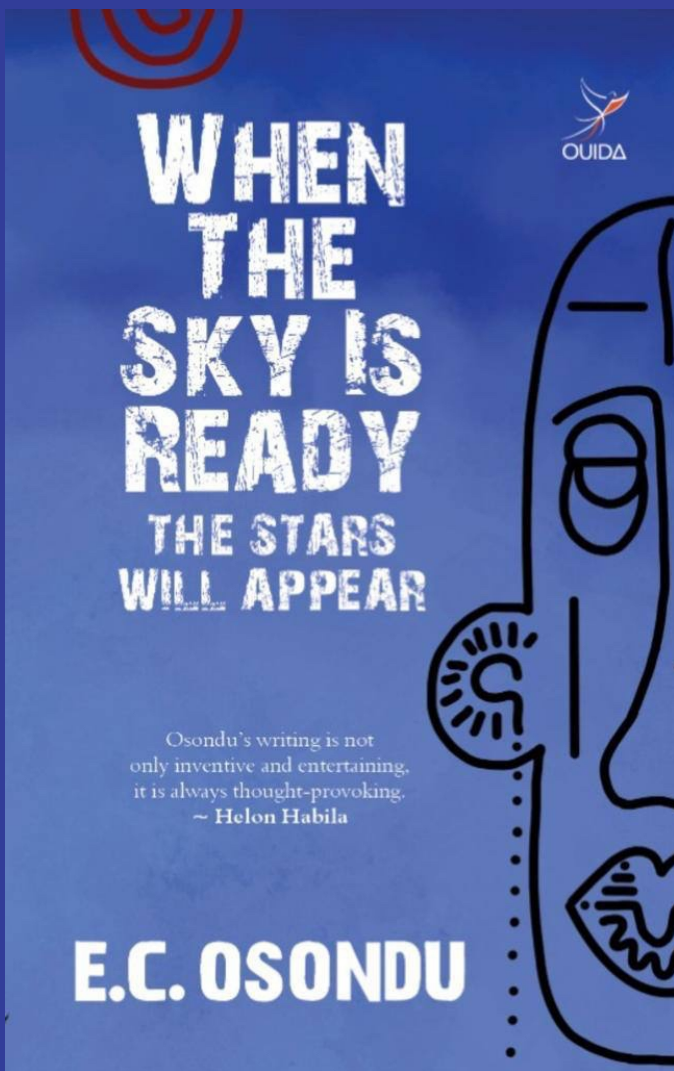
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What to Read Now

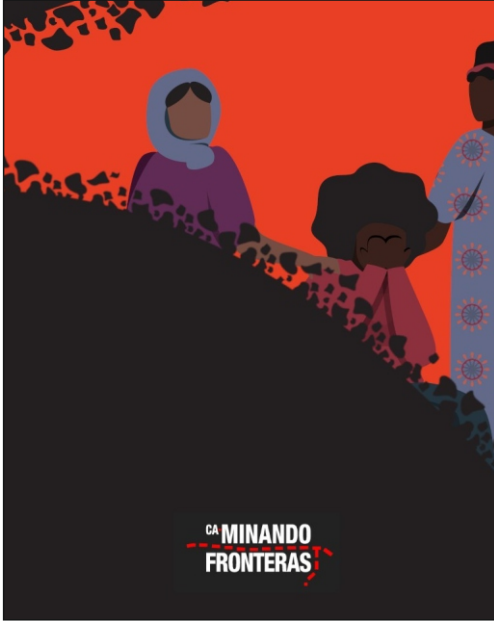
E.C. Osondu's "When the Sky is Ready, The Stars Will Appear" is a poignant exploration of the immigrant's journey and the enduring power of hope. The novel follows a young orphan whose longing for escape is ignited when an enigmatic drifter named Bros returns from Rome.

The story takes a dramatic turn when soldiers from the Seven Men Army arrive at Gulu Station scouting for recruits. Forced to flee to avoid conscription, the protagonist embarks on a treacherous journey toward Rome. As the protagonist navigates the complexities of migration, Osondu strips away the romanticism often associated with the "abroad" dream, revealing the vulnerability and exploitation that often await. Yet, the title serves as a recurring motif of patience and destiny, suggesting that despite the arduous path, there is a cosmic timing to one's fulfilment.

