

Narratives of Migration and Development as Discourses in Transnational Digital Migrant Media

The Case of Kenyan Migration to Europe

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DECLARATION

The Dissertation on *Narratives of Migration and Development as Discourses in Transnational Digital Migrant Media: The Case of Kenyan Migration to Europe* was written independently and all used materials met the scientific and ethical standards of the dissertation. I have taken note of the University and Academic statutes to ensure good scientific practice. I certify that all the material in the dissertation which is not my own work, has been identified and acknowledged. No materials are included for which a degree has been previously conferred upon me. I Lydia Ouma Radoli hereby declare that the publication of my Dissertation will not lead to the infringement of existing intellectual property rights.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

BAMF	Federal Office for Migration and Refugees
BUILD	Building Understanding Through International links for Development
BMZ	Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
DFID	UK Department for International Development
DW	Deutsche Welle (Germany National Broadcaster)
DA	Discourse Analysis
EEA	European Economic Authority
ECPDM	European Centre for Development Policy Management
EU	European Union
ENAR	European Network Against Racism
EAC	East African Community
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
GIZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft für internationale Zusammenarbeit
KfW	German Development Bank
KCA	Kikuyu Central Association
KDA	Kenya Diaspora Alliance
KBC	Kenya Broadcasting Corporation
KTN	Kenya Television Network
MPI	Migration Policy Index
NRK	Non-Resident Kenyans
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ICC	International Criminal Court
IOM	International Organization for Migration
MU	Mkenya Ujerumani
NIP	National Integration Plan
SADC	South African Development Cooperation
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
SFL	Systematic Functional Linguistics
OECD	The Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development
ONS	Organization of National Statistics
UK	United Kingdom
Ukentv	UK-Kenya Television
WB	World Bank

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines how migration and development narratives are (re)produced in transnational digital migrant media using an example of Kenyan migration to Europe, as its main sociological question. It also raises questions about existing gaps in the literature on the role of the media specifically, transnational digital migrant media in constructing influential discourses. It achieves this quest by submitting to an objective to examine the contribution of migrant media discourses to development in migration-sending countries (De Haas, 2007). Using postcolonial-discourse theoretic approach, the thesis analyses the criteria for selection of texts on migration and development, and how the texts inform the discourse. It establishes that postcolonialism is prevalent in European social research, but limited to justifying historical occurrences and re-writing wrongs done to Africans and others formerly colonized. The theoretical concepts of development in this thesis follow Arturo Escobar's (1995) deconstruction of conventional development theory. It includes an appreciation of multi-faceted theoretic dynamics, especially historical effects on development and creation of hegemonic disparities causing migration of Kenyans to Europe. The dissertation explores the relation of liberal development narratives to Postcolonial perspectives of Edward Said (1977), Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (1986) and Homi Bhabha (1983), whose writings expose stereotypes like those found in development constructs. This dissertation highlights similar aspects of representations of migration and development in the media. It does not only expose migrant's contribution to development but accentuates the discourse forming function of migrant media in the production of heterogeneous narratives on migration and development. This reflection is an attempt to look at possibilities of alternative development trajectories in migrant media and Postcolonial texts, that resist neo-colonial economic narratives forced on people of African descent. The findings for this thesis show that migrant media provides hegemonic ideas on development, as well as alternative counter-hegemonic views. Hence, development in modern Africa since self-determination in the 1950s and 1960s continues to furnish the media's socio-economic and political discourse. Even though poverty and political instability of Africa characterize narratives in the mainstream media, migrant media utilizes new media platforms for "subalterns" to be heard. Migrants' inputs on development (re)produced in migrant media, inform a discourse that champions initiatives aimed at improving livelihoods in migration-sending countries. To answer the main sociological question on (re)production of narratives this dissertation learns from Norman Fairclough's (1995, 2012) guidelines to discourse analysis, as informed from Michel Foucault's (1980) theoretic approach. As a qualitative research strategy, the dissertation explores Texts from transnational digital migrant media for Kenyans in Europe (Germany and UK) and expert interviews with Kenyan media producers in Germany and in Britain. On this basis, the thesis argues that not only are media expert's contributors to development but are also important creators of a discourse that qualifies migration as a reality in Kenya's development.

Key Words: *Media Narratives, Migration and Development, Postcolonialism, Migrations Crisis, Brexit, Kenyans in Europe*

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Diese Dissertation untersucht, wie Migrations- und Entwicklungsnarrative in transnationalen digitalen Migrantenmedien (re) produziert werden, am Beispiel der kenianischen Migration nach Europa. Es wirft Fragen zu bestehenden Lücken in der Literatur über die Rolle der Medien spezifisch transnationaler digitaler Migrantenmedien beim Aufbau einflussreicher Diskurse auf. Sie erfüllt dieses Ziel, indem sie sich dem Ziel unterzieht, zu untersuchen, wie Diskurse in Migrantenmedien Migration als einen Prozess behandeln, der zur Entwicklung in Ländern beiträgt, in denen Migration stattfindet (De Haas, 2007). Im Fokus stehen dabei vor allem die Kriterien, mit denen Migrantenmedienproduzenten Texte zu Migration und Entwicklung auswählen und wie die Texte den Diskurs prägen. Obwohl das postkoloniale Denken zunehmend in der Arbeit der europäischen Sozialwissenschaftler gesucht wird, ist es darauf beschränkt, historische Ereignisse zu rechtfertigen und das Unrecht, das Afrikanern und anderen kolonisierten Menschen zugefügt wurde, neu zu schreiben. Im Speziellen beschäftigt sich diese Dissertation mit den theoretischen Entwicklungskonzepten, die Arturo Escobars (1995) Dekonstruktion konventioneller Entwicklungstheorie folgt. Es umfasst eine Würdigung vielschichtiger theoretischer Dynamiken, insbesondere historischer Auswirkungen auf die Entwicklung und Schaffung hegemonialer Disparitäten, die die Migration von Kenianern nach Europa verursachen. Diese Dissertation untersucht das Verhältnis liberaler Entwicklungsnarrative zu postkolonialen Perspektiven von Edward Said (1977), Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (1986) und Homi Bhabha (1983). Auf dieser Grundlage argumentieren postkoloniale Autoren Stereotypen, wie sie in Entwicklungskonstrukten gefunden werden. Diese Dissertation beleuchtet ähnliche Aspekte der Repräsentation von Migration und Entwicklung in den Medien. Es zeigt nicht nur den Beitrag von Migranten zur Entwicklung, sondern betont auch die diskursbildende Funktion von Migrantenmedien in der Produktion heterogener Erzählungen zu Migration und Entwicklung. Diese Reflexion ist ein Versuch, die Möglichkeiten alternativer Entwicklungspfade in migrantischen Medien und postkolonialen Texten zu untersuchen, die neokolonialen ökonomischen Erzählungen widerstehen, die Menschen afrikanischer Herkunft aufgezwungen werden. Um dieses Argument zu untermauern, zeigen die Ergebnisse dieser Arbeit, dass Migrantenmedien sowohl hegemoniale Entwicklungsideen als auch alternative konterhegemoniale Ansichten bieten. Die Frage der Entwicklung im modernen Afrika seit der Selbstbestimmung in den 1950er und 1960er Jahren hat den sozioökonomischen und politischen Diskurs in den Medien weitergeführt. Obwohl Armut und politische Instabilität Afrikas die Narrative in den Mainstream-Medien prägen, haben Migrantenmedien den Moment als Plattform für "Subalternen" aufgegeben, um gehört zu werden, da sie Stimmen über die Entwicklung ihrer Heimatländer erheben. Die provokativsten Beiträge der Migranten zur Entwicklung, die in Migrantenmedien (re) produziert werden, sind Informationen für einen Diskurs, der Initiativen zur Verbesserung der Lebensbedingungen in migrationsübertragenden Ländern unterstützt. Zur Beantwortung der soziologischen Hauptfragestellung zur (Re-) Produktion von Narrativen lernt diese Dissertation aus Norman Faircloughs (1995, 2012) Richtlinien zur Diskursanalyse, wie sie aus Michel Foucaults (1980) theoretischem Ansatz hervorgeht. Als qualitative Forschungsstrategie untersucht die Dissertation Texte und Experteninterviews mit kenianischen Medienproduzenten in Deutschland und Großbritannien. Auf dieser Grundlage argumentiert die These, dass nicht nur Medienexperten zur Entwicklung beitragen, sondern auch wichtige Schöpfer eines Diskurses sind, der Migration als eine Realität in Kenias Entwicklung qualifiziert.

Schlüsselwörter: *Medienberichte, Migration und Entwicklung, Postkolonialismus, Migrationskrise, Brexit, Kenianer in Europa*

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation is a story of “voices from distant souls”, of Kenyans separated from their homeland by distance and economic pursuits, lumped together in stereotypical categories in European locations, but raising above their “muffled voices” to be heard in their own contexts. “To tell their own story”.

1.0. NARRATIVES of “MIGRATION in CRISIS”

I am writing this dissertation at a time when migration is a critical issue in Europe and across its borders. In a study that focuses on the (re) production of migration and development discourses in migrant media, I am reminded of European leaders' responses to the question of migration. Although I concentrate on Kenyans whose migration is considered purely economic and not related to conflict, I learn from Foucault's (1980) emphasis of discourse as a construction of social reality. To this point, I am convinced that global rhetoric's across Europe and US on migration, clearly influence how aspects of migration are (re)produced. Reflecting on the impact of Germany Chancellor Angela Merkel's (2015) decisive remark: **“Wir haben so vieles geschafft, Wir schaffen das”**- translated; “we have managed so many things, we can do this” (authors translation),¹ I see the power of discourse in influencing Germany's response to what the media has dubbed a “migration crisis”. The narrative brings to focus the power of language, as well as of the media in framing perceptions (discourses) to ascertain a political agenda. Interestingly, Merkel's critics have used the controversial sentence to taunt her stance on migration. As I write, I am challenged by populist tendencies in migration discourse, extolled in commentaries of America's president Donald Trump's (2016) in the run to the election calling for; “closing borders” and “building walls”. More provocative was his controversial remark about immigrants coming to the USA from “shithole” (*sic*) countries” (CNN, 2018). In my quest to understand categories of migration, I was constantly confronted with media images like that of Aylan Kurdi, the two-year Syrian boy, washed in the surfs of a Turkish holiday resort (BBC, 2016). The body of Kurdi, a symbol of perceived inactiveness of developed nations in averting the so-called “crisis”, pushed world leaders to confront the “migration question” (BBC,2016). My search was intensified in the quest to find voices of Kenyan migrants in Europe in this melee. In the seemingly invisible and under- researched Kenyan migrant media in Europe, narratives of lives, memoirs, cultures and activities of migrants did not represent a crisis, but inceptions for alternative development discourse. Kenyans in Europe fit within contemporary migrations since their movement to foreign destinations is done voluntarily or involuntary. They do not have an experience of trauma but are part of a global process of de-territorialization, transnational migration and cultural hybridity. Their mobility to European locations is economically, socially or even politically motivated. Notwithstanding, in empirical findings the term “migrant” is contested and interpreted as pejorative in the representation of

¹ Frankfurter Allgemeine: *Merkel, Wir Schaffen das*, 31.08.2015: <http://www.faz.net/aktuell/politik/angela-merkels-sommerpressekonferenz-13778484.html>

mobile individuals. In literature, migrants refer to all people on the move seeking jobs and better lives, which governments are likely to rule, as “economic migrants”, who are still pursuing the right to legally remain in the receiving country on the basis of asylum (IOM, 2015). Migrants in the recent past are on the flight from war-torn countries such as Syria, Afghanistan, and Yemen, likely to be given priority in terms of protection under refugee status. Drawing from (Borjas, 2013), the term immigrant is used expressively in immigration documents to refer to a person who moves permanently to settle in a foreign country. Since immigration status of Kenyans in Europe vary from permanent to temporary, I use the term migrants to refer to: “people who have moved from their original homeland to find home somewhere else”. Other terms applied synonymously to refer to migrants include newcomer, settler, incomer, new arrival, migrant, emigrant, non-native, foreigner, foreign national, alien, outsider, stranger, naturalized citizen, expatriate; informal expat (Cohen, 2008). The literature as we shall see in preceding chapters’ reveals that generally, few scholars in Africa have problematized the concept of migration and development and migrant media as a facet for discourse production. By contrast, this dissertation attaches significance on the concepts of media, migration and development explored through postcolonial and discourse-theoretical analysis. This research on migration and development narratives in transnational digital migrant media could not have been timely, the lens on “migration crisis” was coincidental, but relevant. Since the onset of the crisis in 2014, the mass media has been awash with harrowing anecdotes on migrant’s bodies buried in the depths of the Mediterranean Sea and unmarked graves on European shores and African deserts.

On the other hand, far right-winged political parties project the crisis as a signal of porous international borders and call for strict immigration polices across Europe. Consequently, European narratives of resistance to migration are extensively expressed in the media construction of concepts particularly, “Brexit”² in the UK and “migration crisis”³ in Germany. Initially, I singled Britain and Germany as locations for my empirical studies because of considerable populations of Kenyans, but during the research, “migration crisis” became an important indicator of the construction of migration discourse as a threat to Europe’s social fabric. Still, migrants are represented as one homogeneous group regardless of their diverse social contexts. The classification has fuelled my quest to study migrants, who do not fit in these frames neither “refugees” nor asylum seekers”. In media and literature contexts for this study, migrants in Europe from stable countries like Kenya, are labelled as “economic migrants”, preying on Europe’s economic systems, but in sending-countries, they are agents of development. The contrasting perspectives put Kenyan migrants at the centre of a current stimulating, yet sensitive discourse on migration within media and sociological spheres. The migration and development nexus begs the

2 The European Movement International (EMI, 2016) recognizes the British Exit from the European Union (EU) identified by the acronym Brexit as a decision in favour of leaving the EU centre on grounds of economic interdependence, sovereignty and security, and immigration. Available at:https://europeanmovement.eu/wp-content/uploads/2016/05/EMI_16_Policy_Position_Brexit_17_VIEW_FINAL.pdf

3 Migration Crisis is referred to the surge in the number of people fleeing from conflict or violence in their countries’ or looking for alternative livelihoods (Brookings Institution, 2016). Available at:https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/fp_20160912_refugee_migration_crisis.pdf

question of whether migration should be framed as a positive process, or a threat to the otherwise increasingly volatile global world. These reflections indeed exemplify the importance of migration and development discourse and the enormous power in media representations. It is my contention that, the media greatly influences how migrants are perceived, constructed and received within host societies. I was interested in studying transnational digital migrant production, shortened in contexts for this study as digital migrant media because, they offer a space for alternative voices of migrants not addressed in mainstream media in receiving countries. Secondly, transnational digital migrant media (re)production of elements of hegemony expose Eurocentric perceptions in their production criteria. Consequently, digital migrant media utilizes the concept of economic migration as an engine of development, an approach greatly contested in migration host lands. For instance, Hernandez (2006) argues that quantifying development in terms of remittances challenges specific attributes associated with neo-liberalism such as entrepreneurship, self-determinism, empowerment, and substance. In the empirical chapters, I analyze Texts from transnational digital migrant media; Mkenya Ujerumani (Germany) and Ukentv (Britain). Rather than follow common explanations of development and migration, I was curious to find out the nature of narratives (re)produced in these media. From the analysis of transnational digital migrant media (Mkenya Ujerumani and Ukentv) portrayal of Kenyans in Germany and the UK, I noticed that stories emphasized development triggered migration, a rather controversial view in Europe. To test the perception on the (re)production of migration and development narratives, I went through a series of interviews with media experts to understand the selection and production criteria, comparatively to existing traditional media styles. Having established previous networks with Kenyan journalists in Europe, I readily identified their significant contribution on migration and development issues in international broadcasts.