Osondu centres his character's humanity rather than just his suffering during this crossing. It is a powerful tale that interrogates why people leave and what they carry with them. For anyone interested in the intersections of migration, African literature, and the human spirit, this novel remains an essential, luminous read.



Resources

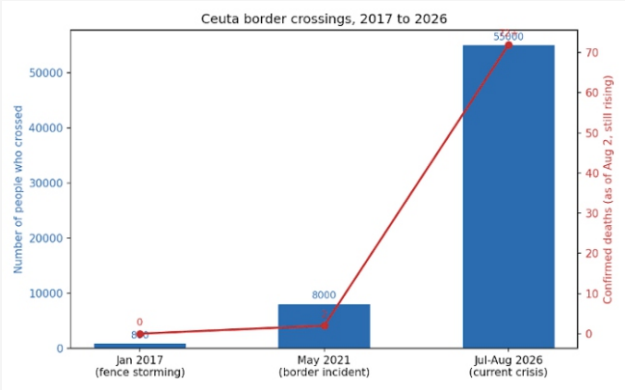


Caminando Fronteras

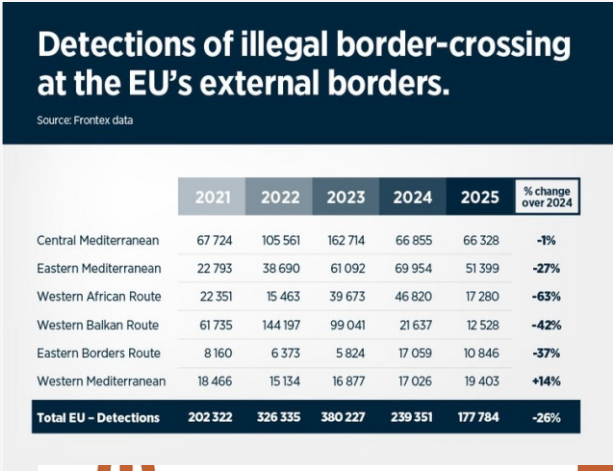
Ca-minando Fronteras was established in 2002 by individuals from different parts of the Western Euro-African border with a collective mission to defend the rights of migrants and their communities, with a focus on protecting migration routes, documenting human rights violations, and supporting victims and families. The organisation documents deaths and disappearances along migration routes with a broader mission to raise awareness of abuses at the Western Euro-African border.

Further inquiries: <https://caminandofronteras.org/>

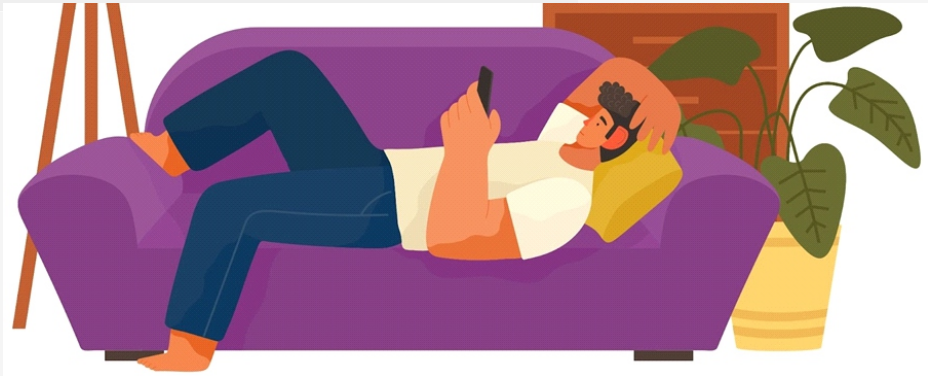
In Numbers



The chart shows a sharp rise in migration at the Ceuta border across the three periods shown. Crossings increased from roughly 1,000 in 2017 to 8,000 in 2021, before reaching an estimated 55,000 in July–August 2026, with the death toll rising during the crisis.



The chart shows shows irregular border crossings along the EU's main migration routes from 2021-2025. While crossings declined on some major routes, the western mediterranean, which includes Ceuta, recorded an increase in 2025, reaching 19,403 detections.



Settling for Another Country

By ABDUL RAFIU LAWAL

Perhaps, those who coined the popular adage "one man's meat is another man's poison" may have Nigerians at the back of their mind. This is because as the people of Bakassi and the federal government continue to stress the unacceptability of the International Court of Justice, ICJ's, judgment between Nigeria and Cameroon based on the fact that "they are Nigerians residing within Nigerian territory," inhabitants of another community, the Gulumba/Wuloji people in Bama Local Government area of Borno State have continued to migrate to Cameroon in search of water and other basic amenities.

The people, who are mostly Kanuris and Shuwa, are leaving Nigeria because their major source of livelihood, which is farming and cattle rearing, is being threatened by lack of water, locusts and quilla birds. The migration of the people, which started in January 2001, has now become alarming. Members of the community, who started the migration from the six villages, are now convincing their friends to join them, citing government negligence as their reason.

In an interview with TELL, Mala Mustapha, secretary to the district head of Wuloji, which is about 58 kilometres from Cameroon said: "From Gulumba to Kumshe, the headquarters of Wuloji District here, there is no motorable road, water for human and animal consumption and electricity. No health facilities as our clinics are worse than mere consulting clinics. Some of our women suffer from pregnancy complications because of the hectic nature of the journey on donkey to Cameroon." According to him, his people lack that sense of belonging other Nigerians have in other parts of the country. "We are Nigerians speaking Kanuri and eating Nigerian food, but our only source of information are our visitors from Maiduguri who visit us occasionally. BBC Hausa Service and the Camerounian Radio whose language of transmission is a combination of French and Fulani languages. Physically, we are Nigerians but inwardly we think and act like Camerounians."

Lawan Abdullahi, a farmer and spokesman for Gulumba community said they were unhappy with the Nigerian government for neglecting them for a long time. The farmer said that their problems were multi-dimensional because their two clinics at Gulumba and Kashmiri are as

Some inhabitants of six villages in Borno State, citing neglect by the Nigerian government, migrate to Cameroon



The people of Gulumba and Wuloji continue to migrate to Cameroon



Jatau (middle) leads a committee on a visit to Gulumba

Source: TELL. 25 November 2002. Pg 32.

This page reports that some inhabitants of villages in Borno State, Nigeria, especially Gulumba and Wuloji, were crossing the Cameroon border due to a lack of basic government-provided amenities.

PERSPECTIVE



AHMED ABDULLAHI

Fortress Europe

"NOT welcome!" This is the sign being erected outside all the ports or fortress Europe for visitors from Third World countries. Immigration laws are being modified to reduce access to newcomers, and to ease the expulsion of those thought to have "over-stayed" their "welcome". It matters not whether one is coming to visit relatives. In fact this is taken as a sign of intention to stay.

Of course European countries differ in their approach, and are proud of their national peculiarities, despite all the noise about European integration. The English, true to their reputation for subtlety and diplomacy, prefer to humiliate their visitors before they have actually passed through their gates. Immigration officers are chosen for coldness, and specially trained to be as unpleasant and unwelcoming as possible.

You can always tell when aircraft have landed from India, Bangladesh, Nigeria or the Caribbean by the length of the queues. But to reduce the embarrassment and congestion this causes, detention centres have been built near the airports so that immigration officials can interrogate their victims to their heart's content, away from the curious gaze of those with the right colour (of passport).

Lacking the tact of their British cousins, the French and Germans are more open in expressing their hostility to "visitors", some of whom just happen to be citizens or permanent residents. Under their new right-wing government, and their loathsome interior minister, Charles Pasqua, French police now have the right to inspect the papers of anyone, and to bundle him out of France if they are "out of order". In theory this applies to white and black alike, but not in practice. As a result several Africans have been killed in police custody, or deported despite having French citizenship.

The Germans, with their vaunted genius for stupidity, discard all pretence

and simply hurl fire-bombs into hostels of asylum-seekers or houses of Turkish and Vietnamese residents. The inherent racism of German requirement for citizenship, means that large, well-established communities such as the Turks lack the electoral clout to punish racist politicians. As a result "decent" office-holders and seekers pander to the racists in the most shameless manner. Germany is held up as the villain of Europe, even though its immigration and asylum policies are more enlightened than those hidden by the low cunning of their neighbours.