Therefore, my target group consisted of editors, producers, and digital migrant media proprietors with outlets chosen for this study producing content targeting Kenyans in Europe. In this way, each interview partner was able to share views, experiences of migration, social contexts of production and the challenges of working as an African migrant in Europe. Each acted as a gauge for data collection because they were actively engaged in discourse production. All the partners interviewed were Kenyan media professionals representing a gender balance, variable education levels and a wide range of media experience. As stated earlier, my quest was to analyze migration and development narratives as a discourse (re)produced in texts, photographs and sometimes video and audio on transnational digital migrant media. The texts extracted for analysis adhered to specific descriptive formats packaged in segments, measured and assumed to hold users' attention. Following (Orgad, 2012), I recognize migrant media narratives as voices, images, stories, and accounts that appear in the media daily. This means that the way we imagine the world influences the media discourses. To this point, Mkenya Ujerumani, loosely translated as "a Kenyan in Germany" is a news website with articles, audio, pictures and internet radio. The website (re)produces news and information on migration laws, investment, development and cultural issues

relevant to Kenyan migrants with emphasis on development. Consequently, in Britain, Ukentv is an online media service which publishes information on activities of Kenyans in England. Ukentv utilizes, audio, text and visual documenting Kenyan entrepreneurial conferences, embassy bulletins and cultural events marked in London and other regions in the UK. Ukentv narratives touch on social activities, as a (re)production of culture, identity and Britain's historical phenomenon in Kenya. Subsequent questions in this dissertation include the criteria of production in digital migrant media, although as the questionnaire in Appendix 1. shows, I prompted respondents with follow up questions to capture fascinating facets and perceptions. Fairclough 's (1995) units of analysis, the **text**, **social practice** and **discourse practice** form basic frames for analyzing media texts. In addition, narratives of migration and development in transnational digital migrant media production criteria are analyzed from elements in Fairclough's (2004) discourse perspectives such as; *stereotypes, assumptions, representations* as producing hegemonic discourses *and identifications, actions, social relations* exhibiting counter-hegemony. Therefore, the goal of this thesis is to answer the main sociological research question on; how the discourse on migration and development is (re)produced in transnational digital migrant media. Consequent questions touch on (re)production of narratives on migration and development, representation of migrants as agents of development, criteria of discourse production and a transnational comparison of key differences between migration and development discourses in Germany and Britain.

1.0. RESEARCH PROBLEM STATEMENT

In the literature on the migration and development nexus, we see narratives on South-to-North migration (Levitt & Lambas, 2001; De Haas 2005, 2007; Fargues, 2011; Glick Schiller & Salazar, 2013). However, in other contexts, development is loosely associated with remittances as financial capital send to migration-sending countries in the 'Global South'. Although a conclusive view of the nexus is not possible, in this dissertation the Postcolonial framing of migration as a source of development is tackled both as a historical and neo-colonial facet with sustainable impacts on development. A review of the literature on migration reveals gaps in the analysis of transnational digital migrant media as a critical source of development discourse. Therefore, leaning on Postcolonial and discourse theoretic approaches, my aim is to show that transnational digital migrant media producers create narratives out of the reciprocal relationship between migration and development. The production criteria are drawn from early media theorists (McCombs & Shaw, 1972) on agenda-setting which holds that issues that the media considers important or *salient* forms its agenda, which is also equated to the agenda within the public sphere. Consequently, emphasizing the element of salience, which claims that the public views what the media interprets as important. The agenda setting theory is prominent in traditional or vertical media and challenged in new or horizontal media also progressed in (Berger & Freeman's, 2011) arguments. The authors reflect on how in 1922 Walter Lippmann's book *Public Opinion* influenced much of the agenda setting theory arguing that "the news media construct our view of the world"

(Wahl-Jorgensen & Hanitzsch, 2009:147). In this thesis, I understand that the element of salience in stories on migration and development in migrant media narratives, portray transnationalism as enabling to development. The relationship acts as a link that stimulates ideas or initiatives aimed at improving livelihoods for both migrants and their distant significant others. From the perspective of the discourse theory, I see distinctive elements of narratives constructed from different levels of analysis, suggesting that information obtained out of media constructs form part of a discourse. The discourse indicates migration to “Global North” as an essential to ‘development’ in migration-sending countries. Consequently, migrants initiate and share experiences gathered from host countries. Building on the idea that categories of migration and development produce a specific discourse, this dissertation intends to contribute to the academic field of media, migration, and development, postcolonialism, culture, and technology. In the quest to test the criteria for production, I examine transnational digital migrant (re)production of narratives on migrants as not only concerned with economic pursuits in host countries but also increasingly as development actors. Using Fairclough (1995) approach to discourse it is possible to analyze representations of migrants’ untapped resources as an economic boost to their sending countries’ domestic budgets. The study also aims to show how transnational links between migrants and their distant significant others, rely on the media to generate social discourses on migrant life. Henceforth, in answering the main sociological question on the (re)production of migration and development discourse in migrant media, this dissertation examines how debates on migration and development in transnational digital migrant media for Kenyans in Europe, could be a platform for migrants to share, shape and talk about development.

1.1. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The thesis’ interests lie in analyzing narratives on migration and development through transnational digital migrant media that target Kenyan migrants in Europe. Using a discourse-theoretic and Postcolonial perspective, I assume that migrant media content is a link between knowledge, hegemonic and counter-hegemonic power that inform relevant strategies connecting migrants to non-migrants. The development strategies include and not limited to; historical cultural identity, social networks, economic and social remittances. To ascertain this assumption, the sociological question is:

- How is the discourse on migration and development (re)produced in transnational digital migrant media?

Specific sub-questions are:

- a) What **narratives of migration and development** do transnational digital migrant media produce?
- b) What **images of migrants** as development agents are produced?
- c) What are the **main criteria** media producers use to generate the discourse on migration and development?

d) What **differences exist between narratives** on migration and development in transnational digital migrant media in Germany and Britain?

The comparison between transnational digital migrant media in Germany and Britain is significant for this study, as Britain gives different categories of migrants, both socially and culturally formed in terms of integration and participation in social migrant spheres. Germany, on the other hand, is an education and cultural exchange hub, conditions that act as pull factors for Kenyan migrants. In addition, migrant media has become a tool in which, migrants can form the need to integrate and engage in social and economic aspects relevant in their interaction with distant significant others.

1.2 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

Using two examples of transnational digital migrant media for Kenyans in Europe, the study evaluates how media representation of migrant attachment to their original homeland, offers an illusion of responsibility to contribute to development. The research highlights similarities and differences between transnational digital migrant media for Kenyans in Germany and those in Britain. These two countries have become preferred destinations for Kenyan migrants. The overview creates a possibility for the research project to establish the following objectives:

- To explore the role of the media in the production of the migration and development discourse
- To fill in gaps in the academic literature on the comparison of discourses on migration and development in transnational digital migrant media in Britain and Germany
- To contribute to the area of culture, communication technology, postcolonialism, migration and development through a study of transnational digital migrant media.

1.3. BACKGROUND ON THE RESEARCH QUESTION

1.3.1. Narratives of Transnational Migration of Kenyans to Europe

To answer the general question on the (re)production of migration and development narratives in transnational digital migrant media, this section traces the historical dispersion of Kenyans to Europe. Literature defines transnational migration as living in more than one place or belonging to two or more societies at the same time. This migration factor is possible due to advancement in communication and transportation, which act as a dynamic link between humans, cultures, economy, and society (Oiarzabal & Alonzo, 2010). Kenyans have not been left behind in the transnational shift; their migration to Western countries is seen as a factor that progressed in two decades. After its independence in 1963, many Kenyans migrated, owing to hosts of reasons. Ghai (2004) argues that the migration was stimulated more with a sharp decline in Kenya's economy in the 1980s. Whereas the first two post-independence decades were characterized by an economic and employment growth that opened opportunities for Kenyans in various sectors, they would change in the past two and half

decades. The 1990s reduction in per capita income to negative 4 percent, coupled with failing income disparities between the affluent and the less economically privileged, led to massive migrations (Odipo et al., 2015). Effects of globalization, a widened gap between a developed and a developing world and growing human and environmental insecurities continue to fuel the urge for many Kenyans to migrate in search of better livelihoods. Though there is insufficient data to quantify the origins of Kenya's who migrate to Europe, migrant media sources indicate a homogeneous migration trend. Notably, migrants are drawn from Kenya's eight provinces; Western, Nyanza, Eastern, Coastal, North Eastern, Southern, Central and Rift Valley. Additionally, the International Organization of Migration (IOM, 2010) places migration from Kenya in four major waves. The first wave occurred between the 1950s and 1960s, following decolonization sentiments that had spread across the African continent. During that period, Kenyans moved to the United States of America, Cuba, the United Kingdom, East Germany and the former Soviet Union to attain skills that would be useful in the anticipated independence. Kenya has long-standing colonial ties to the United Kingdom, starting from the 1880s, which have contributed extensively to the migration of Kenyans to the UK (Odipo et al., 2015). The **second wave** in the 1980s was attributed to a hostile political environment and a stagnant economy. The **third wave**, from mid-80s to early 90s, saw an exodus of political and academic elites fearing persecutions under an autocratic regime of the second president, Daniel Arap Moi (Middleton & Njogu, 2010). Between 1992 and 1997, on the backdrop of a declining economy, Kenyans resorted to migration to find work and support families left behind (Okoth, 2003). The **fourth and current** wave started in 2000 and is characterized by Kenyans moving to Europe for higher education, for marriage or to reunite with family members. Apart from these routes, migration after December 2007 was because of election violence, which left over a thousand people dead and half a million others internally displaced. Kenyan elections in the past decade, have been marred with chronic irregularities that end dividing Kenyans along contesting political and ethnic lines. The political situation has pushed people to consider migration to other political stable countries in the region, and abroad. With an increase in the number of Kenyans migrating to countries across its borders and internationally, the Kenyan government has moved to recognize Non-Resident Kenyans (NRK) as potential change agents, emphasizing their core development values. Kenyans living outside their country often make frequent visits home for holidays, to attend weddings, burials, and other community events, thus, strengthening their transnational connection. As an East Africa economic hub, Kenya views its migrants as vital in pushing the development agenda, which remains a premise for its regional economic integration (Kenya Diaspora Policy, 2014). Hence, to view migrants in the "Global North" as "agents of change" in Kenya, is part of state policy stipulated in its national and constitutional laws. Like its neighbours Rwanda and Uganda, Kenya has created investor promotion centres to facilitate migrants' investments. The Kenyan government has also established a digital media and migrant directorate dedicated to the affairs of Kenyans living abroad in a bid to promote social and cultural engagements. Further, transnational money transfers are made faster through easy electronic remitting

services and mobile banking via (Mpesa), an electronic payment system linked to local financial institutions. Kenya is home to refugees and immigrants from other African countries including Somalia, Eritrea and Sudan. Families of these refugees who reside in western countries send remittances to Kenya, where their kin are hosted, consequently broadening the transnational network. These features make Kenyan migrants crucial actors in the regions socio-cultural, and economic aspirations.

1.3.2. Comparative Migration Policies and Demographics of Kenyans in Europe

Migration and development policies are significant in determining the economic statuses of Kenyan migrants in Europe since mobility is presumed to be an enabler of development. Migrants from economically viable backgrounds are likely to enhance their mobility than those from low-income contexts. This is because of high-cost implications for migration. As we have established in the introductory section, the nexus between migration and development is derived from the transnationality and centrality of trans-local development outcomes (Oltimer, 2015; Liebig, 2007; Nyberg et al., 2001). Conversely, Kenyan migrants consist of highly skilled professionals, who consider migration to Europe a temporary venture for improving situations of life, career advancement, and pursuing competitive wages. Moreover, they are likely to return to Kenya after securing a future for their children, establishing investments or acquiring citizenship. Kenyans from low-income households are among those likely to resort to unsafe, disorderly or irregular migration. The development potential in migration is expressed through increased volume of economic remittances (Makhloufi & Mughal, 2013; World Bank, 2009) and Social remittances (Levitt and Lamba, 2001). Migration to Europe is not without challenges, migrants experience demographic shifts occurring due to increased migration inflows, pressures on welfare systems, integration policies, as well as increasing competition around the world for qualified workers (Ong'ayo et al., 2010). Notably, recent restrictions in the migration of non-European populations are attributed to the multiculturalism of conflict migrants in need of protection in European Union zones. These changes in the migration landscape influence migration policies, with more attention given to managing rapid inflows of populations attracted to safety and stability in Europe (Boswell, 2007). Instead of blatantly condemning migrants for aspiring to improve their living conditions, this dissertation on the analysis of migration and development narratives in transnational digital migrant media shows that current migration challenges provide the impetus for the re-evaluation of the development potentials of migrants. Specifically, the viability of studying transnational contexts between migrants and non-migrants, home and host (the "here" and "there"). Agreed, human mobility is not only beneficial to non-migrants, but its potential is also evident in the development processes of migration receiving countries (Mazzucato, 2011; Osea, 2014). As provided in Eurocentric development thought questioned by Arturo Escobar (1995), migrant's contribution to economies in receiving-countries remains contested and is yet, to receive adequate recognition.