In erecting the barriers of fortress Europe, political leaders act as if visitors and immigrants from the Third World are aliens from outer-space. But in fact, almost without exception, they come from nations which were once enslaved or colonised by Europeans. Their toil, and the toil of their ancestors created the wealth of nations which now seek to exclude them. Indians, Bangladeshis, Pakistanis, Nigerians, Ghanaians, Jamaicans and Barbadians visit the United Kingdom, where millions of their relatives are citizens.

Citizens from the Ivory Coast, Senegal, Gabon and Haiti visit France for the same reason. What could these countries be without the wealth of slaves, sugar, gold, precious stones, oil, markets and other economic advantages they received, and continue to receive from their former colonies? After the Second World War Europe was devastated by the lack of manpower killed and injured in its most recent civil war. It had no racist compunction about recruiting black people to die in its war, or to grow food and run its industries and hospitals if they survived.

The UK recruited West Indian bus drivers, conductors and nurses, and the Germans performed their economic "miracle" with millions of hard-working "guest-workers" from Turkey and the former Yugoslavia. Nobody noticed that the Turks were "inferior" or "sub-human" when they were breaking their backs to make Germany the most successful economy in Europe. Nobody told the West Indian nurses that they were "lazy welfare-scronglers" who should be shipped back to "bongo-bongo land where they came from" (words of a UK minister). And the Germans stopped thinking they were the "master-race" after their racist fantasies had destroyed their country, and almost destroyed the world.

Now that the banquet has been prepared, the Europeans claim that the food is far too rich for the shrivelled bellies of those who slaved in the fields and kitchens to make it possible. They are humiliated at ports and detention centres, killed and thrown overboard from ships, harassed, tortured, deported and killed if their "papers" are "out of order", or declared fair game for racist arsonists and murderers.

But not all visitors or immigrants are unwelcome. All men and women are equal, but some are more equal than others. The rich of the poor countries, whose degradations destroyed their economies and forced their people to seek opportunities abroad, are more than welcome, by officials who escort them from VIP lounges, straight to the banks where they will receive their cut of the latest deal. It is their poor people who pay the price for the folly of their masters, and suffer loss because they lack the power to protect their interests.

In erecting the barriers of fortress Europe, political leaders act as if visitors and immigrants from the Third World are aliens from outer-space

African Concord. 17 January 1994. Pg 11

This page discusses the hostile immigration policies and treatment of visitors and immigrants from Third World countries in Europe, highlighting the hypocrisy of European countries benefiting from the labor and resources of former colonies while excluding their citizens.

The Community Corner



Pop Chat With Ibrahim Williams, the Host of Immigrant Dad Podcast

Q: Why migration?

A: You think your life is all figured out until you have to leave and begin again elsewhere. Then you realise how little of life is arranged to cater to you. Migration came naturally: I wanted to understand my newest, most consequential status in a land far, far from home.

Q: Why Immigrant Dad Podcast?

A: I loved podcasts, and before them, radio—the earliest form of podcast, if you ask me. After becoming first an immigrant, then a father, I longed for a show that held the complexity and uncertainty of both experiences. I found none. So I created the Immigrant Dad Podcast.

Q: What's your one significant experience as a migrant?

A: Working different jobs has been my defining migrant experience. In recent years, I've driven Uber, worked deliveries, held fellowships, and now work PT at a bookstore while teaching at a university. Migration has made me a student of this new “home,” continually surprised by how much there is still to learn.

Got a migration experience to share or want to be featured?

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When you JOIN THE COMMUNITY, you get early access to:

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- Verified global migration updates
- Resources and opportunities
- Policy and data on migration explained simply
- Help decide what you want us to talk about in our next issue

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We are building a newsroom & community that counters misinformation and bias in global mainstream news about African migration. We are working with local and cross-border journalists to challenge biased global reporting frameworks that shape migration. We want to disrupt extractive storytelling practices & expand the range of perspectives represented in international media discourse surrounding migration.

The magazine is independently funded by the Diaspora Africa team. Many updates featured in this publication are sourced from our Migration Monitor database, which tracks migration trends affecting African migrants and diasporic communities globally.

monitor.diasporaafrica.org

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