1.3.3. Impacts of Germany Migration Policies on Kenyan Migrants

Immigration policy and regulatory environment determine the entry, settlement, and integration of migrants. The framework is important in giving policy guidelines on the possibility of attaining a concession (Held and Krieger, 1984:18) particularly, among governments citizens and civil society groups. Germany is characterized by complex structures in Federal Governments with responsibilities on Asylum and Immigration shared between the state, federal and municipal levels (Schneider et al., 2012). In recent years, migration has become contentious with increasing ethnic, cultural and linguistic diversity. Particularly, Germany migration laws relate to areas of citizenship, freedom of movement, emigration, extradition, passport, residence, registration and settlement of foreign nationals⁴. The policy is two-pronged; first, it addresses immigration in terms of entry, relocation, and exit. Second, aspects of integration determine settlement and participation of immigrants in socio-economic facets (Ong'ayo et al., 2010). Therefore, Kenyans successful social and economic participation in Germany relies on policies that address basic immigration challenges. For example, restrictions on visas for some categories of Kenyan migrants in Germany are singled out as limiting their contribution to development. Those who arrived in Germany as students or professional assignments become inadmissible on the expiry of their visa and must, therefore, return home. Consequently, migration policies address aspects of development cooperation between Germany and Kenya, including providing guidelines on labour mobility (skilled and semiskilled), family reunion, education, residency, participation, citizenship. The policies also handle demographic challenges like labour market e.g. shortage of skilled professionals. Further, policy provisions also address aspects of return-migration, security, anti-discrimination (Schneider, 2012:5). Specifications on the labour market, health and development priorities affects successful contribution to development by Kenyan migrants who remain legally in Germany. Since 2000, German policy on immigration has emphasized on the integration of non-nationals and promotion of community relations. In addition to simplifying visa application procedures in foreign missions, the policies facilitate civic integration courses as pre-requisites in the application of citizenship⁵. Like other foreign students, Kenyans who complete their studies in Germany can stay if they find employment. Most students secure jobs and work permits as a legal route to remain in Germany as professionals. However, Kenyans who arrive in Germany with semi skills may resort to irregular channels. In 2007, Germany introduced the National Integration Plan, to provide regulated integration process involving Länder (states), local authorities and private providers. The plan focuses on linguistic, education, social integration and integration at the workplace.⁶ In the past few decades, Kenyan migrants considered Germany mostly as a transit route for migrating to the United Kingdom and the United States of America, but frequently, Kenyans are finding reasons to settle in Germany.

⁴ ECDPM (2016) Diaspora Organizations and their development potential: An analysis of Ghanaian diaspora organizations in the UK, Germany and the Netherlands- Discussion Paper No.200 September (2016).

⁵ A study commissioned by Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ), Bonfiglio, McGregor and Siegel (2015).

⁶ A study commissioned by Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ), Bonfiglio, McGregor and Siegel (2015).

Over time, Germany has become a well-sought destination for education and labour. A study launched by the German Agency for International Cooperation - Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ), Bonfiglio, McGregor, and Siegel (2015) ranks Germany as the 7th preferred destination for Kenyans to Europe. Kenyan migrants use different channels to arrive in the two European locations including, as academicians, professional contracts, Au pair and social volunteering organizations. Bonfiglio et al., (2015) record that Kenyans are highly concentrated in Bavaria, Brandenburg, and Hessen, while lower Saxony, North Rhine Westphalia, Schleswig Holstein have low concentrations. The indicators are based on the availability of work, pre-existing Kenyan communities, distribution of Universities, affordability of housing, migration and welfare support. Kenyans who decide to stay in Germany range between the ages of 25 to 39 years and considered to be the most economically active (Bonfiglio et al., 2015). The study also found that unlike Kenyans in the UK and USA, those in Germany lack strong networks and are dispersed across various states. The authors argue, despite Kenya having launched a Diaspora Policy in (2015), the Kenyan government was yet to tap into the potential of migrant communities in Germany. The reports add, the Kenyan government is keen on migrants from the US and UK, because they contribute extensively to development in Kenya. Kenyan migrants in Germany were likely to exceed 14,000 individuals with approximately 9,900 born in Kenya, still holding their Kenyan nationalities. An estimated 3,300 Kenyans have since acquired German nationality⁷. Additional data from the German Federal Statistics Office (2006) indicate, up to 10,000 of Kenyans in Germany are registered with the Kenya High Commission in Berlin. By 2013, out of the registered numbers, 73 percent were female, while 67.8 percent aged between 20 to 39. Of 478 individuals born in Germany on Kenyan passports, 99.4 percent were under 20 years. In terms of the 2014 gender demographics and labour, 820 Kenyans in Germany were unemployed with 22 percent accounting for male, and 78 percent female. Another 1,646 were classified as job seekers (FSO, 2006). In 2018, the Federal Bureau of statistics released demographics indicating that up to 11,455 Kenyans were on German visas, with an estimated total population of 15,455 (Mkenya Ujerumani, 2018).

Germany Development Cooperation with Kenya

Immigration policies also address aspects of development cooperation between Germany and Kenya. In the past 55 years, Germany has been a major contributor of development aid to Kenya. This despite Kenya's economic growth in the recent past. Kenya's stable economic performance has contributed to its classification as an emerging economy and challenges migrants' mobility for economic pursuits. The economic viability is enhanced with major gains in the ICT sector, infrastructure development, and renewable energy. Yet, the Kenyan government is still receptive to development aid and external creditors leaning more frequently toward China, thereby, continually experiencing a high debt burden. As a result, Kenyans suffer from high domestic taxation and rising prices of basic commodities, factors that undermine economic

⁷ Bonfiglio, McGregor and Siegel (2015): Study commission by Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ)

potentials and still push those deprived to migrate. In the search for economic solutions, Kenya has launched several long-term development strategies including; the 2030 vision on Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) geared to transform the country into the middle-class economy. Development in Kenya is calculated in terms of Gross Domestic Product (GDP), regardless of possible alternatives like remittances. Although Kenya's economy shows significant growth, it still grapples with social inequalities, corruption and lack of transparency and accountability in its social, economic and political institutions. To this regard, development cooperation between Germany and Kenya still centers on development aid, rather than equitable economic partnerships. Despite the partnerships, suggestions have been made to implement development approaches focused on harnessing investments and sustainable development in Africa. According to GIZ-BMZ (2018), Germany's Development Cooperation supports Kenya's vision 2030 and its target to attain the SDGs. At the start of 2018, Germany had committed up to 252.35 million Euros towards revitalizing key economic sectors in Kenya such as; Agriculture and rural development, health, water and sanitation, sustainable economic development, promotion of youth employment, vocational training, good governance, renewable energy etc.⁸ Whether Kenya domestic incomes will bolster its over-reliance on development aid is still debatable, yet, Kenya like other African governments, is keen on development alternatives. It is for this reason that this dissertation on the (re)production of migration and development discourse in migrant media through its empirical findings as we shall see in the later chapters (**six, seven, eight**) informs development strategies. Findings show how migrant media construct remittances as a viable economic source in delivering Kenya from chronic dependency on aid.

1.3.4. Britain's Migration Policy Impacts on Mobility of Kenyans

Britain's immigration policies have undergone several changes since a demographic shift from some de-facto all white society in 1939⁹. The multicultural component in Britain was signalled by the arrival of Asian and black communities. Historically, Britain's immigration history is strongly related to its colonial legacy evidenced with liberal policies that encouraged citizens of its former colonies to migrate to the United Kingdom. Migration of populations from commonwealth and ex-colonies was possible in the 1950s and 1960s, with the enactment of policies that addressed shortages in skilled labour and low skilled manpower (Abrahamova, 2007). Up until the 1950s, non-European communities were small, usually concentrated in temporary locations predominantly secluded to alien residents¹⁰. Although immigration from colonies from West Indies, the Caribbean, Asia and Africa remained open, there were pressures on colonial governments on passport issuance¹¹. In the recent years, migration policies are more prioritized to deal with irregular migrations, with preferences to

⁸ GIZ (2018). Factsheet: Partnering to support Kenya's sustainable development: Online at http://www.nairobi.diplo.de/contentblob/4310962/Daten/7451222/Factsheet_GDC_General.pdf. Accessed on 27.01.2018.

⁹ Abrahamova (2007). Immigration Policy in Britain since 1962

¹⁰ IOM (2010): Harnessing the Development Potential of Kenyans Living in the United Kingdom. Online at http://kenya.iom.int/sites/default/files/Harnessing_the_Development_Potential_of_Kenyans_Living_in_the_UK.pdf. Accessed on 25.01.2018.

¹¹ ECDPM (2016). Diaspora Organizations and their development potential: An analysis of Ghanaian diaspora organizations in the UK, Germany and the Netherlands- Discussion Paper No.200 September 2016

address race relations rather than integration. However, there are those who argue that “successful integration depends on successful immigration policy” (Abrahamova, 2007: 6). The 1960s and 1970s saw crucial changes in Britain’s immigration policy, of significance, was the 1962 Commonwealth Immigration Act that later bore the 1974 Immigration Act. The act gave all commonwealth citizens’ rights to enter and settle in the UK, as long as they had been issued with British Passports by the colonial administrations. Although Kenya was considered one of the most successful British colony in East Africa, citizens from the colony were subjected to immigration controls, despite having legal documents issued by the colonial administration. Kenya was no exception. Migration of non-African Kenyans to the UK was heralded soon after Kenya’s independence in 1963, following a requirement for all non-Africans to apply for new citizenship in two years (BBC Today in History, 1968). The Kenyan population at the time was composed of Africans, former colonizers, and indentured Asian labourers. The indentured workers stayed after building the colonial railway line and were concentrated in major cities along the railway line, where they established retail trade and lived in closed communities. In 1968, the Kenyan Asian crisis saw a mass migration of Asians from Kenya after retrogressive post-colonial labour laws, which were part of the Africanization process that prevented Asians from making a living (Today in History, 1968). The Kenyan population at the time was composed of Africans, former colonizers, and indentured Asian labourers. The indentured workers stayed after building the colonial railway line and were concentrated in major cities along the railway line, where they established retail trade and lived in closed communities.

In 1968, the Kenyan Asian crisis saw a mass migration of Asians from Kenya after retrogressive postcolonial labour laws, which were part of the Africanization process that prevented Asians from making a living (Today in History, 1968). The crisis pushed a hasty repeal of the British 1962 immigration Act, with strict emphasis on “belonging”, where only those born, adopted or naturalized in the UK had a right to stay¹². Citizens from former African and Asian colonies were excluded as the “belonging citizens” were predominantly white.¹³ In 1971, the Immigration Act was passed following Uganda’s dictator Idi Amin expulsion of Uganda Asian Community. The Ugandan dictator had waged war on Asians whom he termed “bloodsuckers milking the economy of its wealth” (BBC On This Day, 1971). Asians were given 90 days to vacate despite their expansive contribution to postcolonial development. In three months alone, up to 7000 Asians had migrated to the UK hastening a bill to bar increasing numbers of Ugandan Asians¹⁴. The regulation rendered many Asians stateless, but would later dissolve the United Kingdom and Colonies Citizenship and introduce the British Citizenship, British Dependent Territories and British Overseas Citizenship (Immigration Act, 1971). The two Asian crises in Kenya and Uganda further stimulated immigration restrictions on Africans from former colonies. However, migrants who had been in the United

¹² Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1962. Available at: <http://www.britishcitizen.info/CIA1962.pdf>>

¹³ Immigration Act 1971: Available at: <http://www.britishcitizen.info/IA1971.pdf>>

¹⁴ BBC on This Day (1972).

Kingdom for five years could apply to become citizens. In the 1990s, Britain passed into law obligations under 1951 commonwealth conventions, securing the 1993 Immigration Act. The Act made it an offense to employ anyone without permission to live and work in the UK (Abrahamova, 2007). As such, and as evidenced in empirical data for this dissertation many Kenyans who contribute remittances and other development initiatives entered the UK legally, and continue to abide by the immigration requirements. The recent Immigration Asylum and Nationality Act passed in 2006 brought into effect the 5-tier point-based system for deciding who enters the UK and a way to curb illegal employment by introducing penalty schemes for employers. The Act ushered in strict migration scrutiny allowing data sharing between immigration and police, as part of electronic border control to counter-terrorism and security risks¹⁵. Furthermore, with the review of the European Union policy framework in 2004, new EU citizens could reside and work in the United Kingdom without restrictions. The move further toughened entry of non-European nationals to the UK.¹⁶ Although Britain is ranked highly in terms of having policies that favour migrants' long-term settlement or acquiring British nationality, migration is still considered highly racialized (Abrahamova, 2007). It's unclear exactly how many Kenyans are currently in Britain, but the UK National Office for Statistics (2006) estimates approximately, 150,000 Kenyans as legally residing in the UK by 2009. The population is composed of temporary migrants whose entry is based on labour, migrants settled for various reasons, second-generation Kenyans who arrived in the UK after the 1950s immigration, and students.

The IOM (2010) report puts Kenyans in the UK in four categories; temporary labour migrants, settled migrants, second generation, and Kenyan students. According to the report, the Kenyan population is the highest of all Africans in the UK, Nigerians come second at 145,000 and Zimbabweans at 110,000. An estimated 125,000 Kenyans had acquired British passports, while 25,000 still hold Kenyan passports (IOM, 2010). The demographic depictions of Kenyans also include ethnically Asians, and descendants of British colonial civil servants (ONS, 2010b). As of 2006, additional data from the UK Labour Force Survey recorded 49 percent Kenya male, 51 percent females. Of which the active labour force was between the ages of 25-44 years. In 2016, the Kenya High Commission in the UK recorded up to 160,000 registered Kenyans. In terms of employment ratios, 77 percent were employed, 3 percent unemployed, 20 percent inactive, and 82 percent owned property or bought a house with a mortgage. Large numbers of Kenyans of between 500 to 2000, were to be found in London, Cardiff, and Birmingham. Liverpool, Leeds, Edinburgh, Glasgow had low numbers of as little as between 25 to 50 persons. Kenyans who migrated to Britain were attracted to lucrative careers in the civil service, media or in public universities (UK Labour Force Survey, 2006).

¹⁵ Public Policy Institute Research (2001), Mkenya Ujerumani (2016).

¹⁶ Immigration Policy in Britain since 1992

Britain and Kenya Development Cooperation

According to Britain's development cooperation organ DFID (2018), Britain's interests lie in enabling trade partnerships with potential partner states. Although Kenya is a potential development partner, its endemic problems ranging from corruption and political instabilities occurring due to election upheavals has in the recent past put Kenya under scrutiny. For instance, DFID highlights economic disparities between Kenya's populations as requiring solutions that address the nearly 20 million of Kenyans living in abject poverty. Empirical data in this dissertation outlines secularization and economization as a factor affecting development and thus the concern about international development with stability in recipient countries. While recognizing positive economic performance in Kenya's key resource sectors, the political environment is depicted as threatening to regional security and curtails the ability to have a sustainable economic development. To this effect, the UK development body singles out employment challenges as the cause of growing inequalities and disparities. The bottlenecks impend the ability of Kenya to address shared interests in areas of migration and terrorism. In its latest development tracker report (2018/2019), DFID has taken a new approach focused more on investments in Kenya and looking at ways of transiting from aid to other potential development strategies. As of January 2018, DFID had published a 117 million Pounds planned budget towards the alleviation of hunger, strengthening regional economic integration, support, and protection of refugees. The mentioned indicators for development cooperation are strongly aligned in a donor-receiver relationship, rather than equal partnership. It is this unsymbolic dimension of development that Kenyan migrants are heralded, as the next change agents, and perhaps could revitalize domestic economies. Yet, even this view is ambitious and challenges the role of governments to cater for citizens. In my opinion, migrant development initiatives should not replace public socio-economic systems, but should somewhat be perceived as supporting to the sustenance of livelihoods, thus serving as alternatives and not the norm.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0. VOICES, IMAGES and NARRATIVES of KENYAN MIGRANTS in EUROPE

In this chapter, I look at literature surrounding general questions on 1) (re)production of migration and development narratives in migrant media; a) images of migration and development in transnational digital migrant media; b) criteria of migrant media production and c) differences between migrant media production in the UK and Germany. A close view of literature indicates that migrants' transnationality is an enabling factor to development. In addition, empirical data as I will further specify in later chapters' reveal examples of voices, images, and narrations of Kenyan migrants as development agents. Thus, I establish relevant literature surveyed on migration and development concepts (Sen, 1999; Levitt & Lamba, 2001; Ratha, 2007; De Haas, 2007, 2010) offer some approaches to understanding the nexus between migration and development. However, the models are limited in showing how media discourses can be the next source of knowledge on hegemonic and counter-hegemonic perspectives in migrants' transnational activities. In addressing the main research question, this dissertation argues, migrant media constantly produce discourses on migration and development in voices, images and narratives, that soon become dominant discourses among migrants. Rather than use a conventional view of development as a socio-economic progress, discursive narratives linked to migration and development indicators, development has in fact contributed to economic disparities which push people to migrate. Based on the deconstruction of development theories (Escobar, 1995; Oltimer, 2015) it can be argued that migrants in European locations are challenged by chronic economic failures in their home countries and triggered to make a difference. Moreover, migrants still envision returning to their homeland for settlement and feel responsible to contribute and enhance their livelihoods through development-oriented initiatives. Scholars' focusing on the migration and development debate (Oltimer, 2015; Osea, 2014; Dustmann, et al., 2011; Cattaneo, 2005) rarely, consider the level of discourse on development present in other categories, such as those in transnational digital migrant media. Measures of development are frequently based on income indicators and investment in productive enterprises. Recently, attention is being paid on remittances as core contributors to development in sending countries (Glick Schiller & Salazar, 2013). Therefore, in this section of the dissertation, I review scholarship that focuses on the relationship between migration and development but realize that it neglects a discursive dimension between these two categories. The linkage in the concepts provides a lens through which we can see the construction of images of migrant's transnational connections as enabling to development.

2.1. Migration-Development Nexus

There is significant literature on the reciprocal relationship between migration and development (De Haas, 2005, 2007, 2010; Levitt 2005; Ratha, 2007; Fargues, 2011; Glick Schiller et al., 2013). The authors seem to agree on a general idea that aspirations for socio-economic mobility fuel people's desires to migrate to new destinations. In their arguments, they hypothesize that the goal of migration is primarily to improve human and economic capabilities. Although there is no accepted definition, development is often constructed as a state in which people can improve their incomes, attain quality life, and enjoy a state of well-being (Okigbo & Eribo, 2004). For Amartya Sen (2009), when people lead substantial lives, they are free to make choices which include an option to migrate and improve their livelihoods (in De Haas, 2005). Literature evidences a strong connection between categories of migration and development. I argue migrant economic resources are used significantly to supplement household incomes of relatives in migration-sending countries. The scholarship also shows that migrants do not only give monetary support, but also transfer ideas, knowledge, and skills relevant to the sustenance of non-migrant life. For instance, Ratha (2007) suggests, migrant remittances (money migrants send to home states) are used to improve the living conditions in migration-sending countries and therefore, facilitate development. Yet, this is not always the case. Given, unfavourable investment environment in migration-sending countries coupled with restrictive immigration policies hinder migrants' development potential. To this point, migration is a phase that sets a stage for development in sending countries, albeit, only possible with the implementation of specific policies to facilitate remittance transfers and investments. A key strategy to attain this level of development is employing the concept of circular migration, where migrants return to previously established migration links for periods of time, but return to sending-countries where they are settled or have invested, utilizing provisions in migration policies of migrant-receiving countries (De Haas, 2005). Further, (De Haas, 2005) exemplifies such policies significantly determine migrants' mobility and economic behaviour. In this dissertation whose primary goal is to understand the use of discourse to construct social reality, the relationship between migration and development can be perceived as positive or negative depending on which side of debate one stands. The reciprocal connection often surrounds several claims, some of which provide relevant analysis for this study:

Migration causes brain drain: Migration has been blamed for attracting skilled labourers from less economically endowed countries. The manpower is valuable, of skilled professionals, in whom states have invested many years of education (Adams, 1969; Baldwin, 1970 in De Haas, 2007, Skeldon, 1997). In effect, migration-sending areas continue to experience economic inequalities at the community and regional levels after the most viable populations leave. Empirical studies show evidence that migration occurs very selectively since migrants may not reflect communities from which they originate (Odipo et al., 2015). Inadvertently, since those who are economically endowed tend to migrate, remittances sent disproportionately benefit specific communities, leading to development imbalances (Lipton, 1980). As such, De Haas (2010) exemplifies that

migration may not equally alleviate poverty, but rather, increase deprivation for non-migrants through the gradual undermining of traditional economies. We see the idea of narratives having power to create hegemonic and counter-hegemonic discourse in the 'migrant syndrome hypothesis' (Reichert, 1981), where migration is assumed to create a vicious cycle of migration – more under development – more migration, and so forth (in De Haas, 2010).

Brain gain, and co-development: An approach used in the 1990s to encourage migrants to return to sending countries to share gained skills for development. According to Vertovec (1997), the return of migrants or their continued engagement with home depends on a retained memory of home and a duty to support families left behind. However, in 2000, there was a realization in scholarship and development policies initiated through international financial institutions, such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF), and adopted in migration-sending countries that remittance could replace foreign aid and engineer development. Increasingly, this view is changing as migrants become more interested in self-accomplishment, and remittances shift from the altruistic to an individualistic use (Fargues, 2011). Ebeke (2014), theorized that monetary remittances make the second-largest external source of financial capital in developing countries after Foreign Direct Investment (Ebeke, 2014 in Angman & Larson, 2014). Data evidence for this dissertation confirms that migrant's remittances are not always recorded and lead to discrepancies in total estimations. For instance, the World Bank estimates that migrants' remittances through informal channels could add up to 50% of the official estimates, a significant external capital in these countries.

Transnationalism and social remittances: In 2001, sociologist Peggy Levitt identified social remittances as ideas, skills, narratives, and culture that permeate all aspects of development and shape the ways and forms in which migrants transact with non-migrants (Levitt & Lamba Nevies, 2011). She argued that the ideas transferred through transnational interactions would secure the social well-being of families and communities (Levitt, 2001, Ros, 2010). Basch et al. (1994) see transnational interactions as numerous social relations over national boundaries, binding migrants within the nations of settlement and non-migrants in nations of origin. The connections are made possible with frequent travel and exchange of mediated communication including videos, emails, and telephone calls. These transnational links provide space through which social ideas on development, culture, and technological advancements are reinforced. In sum, as it emerges in literature, we live within an era where it is not uncommon to relocate; the advent of globalization in the 20th and 21st century has facilitated a growth in transport and communication technologies. As a result, barriers have been broken, expanding the stream of products, administrations, information, thoughts and to a lesser degree, groups of people over borders (Stiglitz, 2009 in De Haas, 2005: 24). Today, migrants and their families in sending-countries remain connected and create a social agency to support livelihoods as well as cement relationships over time. In this dissertation, however, I do not focus on varieties of the development approach outlined above, addressing consequences and effects of migration on the 'Global

North' from the 'Global South', but analyze specific criteria that transnational digital migrant media use to (re)produce everyday narratives on migration and development. The research also highlights as we shall examine later that produced discourses are heterogeneous in nature, as migrant media may replicate hegemonic narratives from public discourse and communicative occasions, as well as portray alternative counter-hegemonic views. In this way, migrants' voices, images narratives become powerful constructions of social reality.

2.2. Beyond McLuhan's "Extensions of Man" to Interactive Digital Tools

Decades after media theorist Marshall McLuhan (1975) predicted a growth in technology and the birth of interactive digital tools or new media, space for migrant media has expanded. At the time of his writing, McLuhan foresaw the media "as an extension of man", and rightly so, as today's digital age media is minimized into mobile electronic gadgets that literally become our extensions of thoughts, social interactions, financial transactions etc. Amidst these advancements, transnational digital migrant media has emerged as an enterprise that creatively uses technology to produce information on specific migrant needs. The media also provides services and space to mobilize migrants. This dissertation on the (re)production of migration and development discourse in migrant media establishes that migration and media studies are two richly intertwined multidisciplinary fields. They have overlapping concepts, yet, the visible connections have not been fully explored in academic research. Although the linkages form a rich source of material for sociological and migration research, they also impinge on the ordinary lives of European citizenry, migrants, and natives. The interconnection between migration and media studies is easily visible and not limited to stories that touch on terrorism, integration, refugees and asylum, social welfare etc. Migrants, on the other hand, turn to the media for information, edutainment and as a source of connection to a far world. Examining how texts are shaped within this medium, offers a possibility of answering the main research question of this project on how discourses on migration and development are (re)produced. As a definition of transnational digital migrant media, I employ that of Kira Kosnick (2007) as those media offering alternative voices in mass-mediated public spheres across transnational spaces. Kosnick avers that voices on these media spaces articulate critical forms of knowledge, contest hegemonic representation of reality as well as offer different sources of identity and empowerment contexts (Kosnick, 2007:6). For purposes of this study, the term transnational digital migrant media is used to refer to media produced in a European space for migrants. It fulfils the example of migrant digital media (Mkenya Ujerumani and Ukentv) chosen for this study, operating in Germany and Britain and producing internet news. Transnational digital migrant media is at a vantage point in the technological growth, creating content for a widely scattered community. Moreover, Kosnick (2007) avers migrant media producers narrowcast for the specific target audience, rather than venture into mass communication. Furthermore, migrant media producers provide an alternative platform to (a) discuss specific migrant needs, (b) demonstrate creative use of technology, (c) include what is excluded in other media, (d) challenge views presented in other media and (e)

provide services and work to mobilize migrants (Njogu & Middleton, 2009). On the other hand, Georgiou (2005) shows how transnational digital migrant media production becomes a critical source of agency and self-representation in the European formation and beyond. In addition, Bardici (2012) stresses that internet-based Information Communication Technologies (ICTs) have become powerful in the creation and exchange of content. With this power, comes the production of knowledge, which sustains the asymmetrical relationship between migrants and non-migrants. Unlike the traditional media, radio, TV, and Newspaper, today transnational digital migrant media is enabled by advancement in new media formats which facilitates a lively connection between ordinary people in real-time interactions. The exchange is made possible with apps downloaded on mobile phones, tablets, and other state-of-the-art high-tech devices. In effect, the mobile nature of technology ensures that migrants are no longer restricted to territorial boundaries but can interact with significant others across the global cyberspace. In considering the question on the criteria for production, digital migrant media utilizes interactive formats to conform to digital tools (mobile phones, tablets) as the media becomes a powerful tool for identity creation and mobilization of citizens and groups. To illustrate the functional role of the media technology in modern society, we trace Van der Valk (2003) idea of 'the people' mobilized within media and political debates in France to exclude certain categories of people. Van der Valk embodies stereotypical components like those we uncover later in the section on postcolonial concepts and contends, not only did the discussion portray the migrant 'others' in a negative light particularly in terms of criminality, but these negative affiliations were transferred to those seen as 'allies' of foreigners particularly, the political left (Seale, 2004:378). In her account of right-wing political discourse, Van der Valk analyzed patterns of associations, showing how distinctions were created between the people and the parties of the right, and between immigrants and the left.

In another example, in the study of homelessness Huckin's (2004) examined irregularities between the determination of an issue (mental sickness and substance abuse), and the account of practical solutions; charity and policy (Seale, 2004: 379). Huckin's study pointed to concepts of media representation that I further explore in chapter four, identifying the portrayal of mental illness and substance abuse as silences that run through media accounts of homelessness. He develops the discursive angle in textual silences on issues of racism, domestic abuse and lack of affordable housing as supporting an interpretation of homelessness as caused by person pathologies and criminal conduct. Van Dijk (2000) refers to the 'silence' of ethnic minorities in media coverage of the race. As in this dissertation that explores how migrant media gives voice to less represented communities, Van Dijk (2000) illustrates that minority voices are rarely produced within mainstream media, and when they do show up, they are regularly minimal or treated with skepticism. Following this context, therefore, transnational digital migrant media has made it possible to maintain both old and newly acquired aspects of migrant life, such as language, skills, and knowledge relevant for their integration or survival in host lands (Oosterbann, 2010). While I concur with previous analysis on migrant media construction, I take issue with viewing all

aspects of the media as positive, I am cognizant that all media products do not result into the progressive change in society. Sometimes, they are a pivot for destructive narratives that disturbs social cohesion. The study of the migration and development nexus help reveal if such themes are given priority. It is in consideration of these challenges that (Dasgupta, 2007) views migration as an adjectival term, which runs the risk of an unfortunate conflation: “of identifying aesthetics as an unquestioned ground on which we then cultivate a new species of cultural terms”: the migrant subjectivity. Introspectively, I employ a Postcolonial perspective to argue that gazing at the migrant as the “Other” through mass media images obsessed with the representation of migrants as unwanted, foreign, underdeveloped challenges the very idea of inter-cultural cohesion. Then, how should we read the relationship between these terms? “migratory and aesthetics”? Dasgupta (2007:191) poses. In my opinion, migration runs the risk of aesthetic essentialization when constructed narrowly in stereotypical subjectivity. Conversely, the subjectivity of African (Kenyan) migrants becomes an issue when their culture, traditions, folklore, and narratives are represented as demeaning rather than enhancing their migration experience. Then maybe, the criteria of migrant media production could bridge the ideological dilemma, perhaps painting an alternative picture. While this thesis focuses more on the sociological aspects of migration and development, I acknowledge that the subjectivity and aesthetics of the migrant’s border on political discourse and beg for a new form of interpretation. Possibly, this thesis provides an example of migrant’s expressions of alternative voices and may answer questions Dasgupta (2007) raises on the relationship between migration and aesthetics.

Representations, frozen time, melted communication memoirs

Reproduction of migrants as agents of development, a question this thesis address is perhaps a vivid illustration of the function of representation. Stuart Hall (1997) work on representation as the generation of meaning of the concepts in our minds through language, helps us identify moments and situations in framing migrant images. Often, migrants have been constructed in images that either articulated their sense of belonging or marginalized their social contexts. Albeit, for migrant’s, life in host lands exists in frozen time, only melted in communication, memoirs and memory shared sometimes on migrant media. Hall (1997) further notes, representations empower us to allude to either the “real” world of objects, individuals or occasions, or without a doubt to imaginary universes of anecdotal objects, people, and occasions. I argue, Kenyan migrant producer’s use transnational digital migrant media to create a space that reshapes migrant’s identities. Thus, values of working together, community sharing, and African solidarity are articulated as forms of representations. In the migrant media space, migrants transport ideas from their European posts while maintaining bonds with non-migrants. Consequently, important aspects of migrant’s memories left behind are relived in distant homes in host societies. For example, Parker (2016) research on accounts of asylum seekers and refugees in the print media has taken an etymological point of view, analyzing an expansive body of articles to recognize commonly utilized words and phrases (Parker, 2016).

Having said that, the objective of this thesis is to apply discourse analysis in identifying migrants shared experiences and aspirations on development. Unlike studies which use psychological methods (Potter and Wetherell, 1987) to incorporate critical discourse analysis and discursive psychology, this study analysis concept of media production. Edley (2001:190-1) argues that basic discourse psychology research aims to show not only how new identities are produced on and for events, but moreover how history or culture both encroach upon and are changed by those exhibitions. In another view, Potter's (1996) argument poses that when analyzing discourse, the focus ought to be on how specific depictions are made to seem genuine, and what is accomplished by speaking to the reality this way. In the methodological elaborations for this thesis, discourse analytic approach is positioned between functional linguistic analysis and critical discourse analysis. The analysis reveals different levels and forms in which migration and development discourses are (re) produced in migrant media. The goal is to ascertain that transnational digital migrant media constructs a heterogeneous discourse by (re)producing dominant, as well as alternative discourses on development. Furthermore, the thesis exposes how stereotypes create specific power effects and ideological misrepresentation of development. Similar ideas inform the way the media interprets conventional discourse associated with development. The result is a replication of stereotypes that if not rejected, continue to define how migrants and development is conceived in dominant discourses. Utilizing Bhabha's (1983) approach to recognizing stereotypes as an expressive form of knowledge and power, I argue, media excerpts expose dominant power structures in texts that appear to be simple and straightforward. Of relevant, this thesis highlights alternative approaches to development devoid of stereotypical interpretations in transnational digital migrant media discourses. Such alternatives inform a different approach of viewing development, particularly, in the Kenyan community, where ideas are created and applied with the goal of affecting individual and collective change.

Media as a Facilitator of Development

As a community of migrants engages with digital technologies, they are bound in migration-receiving countries and maintain lively communicative interactions with far-flung members across the globe. Therefore, digital communication and migrant media enrich migrant's connections, transferring attitudes adapted in host lands to non-migrating others. Migration has been seen to contribute to aspects of development, although development is not explicit in conventional models of migration (Brown, 2002:47). While mass media acts as a facilitator of ideas and concepts on development, transnational digital migrant media takes a more informal approach in the way it structures discourses that appeal to migrants. In their study, Dutta and Roy (2011) found out those socio-economic conditions, investments, democratic accountabilities, internal conflicts and ethnic pressures in migration source countries had critical impacts on the number of skilled emigrants in developing and developed nations. In their findings and relevant to this study, decisions for high skilled people to migrate are more volatile, owing to the expansion in skills and opportunities across the globe. They further argue, skilled migrants conglomerate in

places where they are best rewarded, which happen to be in developed countries. In this case, high rewards facilitate sustained contribution in terms of financial inflows to migration-sending countries. The tendency to migrate is strengthened by changes in immigration policies embraced by OECD nations, as well as technological progression (Dutta & Roy, 2013; Dustmann et al., 2011). In addition, increased open-door policies at the source nations in developing countries, inspire migration. An increase in intra-company transfers and scholarships opportunities largely contribute to the increased emigration of the skilled personnel, thus, creating development opportunities. In the empirical chapters, I illustrate, Kenyans migration to Europe and decision to settle is supported with potential employment opportunities at the end of their academic period or an extension of work contracts. These groups of migrants are at the center of development initiatives. The migrants largely use transnational digital migrant media as information points, for possible opportunities in Europe and development gaps in the home country. In another context, Karim (1998) has argued, migrants have advanced their use of digital communication tools for the dissemination of news and for maintaining links between members. He further notes, instead of challenging prevailing media systems, transnational communities apply available market components to maintain community links. While I agree with Karim's viewpoint, I exemplify the transnationality of Kenyan migrant communities as essential in maintaining linkages between Kenya, Germany, Britain, and Europe in general. As we shall see in later chapters, empirical data for this study indicates, Kenyan migrant's belief that their home government is not doing enough in terms of structural and social development. As a result, migrants take upon themselves to give back to the community, or initiate ventures to make a profit at the same time provide employment opportunities to youth and women. Moreover, it is not unusual for suspicion between migrants and political administration to crop up. On one hand, migrants remain critical of the underperformance or lack of it of government's administrations. Increasingly, governments find ways to encourage and tap into remittances as a source of financial inflows to maintain inflation rates to the minimal. Additionally, non-migrants rely on migrants as resources to empower communities. In Kenya, politics and economic development are intertwined. Governments assume migrants could amass a political following from members of the community, deprived of basic needs and looking for alternative voices in community leadership. In my opinion, leaders based in migration-sending countries are suspicious that migrants are detached from realities of the home country, and not suitable to offer tangible socio-political leadership. Yet, migrants perceive exposure to Western cultures and institutions, as enablers of effective transformations. In other words, they resolve what (Escobar, 1995) terms as a "development crisis". I am convinced, migrant media producers are aware of these contradicting perceptions within migrant formations and attempts to create a neutral ground. They do so through (re)producing narratives that connect politics and development. In this view, acting as a link between business elites and investors from the home country and migrant networks in the receiving countries. Hussein (1994) has evidenced that the digital migrant media marketplace takes care of migrant needs, and facilitates an interaction with the population culture,

as well setting higher standards in aesthetic advancements and experimentations while informing, educating and engaging. Conversely, Mitra (1997) agrees with Hussein's views in terms of migrant's virtual participation, sharing symbolic meanings that include a broad variety of cultural makers. In this case, migrant media users reconstruct relationships in the media space that existed electronically before their migration. The media creates content that allows circumventing progressive mass media as well as to counter material from hegemonic sources. To illustrate, Kenyan migrants are familiar with a history of an oppressive regime of the early 1990s and a corrupt one in the 2000s. Therefore, they use transnational digital migrant media to mobilise alternative thinking on development. Not only within migrant communities in Europe, but also among another prospect leadership. Migrants are concerned with; development, human rights, gender and youth empowerment. Moreover, migrant media creates synergies devoted to break down, and disappear in shifting setups reacting to particular possibilities (Murdock, 1998; 2013).

CHAPTER THREE

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

3.0. POSTCOLONIAL THEORY: "OTHERNESS", "SUBALTERNS", "ORIENTALISM" and NARRATIVES of RESISTANCE

To address my research question, I would like to respond to theoretic concepts on; Postcolonialism as a development discourse, representation of hegemonic and counter-narratives and deconstruction of development. To do so, this research analyzes the (re)production of migration and development discourse through studying the criteria migrant media producers use to select texts and how the texts inform narratives. Hence, I examine how existing development narratives relate to postcolonial perspectives. Postcolonial authors (Edward Said, 1977; Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, 1986; Homi Bhabha, 1983) expose stereotypes like those found in development constructs. In this project, I highlight similar aspects on the representations of migration and development in the media. I argue migrant media creates a heterogeneous narrative of migration and development using hegemonic views on development, as well as (re)producing alternative voices depicting migrant opinions on development.

Scholarly work on postcolonial discourse theory feed on historical material on colonialism in New Zealand, Australia, Canada, West Indies, Asia, and Africa. Albeit, with huge disparities between former colonies in the global South and those in the North. Ashcroft et al (1995) demonstrate that those in the North, Canada, Australia and New Zealand have in a short span ascended to the same level of social and economic representation to their imperial master, while Africa and Asia are still weighed down with the aftermath of colonialism. It is such disproportions that push people who have experienced colonialism to forge ways that resist imperialistic influence. Notable, through literature, academia, technological innovations and in this study, defining their own social and economic affairs through ideas on migration and development. Simone During (in Xie, 1997) defines postcolonialism as the requirement in countries or groups, which have been casualties of imperialism, to realize an identity uncontaminated by Universalist or Eurocentric concepts and images.

On the other hand, Xie (1997) contends that postcolonialism assigns an uneasiness to move past Eurocentric belief system, past colonialist's binary structures of 'self and other', and eventually past any form of racism. Some authors Ashcroft et al (1995); Slemon (1990); Said (1979), indicate that postcolonial authorship concerns literature in English from nations that were or are still colonies of other nations. The authors equate postcolonial theory to a political and ideological position of critics who undertake this analysis. While several postcolonial authors use the terms interchangeably, with notable variations of the hyphenated post-colonial and postcolonial discourse (in this study, I use postcolonial without a hyphen), its inspiration of anti-imperialist political position and the post-structuralist theoretical view has backed its utilization (McClintock, 1992:84). Rukundwa and Van Aarde (2007), explain that the prefix 'post' in the term postcolonial signifies

different meanings in one compound word. While other theorists Ashcroft et al (1989); Slemon (1990); Young (1995); King (1999), have dealt with this notion, they conclude that the term itself is problematic, inadequate even naive. Despite this standpoint, postcolonial critics argue that the theory appears more interested in migrants as a representation than in migrants as genuine individuals or genuine political issues (Rukundwa and Van Aarde, 2010). Conversely, Childs and Williams (1997) have suggested that postcolonialism is much more to do with the difficult encounter of confronting the desire to recover 'lost' pre-colonial identities, the impossibility of doing so, and the task of building a new identity based on that impossibility. Anthony Appiah, a postcolonial critic argues that postcolonialism is the condition of what we might ungenerously call a 'comprador intelligentsia': a moderately small, Western-style, Western-trained group of writers and scholars who mediate the exchange in cultural commodities of the world capitalism at the periphery (Appiah, 1993:348). Appiah's discontent with his "Comprador Intelligentsia" is a critique of African cultural artists who are educated in the West, but use European approaches and insights to interpret indigenous African art. The artists conjure images they deem suitable to sell to the West, at the same representing a desirable Western world to Africa¹⁷.

Thus, the idea is not to appreciate African art and heritage, but to use it for profitable pursuits, and thereby mimic Eurocentric attitudes. For Aijaz Ahmed, postcolonialism is unacceptable since it clearly benefits colonialism as the organizing rule of other people's histories (Ahmed, 1991). Anne McClintock mirrors Appiah's ideas and positions orientalism as problematic. She argues, the concept suggests a commitment to a variety of Western ideas, linear time, advancement, all of which have troubled histories (McClintock, 1992). I refrain from dwelling on the interpretation of the term postcolonialism, but rather, learn from its ideological relationship to the migration and development discourse. In this study, postcolonialism provides an impetus for understanding how the migration and development discourse has for a long time perpetuated Eurocentric narratives over African concepts. It gives some possibilities for alternative development strategies devoid of external influences. Several authors have used postcolonial theory to unearth inherent disparities and contests in the relationship between former colonies and empires. For example, Lee and Shultz (1997-1998) thesis utilize concepts prevalent in postcolonial theory such as; 'otherness' and 'resistance' in their analysis of economic inequalities in former colonial centers of Britain and France in Cameroon. In their view, the theory employs two approaches; 1) it analyzes ways in which writers from colonized nations endeavour to articulate or even celebrate their cultural identities and recover them from the colonizers; 2) It considers ways in which writing of ex-colonial powers is utilized to legitimize colonialism through the propagation of images of the colonized as inferior. Most postcolonial authorship examines ways in which literature in colonizing countries appropriates language, images, scenes, traditions of colonized countries (Lee & Shultz, 2012). Slemon

¹⁷ *Comprador Intelligentsia* has been defined as a relatively privileged, wealthy and educated elite, they are products of colonial domination, and mostly interested in adapting to the way and life, thinking of the colonizer. They are not so much concerned to fight for cultural and political independence" (Ashcroft et al, 2007, p. 55)

(1995:101) has recognized postcolonial theory as a product of imperialism, “a concept that is itself predicted within larger theories of global economic-politics and specifics of those larger theories”. Similarly, the idea can be depicted in Nkrumah’s (1969 reprinted in 2009) disposition of imperialism as an outcome from practices of exploitation, partnership, and assimilation. The theory offers a reflection where colonialism becomes a powerful institution of domination through direct rule, or through the political and economic impact of one country over the other. The effects of the historical domination are intricate mechanisms in societal structures of former colonies. Consequently, other authors past Nkrumah’s contribution, Childs, and Williams (1997) propose that postcolonialism can be taken to mean the period coming after the demise of colonial occupation. Of relevance to this study, postcolonialism follows the agency of decolonization which commenced in the late 1950s with the dismantling of structures of colonial control and culminated in 1960s. During the period, most colonized states including Kenya achieved their independence from colonial regimes.

At the same juncture, many Africans migrated overseas in pursuit of education. The works of some of these scholars (Jomo Kenyatta, Kwame Nkrumah, Ngugi wa Thiong’o, Peter Abrahams, Obafemi Awolowo among others) continue to influence postcolonial thought. Although independence was aimed to give Africans a platform to decide their own affairs, it was not dished out honourably. It came after years of negotiations and sometimes bloody violent revolts. Kenya, for instance, experienced an eight-year-long Mau revolt. The clash between the colonial administration and Africans resulted into a state of emergency between 1952 and 1960¹⁸. The insurgency was born out of a movement among Kenya’s largest ethnic community the Kikuyu to contest against British occupation of native land, but later ended in a struggle for independence. To Kenyans, Mau Mau were freedom fighters, while to the colonial establishment, they were inhuman savage terrorists¹⁹. Kenyans especially the Kikuyu inhabitants of the central region which served as the colonial capital lived and survived colonialism, they remained with a negative narrative of the struggle over domination. Similar experiences by former imperial subjects’ support Bhabha’s (1994) argument that postcolonial theory was a result of the colonial experience, “the testimonies of the third world countries and the discourses of the minority within the geographical and political divisions of East and West, North and South”. Bhabha (1994) has further argued that postcolonial theory offers an intervention in discourses that endeavour to grant a hegemonic normality to the uneven development, and the differential impeded histories of countries, race, countries, and people groups (Bhaba, 1994.171). Several scholars, (Ashcroft et al 1995; McClintock, 1992; King, 1999) indicate that postcolonial literature has excluded material authored or representing ideas from either American or British thinking. It focuses on writing from colonized or formerly colonized cultures in Australia, Asia, New

¹⁸ With the upsurge of the Mau Mau rebellion - against the British colonial rule and demand for the repossession of illegally acquired land, Kenya’s Governor Sir. Evelyn Baring declared a state of emergency in 1952. It escalated into a brutal battle between the British military and police enforcement with the Mau revolt made of Kenyans mostly Kikuyus. The emergency was lifted on November. 10. 1959. Tens of thousands of Kikuyu died in the fighting and in detention camps and restricted villages (Elkins, 2005).

¹⁹ Ibid (2)

Zealand, Africa, South America and other regions that experienced domination. This argument is supported by works of Kenyan authors like Ngugi wa Thiong'o (who writes in the Gikuyu language – a phonetic variation referred here as Kikuyu), and political poet Abdala Latiff (who writes in Kiswahili)²⁰. The authors have gone as far as concentrating most of their writings in local languages - a rejection of English as a colonial linguistic medium. Their literature targets individuals that remained outside of the white, male, European social, political and philosophical convention. Yet, the literature in ethnic languages maybe irrelevant to global literal circles, if not translated. Furthermore, international publishing spheres, demand western languages, English, German or French, as a pre-requisite to disseminate work to a global audience. For example, in a media interview, Abdala Latiff (2016) revealed he was uncomfortable to write in English. The poet argued that Swahili verse gives profound meaning to messages that address social-economic and political issues. "Poetry in native languages communicates to populations with low literacy levels and is effective if communicated to an audience through oral narrations"(Mkenya Ujerumani, 2016)²¹.

His emphasis was that some words and discourse are devalued or lack the right translation when converted to Western languages. His thesis is that a linguistic colonization has deterred authentic cultural valuation of African literature. Reflectively, Ashcroft et al (1989:11-13) point out that postcolonial theory emerged out of the failure of a European theory "to adequately deal with challenges and different cultural origins of postcolonial writing". It is such discomforts that Griffith and Tiffins (2004) see an alternative to Eurocentric perceptions, they argue that postcolonialism is an endeavour by the once in the past colonized to re-evaluate, rediscover and remake their own cultures. It is additionally an act of re-examining the history of the world, against the insufficiency of the terms and conceptual outlines designed by the west. In retaliation for these disparities, postcolonial authors Edward Said, Homi Bhabha, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, have introduced a different narrative to illuminate misrepresentation in the literature of elitist capitalist institutions in Britain and America. In their postcolonial discourse, they evaluate ways in which colonial agencies continue to misappropriate the value of the people in former colonies. As literature indicates, contributions of Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978) makes the central thesis of scholarship on postcolonial theory. In Said's work, *Orientalism* is used as a euphemism for the term colonialism, a synonym of Western imperialism and racism. Said (1977) argues that the Orient is fundamentally a portion of European civilization and culture. *Orientalism* exposes culture and ideology as a mode of discourse with supporting institutions, lexicon, scholarship, symbolism, conventions, even colonial bureaucracies, and styles. For Said, *orientalism* generates a style of

²⁰ Ngugi wa Thiong'o book: *'Devil on the cross'* was translated from Gikuyu to English. It was written on toilet paper during Ngugi's incarceration. The narrative is an outcry over the exploitation of Africans by Western capitalist influence. It is described (Penguin Publishers) as impassionate plea for Kenya to free from dictatorship, and a call for literature by African writers in local languages. Other books: *Wizard of the crow*, and *Decolonizing the mind* offer a critical look at post-colonial thought. Abdala Latiff has penned critical post-colonial arguments in his Swahili poetry and discourse in *Sauti ya Dhiki* (Voice of Agony) published in 1973, and *Siwati* a collection of poems during three years of solitary confinement. The poetry contains strong critic of the post-colonial regimes which had inherited colonial tendencies.

²¹ MKenya Ujerumani (2016). Kenyan poet speaks about poetry, politics and life as a professor in Germany. Online at <http://mkenyaujerumani.de/2016/08/23/kenya-poet-speaks-about-poetry-politics-and-life-as-professor-in-germany/> Accessed on 20.02.2017.

thought that makes a distinction between the “orient” and the “accident”. It is on this basis that Said reveals inequalities in the representation of the Orient in European literary material and culture. On the other hand, Gayatri Spivak’s (1986) quest to find out “if the subaltern can speak”, shows her concern with the least powerful people in the society, and challenges they face in expressing themselves or entering dialogue with those in power. Spivak’s subaltern takes the last position in the power structure categorized in classes of; a) dominant foreign groups (French and British imperialists), international powers such as America and Russia, international corporations; b) dominant indigenous groups / national level; c) dominant indigenous groups /regional level; d) the subaltern (Spivak, 1986). She argues, because of the position of the subaltern in the hierarchy, they cannot speak for themselves and therefore implores intellectuals to speak on their behalf (Spivak, 1986). In Spivak’s argument, it is clear to see that even if the Subaltern gets a voice through the said intellectuals; it can quickly become a misrepresentation of their values and struggles to owe to different interpretations based on personal beliefs and prejudices. Spivak concludes, the subaltern can only develop a political consciousness, “if they speak for themselves”, but before that is attained, representation is the best option. I argue migrant media is a space where subaltern’s quests could be represented.

Another post-colonialist Homi Bhabha (1983) concentrates on the concept of mimicry as a postcolonial phenomenon. Bhabha (1983); (1994) suggests that mimicry is the supplication and optimistic cultural mixing. He draws examples from the doubling that takes place when one culture dominates the other. The dominant culture is seen to encourage mimicry, to the extent that the minority culture assimilates the dominant culture in terms of language, and identity. Mimicry creates a ‘reformed acceptable other’. Using binarism, Bhabha (1994) theorizes that the dominant culture only learns parts of the minority culture that supports and maintains an ambivalence relationship. Drawing from these ideas, I conclude, narratives found in postcolonial perspectives of Edward Said (1977); (1979), Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (1986) and Homi Bhabha (1983); (1994) unearth misconceptions in conventional development theory, as a Eurocentric description of the non-European world. In postcolonial authorship, stereotypes like those instituted in development constructs are exposed to reveal misrepresentations, and loopholes in texts that demean or undermine social and economic contexts of subjects from developing countries. The texts tend to elevate development initiatives founded in countries in the West more viable than those in former colonial states.

3.1. Postcolonial Narratives in Migration and Development

In this dissertation I argue, construction of migration sometimes exposes stereotypes like those found in postcolonial concepts. To put in the context of this study, Kenyan migrants like other categories of migrants in Europe are sometimes generalized as “economic migrants”, “illegals”, or “foreigners”. Their seclusion from the dominant society reifies sentiments found in postcolonial categories, such as “Otherness”, ‘Orientals’ and ‘Subalterns’. The representation may limit their full

integration or recognition as important players in the social and economic aspects of migration-sending and receiving countries. Rukundwa and Van Aarde (2007:4) contends this conclusion and sees postcolonialism as a way forward in validating the colonized. He argues that the discourse is concerned with authentic realities of decolonization, empowering individuals developing from socio-political and economic domination to recover their sovereignty. Postcolonial thought offers a decolonized people a negotiating space for equity. Reading postcolonialism texts disinters different dimensions of viewing the impact of colonization on non-European cultures and economies. In retrospect, migration has become a concept largely utilized in government policies and international institutions, as a prospective development trajectory. To this view, Kenyan migrants of the 21st century do not claim to be pushed out of their homelands because of the suffrage experienced during the colonial era. However, factors that have led migrants from migration-sending states in the South are categorized in push and pull conduits, where unfavourable conditions in home states and favourable conditions in host states are common binaries. In as much, looking for alternative economic opportunities, education, and an attraction to a media sold the image of the West as “the land of milk and honey”, are quickly contrasted with non-desirable factors. For instance, civil upheavals, political uncertainties, and unemployment in the East (Africa, Asia, and Latin America, representing Less Developed Countries). Although these examples may not be true representations of factors on either side, the quest of migrants to look for alternative social and economic pursuits is correlated to a thirst for equity and freedom. Such ideals are expected to acquaint migrants with the power to negotiate for other aspects of development in their homelands. In the Kenyan scenario, migrants living in Europe and other western metropolis have for some time felt left out in the affairs of the country and like Spivak’s ‘subalterns’ are pushing for their voices to be heard. In 2013, general elections, migrant groups, elsewhere referred as Kenya Diaspora Alliances (KDA) filed a legal suit against the state to demand their right to vote in national elections²². While the case received wide media coverage, the agitation only managed to get migrants from four African Union member states (Rwanda, Tanzania Uganda, and Burundi) to vote. In 2017, Kenyan migrants in South Africa were included among non-resident Kenyans to participate in the poll. The Diaspora Alliances consider the civic initiative as slow, arguing that the state has failed to recognize their civil and political rights and only keen on economic gains. They are convinced that through the ballot, their voice as agents of development, particularly, their contributions to economic and social remittances can be heard. Notably, Kenyan migrants continue to engage in economic and civic duties, from their host countries across the globe. They are positioned as agents of development due to their transnational existence and ability to influence matters. In this study, they are relevant examples of ‘representatives of subalterns’, who must push for the affairs of the less endowed Kenyans, through engaging in development initiatives. It is for this reason that transnational digital migrant media actively seek migrants to generate content on migration and development.

²² Kenya Diaspora Alliance refers to federation of associations of Kenyans abroad (KDA, 2016).

3.2. Postcolonialism as a Development Oriented Discourse in Kenya

The development discourse in Kenya is laced with ideas and workings of pre-colonial and post-colonial economic, political and social processes. The narrative continues to circulate in the public sphere including politics and the media. In an endeavour to create innovative and working solutions to social deficiency, development is formalized as a strategy for economic growth and independence. Hitherto, the development narrative remains a poignant factor that explains the political, economic and cultural changes that independent Kenya has gone through. The concept also informs how global trends like; globalization, modern economy, and free movement of goods and people continue to inspire Kenyans to migrate. Development in Kenya can be traced as discourse in pre-colonial nationalist's ideas. Nationalistic movements emerged in the wake of anti-colonialism and decolonization in the late 1950s and early 60s. At the time, development was already being used as a Pan-Africanist strategy to unite Africans with a common goal, to defeat colonialism and forge towards realizing their economic and political rights. By the 1950s, the Pan-African movement thrived in the ideas of almost every African nationalist leader²³. African pioneers of nationalism were hugely influenced by civil rights and black movements that had taken ground in the 50s and 60s in the United States²⁴. To this effect, Ngugi wa Thiong'o writes that African people living outside Africa at the time contributed much to Africa's cultural, political and economic growth aspects that resonate to the continents development. Ngugi particularly mentions African Americans like C.L.R James, George Padmore, W.E Dubois, Marcus Garvey as part of Africa's independence struggle (Ngugi, 1986:98)²⁵. Further, Kenya's struggle for independence culminated into liberation from colonial rule in 1963. The independent leadership fronted by Jomo Kenyatta coined a postcolonial development slogan dubbed "*Harambee*"²⁶, a Swahili term that connotes pulling together of resources and focus towards a common goal to develop the newly independent country. The Harambee analogy was a collaborative thought practice, where every Kenyan resident or non-resident was bestowed a non-sanctioned responsibility towards nation-building. In public fundraising forums, the calls of "Harambee" and corresponding responses "Nyayo" meaning "footsteps", were an inverted postcolonial strategy borrowed from colonial tendencies of subjugation. Kenyans were supposed to follow in the footsteps of the leader, just as they had been subjected to their colonial masters. The slogan was quickly appropriated with a capitalistic approach tendered on subduing the masses through threats, sanctions, and silence. Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1986) extols that Kenyan second President, Daniel Arap Moi's Nyayoism, [...] "follow my steps", beat the most inventive satiric genius when he demanded that "Kenyans should sing like parrots". Ngugi's discontent is with

²³ Some of the nationalist leaders who proposed the development idea through the Pan- African Movement were: Kwame Nkrumah (1909-1972; Ghana), Jomo Kenyatta (1891-1978; Kenya), Julius Nyerere (1922-1999; Tanzania), Kenneth Kaunda (1964-1991; Zambia), Haile Selassie (1892-1975; Ethiopia), Albert Luthuli (c. 1898-1967; South Africa), and Nandi Azikiwe (1904-1996; Nigeria).

²⁴ Post-colonial Nationalism- Nationalism in Africa: "<http://science.jrank.org/pages/10398/Nationalism-in-Africa-African-Nationalism-after-World-War-II.html>">Nationalism in Africa - African Nationalism After World War II

²⁵ Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1986); *Decolonizing the Mind: The politics of Language in African Literature*.

²⁶ Oxford Dictionary, 2017: <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/harambee>: Entered in the English Oxford dictionary; Harambee in East Africa refers to an event held to raise funds for charitable purposes. The word originates from Swahili, meaning pulling or working together (A slogan of the first independent Government of Kenya).

intellectuals, the media, and politicians who echoed Moi's words like parrots and remained silent when critics of the administration were detained on false charges without trial. They only became vocal about anyone depicted by the neo-colonial administration as a dissent (Ngugi, 1986:86). Evidently, postcolonial leaders in Kenya carried forward repressive tendencies experienced during the colonial regime. They were dignified as overall decision makers and determined policies to force on the newly independent nation. Development was disguised in Harambee functions (money collecting events); sometimes as an excuse to exploit the public and engage in economic plunder. Kenyans understood development as joined efforts to raise monetary resources. Part of the money collected was put to good use, building infrastructure and enhancing services. However, colonial inequalities ensured that only regions with key political representations benefited from the development funds. Furthermore, misappropriation and abuse of resources would result in the marginalization of regions in the periphery, a reflection of the colonial era, where development was concentrated in the capitals which acted as colonial centers. Hence, the cultural indoctrination of development consciousness remains inherent in the historical makeup of residents as well as non-resident Kenyans, referred here as migrants.

As such, Kenyans are made to believe that they have a duty to contribute to the growth of the nation. It is this intrinsic socialization of an idea formed out of a symbolic resonance against colonialism, that transnational Kenyan digital migrant media taps into, to construct discourses on migration and development. Having established that producers of migrant media arrived in European centers looking to better themselves, and support family members left behind. The transnational digital migrant media becomes a platform where they could sell their ideas to small populations of Kenyan migrants, almost non-existent in the public spheres. With time, the migrant media space attracted an audience that exhibited intrinsic Kenyan attributes to community building and development. Symbolically, unlike today's Kenyan migrants, many African leaders who migrated to Europe in the colonial period, either as colonial emissaries or nationalist representative like Kenya's first president Jomo Kenyatta, were products of colonialism. They were semi-educated in missionary schools and only qualified as apprentices to Western professions. However, after interactions with missionaries, they acquired language and Christian knowledge that made them valuable to the anti-colonial movements. I will now use the example of Kenyatta to portray a resolve of colonized Kenyans to transit an epoch of colonial repression and forge alternative methods towards self-determination.

Kenyatta's Chivalry and Essentialized-self

Kenyatta, like other Africans, quickly learnt from the colonial system to become political alert. They soon started to pressure colonial administrations to return land taken from them. It was a possible way to attain economic actualization or development, as Agriculture was a feasible economic mainstay. Illustratively, Burney (2012) and Berman (1996) highlight

that after his exposure to missionary education, Kenyatta found a position in the civil service, before he became actively involved in political pressure groups. First, the East African Association (EAA) and later the Kikuyu Central Association (KCA), hereafter KCA. KCA was born out of contempt manifested in the colonial regime towards a politically active and economically viable organized group of Kenyans. Berman (1996) illustrates that liberal British politicians had challenges dealing with expressions of political awareness and organizations that challenged the colonial power. The authority reasoned that colonized political expressions would lead to economic self-determinism and completely upset colonial power balance. After banning EAA, new regional political outfits like KCA emerged.²⁷ Kenyatta an upcoming orator and partially educated peasant quickly became its Secretary-General, and later editor of its publication *Muigwithania*, closely translated as the Reconciler. *Muigwithania* sought to express grievances of the Kikuyu people about colonial land dispossession, as well as cultural and economic infringements (Burney, 2012). I contend we see native media acting as a powerful tool to fight colonial dominance, through self-expression and cultural resistance. Despite his paltry mastery of English, Kenyatta was the most potential representative of KCA. Together with two other political activists (Bildard Kaggia), he arrived in London in the 30s to make a case on the effect of colonialism on the political, economic and social life of Kenyans, particularly the Kikuyu tribe²⁸. Kenyatta was also among the first group of Africans to migrate to Britain, mostly aggressors on the rights of the colonised and academic pioneers delegated to understand the British system and help translate grievances in colonized states. His colonial outfit presented him as an agent of the system itself. He would study under the tutelage of renowned anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski at the London School of Economics²⁹. Celarant (2010) recounts his struggles to access political bureaucrats in London in his desperation to communicate grievances that extended from women hut tax, survey tax, land seizure, lack of African representation within the Kenya Legislative Committee (KLC), poor access to education etc.³⁰. This scenario affirms that the colonial establishment had placed Africans under a suppressive disenfranchisement. Africans were rendered economically hapless, totally dependent on the colonial system as casual or forced labourers. Kenyans had no choice but to migrate from their rural homes to work in the sparse colonial plantations in the Kenyan highlands, to afford paying a mandatory cash tax imposed on them (Elkins, 2005). Suppressed, abused, forced into detention camps, Kenyans were desperate to dispose the colonial regime. Political aggressors believed that someone who could speak the colonial language or understand their ways, albeit even rudimentarily, was in a better position to present grievances to the colonial administration in Britain. This was the only way to defeat colonialism and move towards independence. However, as we

²⁷ At the peak of colonial occupancy in Kenya, several political outfits to agitate regional interest for Kenyans emerged. This included: East African Association (EAA), Young Kikuyu Association (YKA), Kikuyu Central Association (KCA) and Kavirondo Tax Payers Welfare (KTPW). Latter, Kenya African Union was established the first African political party. KAU send its first representative to the Kenya Legislative Assembly. Previously only Indians were minority member to the KLA, but not Africans (ibid, 11).

²⁸ Daily Nation, 2016. Jomo Kenyatta Troubled Years in London. Online at: <http://www.nation.co.ke/news/Jomo-Kenyatta-troubled-years-in-London-/1056-2491722-fn26h1/index.html>. Accessed on 10.03.2017.

²⁹ Berman (1996). *Ethnography as Politics, Politics as Ethnography: Kenyatta, Malinowski, and the Making of Facing Mount Kenya*

³⁰ Daily Nation, 2016: Jomo Kenyatta Troubled Years in London. Online at: <http://www.nation.co.ke/news/Jomo-Kenyatta-troubled-years-in-London-/1056-2491722-fn26h1/index.html>. Accessed on 04.03.2017.

shall see later in this chapter, colonial power was not defeated by supplication to a western culture and education alone. Kenyatta would soon realize he was no match to the sophisticated British politicians and far cry from his fellow African aggressors, especially those from the Caribbean³¹. Berman (1996) illustrates that, "in some cases, he would walk around the streets of London wearing a leopard skin and carrying a spear to illustrate he was an authentic representative of those who had sent him". Then, he would alter into a Western suit for meetings with journalists and sympathetic intellectuals. Here, Kenyatta is represented as a mythical character of modern anthropology, which provided the anthropologist Malowinski the first encounter with "otherness" granting him the opportunity to become an archetype of ethnography (Stocking, 1992a, 214-19 in Berman, 1996). However, Celarant (2010:723) sees this as Kenyatta's clever chivalry, to play on both sides. On one side, seeking to be understood in the metropolitan and on the other, never losing foresight of his African roots. Even in his constructed "otherness", Kenyatta had elevated the status of authority in Kenya. Then as an editor of a native publication, he had a forum where the discourse on enlightenment and self-determination was generated to negotiate or demand independence. In an article in *Muigwithania*, he implores his readers:

"If you want us to become of consequence and to become the counsellors of our country, busy yourselves with EDUCATION. But do not think that the education I refer to is that which we are given a lick of; no, it is a methodical education to open a man's head". Jomo Kenyatta in 'Muigwithania' the Reconciler (1929) cited from Burney (2012).

"Education to Open a Man's Head"

The education he talks about is the Western academic thinking, a philosophical understanding of political and economic motivations for colonization. Africans understood that the only way they could beat colonialism is to acquire colonial knowledge. Education would ensure that Africans gain a negotiating power to present their grievances to highly educated white men from political intellectual circles of British dominant class. The colonial African is represented as a suppressed "other", the "subaltern", the "oriental", if I may add, "lacking in consequence". Just as in mimicry (Bhaba, 1983), the colonized was not exposed to wholesome education, only what indoctrinated his colonized self, dehumanized his cultural beliefs and elevated European ways as the norm. The pre-colonial African migrant in Europe had a glimpse of how the West views him, in other words as; "inconsequential, uneducated, illiterate who requires Western education to be understood". It is this reality that is encapsulated in Frantz Fanon's *Black Skin White Masks*, where he exploits the idea that colonialism was internalized by the colonized. An inferiority complex was calculated in their mind-set, and through the instrument of prejudice, black people ended up imitating their oppressors (Fanon, 1986: x). Fanon's arguments are mirrored in Kenyatta's conviction in the Reconciler (1939) that the European "Other" was the most desirable, educated, sophisticated intellectual, whom Africans had to employ colonial weaponry (education) to regain their lost state of identity. Kenyatta would soon get exposed to

³¹ Berman (1996): *Ethnography as Politics, Politics as Ethnography: Kenyatta, Malinowski, and the Making of Facing Mount Kenya*

western education in Britain and Russia and return to Kenya at the end of the Second World War. He was arrested at the helm of the Mau revolt and released to become the leader of independent Kenya. Albeit, knowledge alone did not give anti-colonial aggressors powers to free themselves from the colonial shackles; revolts and violent aggression was an alternate, replicated across many African nations. Ngugi (1986) suggests that the colonial interphase in Kenya presented two conflicting interpretation of historical and economic development. Firstly, an imperialistic, neo-colonial thought that the more quickly Kenya misplaced her identity to the West and left her destiny in the imperialistic interests, the quicker was her advancement and development to modernity. Secondly, heroic struggles of Kenyan and other African people to break free from imperialistic capitalism were precursors to development. For Kenyan nationalists, it was the traditional resistance movements. Particularly, the Kenya Land and Freedom Army (Mau Mau), through the struggles of ordinary Kenyans ousted the colonial imperialists and paved way for self-independence and economic development³². Ngugi further argues that for Kenyans to realize their cultural and economic perspectives, they must relate their experiences to prevailing national economic heritages. As well as struggles of other people in Africa, the third world, Europe, and the Americas. Ngugi concludes, Kenyans like other Africans must be engaged in global democratic and socialist forces that would eventually lead to a demise of imperialistic capitalism (Ngugi, 1996:102). However, Ndege (1992) illustrates that Kenyan colonization by Britain in 1895, exposed it to a capitalist economy based on merchant capital, promoting trade between Kenya and the outside world. The practice, though positioned as mutually beneficial to colonies producing raw material, and industrialized nations manufacturing finished products, disproportionately benefited developed countries (Ndege: 224 in Ochieng & Maxon, 1992). Ochieng (1992) puts it more explicitly, that colonial rule elevated Westernization and the capitalist infiltration of African economies. It influenced the enunciation of indigenous modes of production within capitalist modes of production. While the growth of colonial infrastructure and trade led to the development in the colonies, local production was minimal, in favour of consumerism as western goods flooded the colonies. Although Kenya's development has surpassed the colonial assumptions of the 60s, to the economic restructuring of the 80s and 90s, some colonial perceptions are deeply enmeshed in its development agenda. I concur, the above discussion is not any far from arguments in transnational digital migrant media. Migrant media producers construct a self-made truth that "Kenyan migrants can be change agents by acquiring skills and knowledge in host countries and imparting them among non-migrants". An initiative is seen as a sign of development in the home country. Transnational digital migrant media construe the aspect of the agency of migrants as significant in the development of migration-sending countries. Migrants are positioned as cultural adaptive to the new environment in migration-receiving countries, as part of the integration process. Moreover, migrants become conversant with new

³² Mau or the Kenya Land Reform Army was a 1952 anti-colonial resistance movement that fought with the colonial government leading to the declaration of state of emergency in Kenya (1952 to 1959). There is no recorded meaning of Mau in Kenyan languages, but locally, it was interpreted to colloquially suit anti-colonial slogans (Mzungu arudi Uingereza (Mau), Mwafrika apate Uhuru (Mau) meaning the White man must return to England for the African to gain independence.

languages and have mostly acquired knowledge and skills from studying and working in host countries. In addition, Kenyan migrants work within environments of different political and economic models, which enhance their practice. Hence, migrants are seen to possess a higher value and status that put them in a position of influence. A critical look at colonialism and its effects on Kenyan social-economy, offer a practical portrait of the connection between postcolonial theory and migration and development discourse in Kenya.

3.3. Relevance of Germany and Britain's Colonial History to Migration and Development

Germany and Britain's colonial history are relevant to this research, which looks at the criteria of production of migration and development narratives in Kenyan transnational digital migrant media in Europe. The thesis is the colonization of Africa and Kenya, contributed to forms of migration to Europe, and current development constructs. To this point, aspects of colonialism speak to this thesis whose empirical data is derived from transnational digital migrant media situated in Germany and Britain, countries that are former colonial powers. As well, interviews with Kenyan media producers working in the two countries exhibit knowledge contexts of "colonial and the metropole", the "here and there". The countries were selected for having considerable populations of Kenyan migrants, who use digital migrant media to articulate their ideas and attitudes towards migration and development. Britain's colonial history in Kenya serves as a link for many migrants looking for both temporary and permanent settlement. Over the years, as we have seen in previous chapters, European migration policies have endeavoured to reduce the number of emigrants, entering its national borders. However, in the case of Britain, the English language and Kenyan familiarity with the British system of education, continue to attract Kenyan migrants. Most of Kenya's who have settled in Britain migrated in the 1950s and 60s following pre-colonial and post-colonial connections. Kenya's position as a regional economic hub and headquarters for international organizations facilitate migration of expatriates from Europe to Kenya and vice versa. Although status may change abruptly, in the face of political upheavals and regional terrorism, Kenya remains an attractive economic location. Still, many Kenyans have resorted to outward mobility to sustain their economic pursuits. As this thesis shows, migrants rely on transnational digital migrant media to generate a discourse of migrant's economic sustainability and development in the home country. Kenyan centrality as an aviation connection point to other African destinations, its achievements in the tourism industry, facilitates the expansion of a European culture, language, and presence in the East African region. These aspects are tied to the colonial structures and enable future and current transnational mobility. In the case of Germany, colonial interactions with Kenya were limited to the proximity of its former colony, Tanzania. Like Kenya, Tanzanian anti-colonial agitation, the Maji revolt has similar characteristics to the Mau of Kenya. The revolts were based on a quest to repossess land and resources in the colonial hands, as well as protest colonial subjectivity in the demand for independence. However, the Kenyan colonial connection to Germany can be traced to the colonial scramble and military recruitments of Kenyan soldiers to the world war. Kenyan

soldiers were recruited under the King's African Rifles (KAR) to fight in distant World Wars³³, which led to precolonial migrations of Kenyans to Germany, later through government sponsored scholarships. The outcomes of the colonial dominance in Kenya have both positive and negative consequences. However, this dissertation does not challenge the colonial institution and subsequent postcolonial ideology but is more concerned with examining discourses in postcolonial theory that show colonial impacts on migration and development. Particularly, anti-colonialism movements that paved way for independence and development alternatives for Kenyans as a basis for postcolonial discourse³⁴. Rukundwa and Van Aarde (2007) argue, an idealistic view of postcolonial theory provides resistance, by which any exploitative and discriminative practice regardless of time and space can be challenged. The authors offer a pessimist approach that sees postcolonial theory as unexpected, vague or even superstitious (ibid). Postcolonial theory and its interpretation in literature intrigue its application towards understanding the migration-development nexus. Lee and Shultz (2012: 2) posit, studies that have attempted to showcase the impacts of colonialism on previous colonies conceal a larger amount of heterogeneity i.e.; (1) the pre-existing conditions of the regions colonized; (2) the institutions forced by the colonizer; (3) and the post-independence histories of these nations. These indicators offer a point of departure in analyzing Kenyan social and economic settings before colonialism, during and after and locating impacts of colonialism on migration and development.

3.3.1. Tracing Colonialism and Rebirth of Postcolonial Discourse

Chibber (2013) traces colonialism as European bourgeoisie historical state power whose main purpose was to hasten modernisation of the local economy. Some authors like Joseph Conrad in his novel "*Heart of Darkness*" (1899 reprinted in 2003)³⁵, suggest, colonialization was "the suppression of savage customs". The reference points to the occupation by the powers that dominated colonies, to change the inhabitant's way of life and beliefs, and satisfy the colonial theory of modernization. Relevant to the post-colonial concept in this study is how the institution of "otherness" is depicted in the colonial framing of the Africans as "savage, madmen, childlike or ignorant of their circumstances". It is the assumption that gives the colonizer legitimacy to argue that indeed the colonized was "begging to be saved by the angelic European good, to preserve his soul from total damnation". These narratives normalized in migration and development contexts, impinge a constant conflict between the "West and the rest". Similar representations are found in the subjecting categories of migrants in Europe in images that resonate "Otherness and Subalterns". Chibber (2013) further argues, the thought was as local financial relations modified into advanced capitalist ones, the colonial world would start to be organized around modern

³³ King's African Rifles. It was a multi-battalion colonial regiment raised amid Britain's colonial rule in East Africa (1902 -1960s). It performed military and inside security functions. The regiment ranks (askari) were drawn from locals, but officers were British. Online at: <https://www.forces-war-records.co.uk/units/4029/kings-african-rifles> Official KAR website <http://www.kingsafricanriflesassociation.co.uk/>. Accessed on 06.04.2017.

³⁴ <https://www.forces-war-records.co.uk/units/4029/kings-african-rifles> Official KAR website <http://www.kingsafricanriflesassociation.co.uk/>

³⁵ *Heart of Darkness* is a fictional novel first published in 1899 by Joseph Conrad a Polish-born English novelist. It depicts Conrad's experience with colonial horrors working on a steamship in Africa, exact setting Belgium Congo. The book Its lauded for giving powerful insights into colonialism. The book was reprinted in 2003 by Green Integers (Good Reads Online Reviews) https://www.goodreads.com/book/show/4900.Heart_of_Darkness

political practices as well. For this study, a brief overview of colonialism below, and its long-lasting impacts on Africa in general and Kenya in specific, helps to contextualize the idea of postcolonialism and its relation to the migration and development discourse.

Revisiting the Scramble for Africa

In what was latter known as the 'scramble for Africa', the imperial representatives embarked on a journey to divide the African continent among them. In 1886, an Anglo-German agreement and other European territorial treaties legitimized artificial division of African territories³⁶. The allocations were precise and depicted European colonial interests in land and other natural resources. As per Kaponen (1993) analysis, deliberations began in 1884/85 Berlin conference, spearheaded by Germany Chancellor Otto Bismarck and France President Jules Grev'y. The powers established rules of occupation namely; i) the rule of "effective occupation", which permitted powers to procure rights over colonial lands on grounds of ownership. This implied that the colonizers could make settlements with local leaders, fly the empire's flag, or set up a territory to administer with the police force to keep order. Secondly, ii) the "hinterland theory" gave any colonial power with a coastal region, the right to claim political influence over an indefinite amount of inland territory (Lee and Shultz, 2012). What the rules did was to exercise the power of dominance, excluding Africans from participating or deciding their own affairs. Therefore, perpetuating the idea that "the European race held a superior power over the inferiority of reason, and authority of the African population". Rietdorf (2010) illustrates how African people were purposefully excluded as political subjects. "Not a single African participant was involved to discuss the fate of Africa. He argues³⁷. Contrary to the theory that Europeans were more interested in the raw material, Kaponen (2012:127) has suggested a significant concern was to expand markets or economic recovery in lieu of the Great Depression in Europe and Americas between 1874 to 1896. Fuelled with political and personal quests, the continent was sliced into pieces marking geographical boundaries (Ndege, 2009). The imperial expansion split people who had lived together as a community, working and nurturing their existence along artificial boundaries. The boundaries acting as barriers, and markers of historical divisions that would later bit Africans against each other - "divide and conquer". While there are similarities between German and British colonialism, stark differences are found in the nature and impact of their domination on the colonies. Germany's colonial control in Africa which lasted three decades (between 1884 to 1914) in Rwanda, Togo, Namibia, Cameroon, and Tanzania is underexplored, compared to colonial histories of Portugal, Britain and France³⁸. However, there exists stimulating pointers that mark Germany's colonialism as unique. Its colonial institution highlights elements of colonial subjectivity and essentialism. *Firstly,*

³⁶ DE territorialized History: Investigating German colonialism through Deleuze Guattari (Bullard, 2005).

³⁷ The powers that held a presence in Africa at the time, included Great Britain, Belgium, Portugal, Italy, Spain, Russia, Austria, Sweden, and the Ottoman Empire. Germany was a late entrant and while the USA had no colonial holdings, its position as a capitalist power as other empires, was essential in setting rules of colonial administration and occupancy (Lee and Shultz, 2012).

³⁸ Bullard, 2005

in his study investigating German Colonialism through Deleuze Guattari, Thomas Bullard (2005) highlights instances of German's colonial brutality through acts of violence against the Herero and Nama people in Southwest Africa. He notes, over 70,000 Herero were killed in what is today understood to be genocide³⁹. Secondly, Bullard (2005:39) singles out "social imperialism" as a stance taken by German expansionists to galvanize populations. Although, German's Chancellor and expansionist Otto Bismarck was against the institution of colonialism as of 1881, he made a complete shift in its favour in 1884. The chancellor positioned the expansion as a sense of pride, to unite the German nation burdened under domestic social and economic challenges⁴⁰. Secondly, unlike Britain, as we shall see below, Bullard exemplifies that settlement of Germans in Africa was minimal amounting to a little more than 10,000 immigrants over 30 years. However, the two empires faced a share of opposition from Africans. The antagonism was in form of passive disapproval to taxes, covert resistance and outright resistance to authority, notable, the Maji Maji uprising in Tanzania, and Mau Mau rebellion in Kenya⁴¹.

3.3.2. White Man's Land: Narratives of Colonial British - Kenya

In answering the research question on the (re)production of migration and development discourse in transnational migrant media for Kenyans in Europe, I argue, existing hegemonic and counter-hegemonic narratives in migrant media emanate from Kenyan migrants' knowledge and experience of a colonial past and a modern world. Colonial Kenya under the British empire was referred to the White Man's Country⁴². Tol (2015) argues that the myth of Kenya Colony, functioned through recursive tropes of the picturesque, the transcendent and the primeval that are manifest not only in the writings of colonials themselves but also in accounts of Kenya produced in the period after independence. In examining empirical evidence on (re) production of development narratives, I found that Kenyan migrants in deconstructing postcolonial thought strive to define and own their development trajectories. This way, the narratives encompass North's (2005:112) submission that development of British institutions in Kenya made a stage for the advancement of institutions of impersonal exchange, which acted as foundations of long economic development. To illustrate, Africa was lucrative with rich raw material essential for the rapid industrial revolution in the West at the turn of the 19th century. Yet, it was derogatively referred to as; "the dark continent". I argue the aim of colonialism was to import an ideology of enlightenment to illuminate the continent through education, religion, social and economic culture. Under the philosophy of three Cs, civilization, Christianity and commerce, Africans were relegated to bear the colonial presence as forced labourers or conscripted soldiers. Some were pushed in

³⁹"*From the measure of Atrocity: The German war against the Herero's*", Isabel Hull describes the war as the largest Germany military campaign in South west Africa (1904-1907) a response to Herero revolt for land, epidemic and violence fostered against the Herero community (Hull,2005).

⁴⁰ Bismarck opposition to colonialism was based on scepticism over expenditures, meagre profits and diplomatic complications'. Also, at the time the emergence of propagandists like Friedric Fabri (1824-1891), Bismarck reluctantly changed his stance with foreseen benefits to the Reichstag elections (in Bullard,2005) also see German History Images and documents.

http://germanhistorydocs.ghdc.org/pdf/eng/622_Bismarck%20Pragmatic%20Colonization_202_JNR.pdf

⁴¹ In "*Making History: historical narratives of the Maji Maji*", Elijah Greenstein (2010) recounts work on the 1905 to 1907 Maji revolt on Southwest of the German East Africa. Researcher link the revolt to German colonial oppression (Greenstein,2010).

⁴² Deanne van Tol. (2015) The Women of Kenya Speak: Imperial Activism and Settler Society, c.1930. Journal of British Studies 54:02, pages 433-456.

settlements camps or homelands as in the case of South Africa, Rhodesia and Kenya (Elkins, 2005). The methods were to ensure absolute dominance and maximization of profits from land and labour for commercial purposes. Guha (1989) supports Chibbers (2013) argument and avers, whereas the European bourgeoisie had come to power by forging a hegemonic coalition with workers and peasants, there were no parallel experiences of power in colonial world. Rather, the main concern of the colonial agency was to exercise dominance, but not hegemony. The imperial colonial envoys would bring a complete metamorphosis in the way and life of indigenous communities found in Kenya, like many other African colonies. The rhetoric joke became “whether you were married or lived in Kenya”- a satirical attitude of Kenyan settlers described as promiscuous and morally arrogant (Elkins, 2005). Such postcolonial inferences challenge imperial misrepresentation and disavowal of African morality which is not only a form of social essentialization but also enacted geopolitical divisions. Having established that decisions to determine affairs of Africans occurred without their consultations, we can consider that Africans were confronted with colonial boundaries, that for instance in Kenya citizens were separated along ethnic lines. Thus, ethnic marginalization continues to bear negative effects on the country’s social and economic makeup. For instance, Ndege (2009:3) avers that in Kenya, colonial boundaries are to blame for negative tenacious ethnic aggression that emerged as communities competed for colonial resources⁴³ . At the onset of colonialism, Kenya was composed of peoples of ethnic groups and lineages. They shared common bonds through marriages, trade and seldom had territorial warfare. Pre-colonial Kenyans had a traditional political organization headed by chiefdoms and scant kingdoms like that of Nabongo Mumia in the Western part of Kenya. Their religious preserves were connected to nature and deities⁴⁴. The economic activities of the people of Kenya were based on barter trade, mongering, pastoralism and farming. Communities exchanged goods and services to sustain their economic livelihoods. Kenya of the 1800s had idyllic rudimental, yet, essential social and economic pursuits that were not recognized within the Eurocentric definition of modernisation⁴⁵. However, these activities were essential in sustaining communities and varied regarding geographical placements. Communities were dispersed along family and tribal lineages and for example, the Nandi’s and Kalenjin’s in the Rift Valley were pastoralists, unlike their Maasai cousins, who preferred a nomadic lifestyle. The Ogiek, a community that has maintained an indigenous way of life, were hunters and gatherers and occupied the Mau forests⁴⁶ . The river lake nilotes made up of the Luo community settled on the shores of Lake Victoria, practiced fishing, pastoralism and perennial farming.

⁴³ Communities like the Maasai and Kuria settled between Kenya and Tanganyika, later Tanzania. The Somali were spread across Kenya, Somali and Ethiopia. The Luo dispersed among Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania, the Teso and Samia between Kenya, Uganda (Ndege, 2009).

⁴⁴ Nabongo Mumia was at the helm of the Wanga Dynasty made up of confederates of co-equal clandoms. He collaborated with the colonial administration seeking to establish trading routes through the region. He also trades with Arab and Swahili slave traders (Daily Nation, 2013).

<http://www.nation.co.ke/lifestyle/DN2/Organised-Wanga-kingdom-aided-the-British/957860-1944168-u9s7hg/index.html>. Also references in *Makers of Kenya’s History, Nabongo Mumia*: Simon Kinyanjui, Heinemann 1992; ISBN 9966-46-808-0

⁴⁵ Ndege (2009).

⁴⁶ Ogiek also known as Okiek are Kenyan indigenous people residing in Southern Mau and Western Kenya Mt. Elgon forests. They have maintained their indigenous way of life but often come under threats of eviction and displacement when forest is cleared for cultivation or land allotments. The Ogieks filed a legal application to the African court on Humans and People’s Rights demand for compensation and land restitution (ESCR-net,2016) <https://www.escri-net.org/news/2016/kenya-stop-forced-evictions-ogiek-communities>

Their immediate Luhya neighbours placed along fertile loamy lands practiced pastoralism and subsistent farming. Like the Luo community, they grew a variety of indigenous food crops, such as cassava, sorghum, and millet. The Kikuyus were found in the fertile Kenya highlands endowed with a favourable climate, their livelihood and customs were inherent and strongly connected to land. Elkins (2015) provides that the Kikuyu suffered a bitter fate of colonialism, when their lands were parcelled out for commercial farming. In the wake of colonialism, the land remained an object of contention. Although there were pre-existing ethnic disparities in pre-colonial Kenya, its 44 tribes generated a livelihood dependant on geographical location. All in all, the economic mainstay centered on farming, pastoralism, nomadism, fishing, hunting and gathering, practices that are connected to the land. For this reason, Africans clashed with the colonial administration when they were forced from their lands into settlements. Suffice it to say, the land resource was part of a native livelihood and determined the development of its society. Under the infamous Swynnerton 1954 land tenure plan, the land was leased first for 90 years, and later 99 years,⁴⁷ to ensure that no African would have legal claim on land. Since Africans were prohibited from commercial farming, settlers capitalized on cash crops; wheat, coffee, tea, fruits and vegetables exported to Europe and other countries in the West. The scramble for Africa and ensuing colonial occupancy, replaced established and sustainable development quests among Africans. The agency of colonialism introduced foreign, but seemingly acceptable ways of life. The fact that inhabitants of what soon became colonies of Africa, had lived peacefully within organized systems of practice was ignored. Previously, communities had survived in their natural habitat using available local resources for medicinal value, nourishment, and craft. Migration and settlement were characterized by a continuous intertwining of ethnicities. The movements were mostly in search for pasture and water, fertile land or for trade. Several authors Ndege, 2009; Guha 1989; Elkins, 2005; Slemon, 1990; demonstrate that pre-colonial communities were nothing static, but with colonialism, they gained a new dimension, meaning, and shape. To the natives of the land, the new arrivals came loaded with foreign artefacts; medicines, weaponry and religious vestments. Initially, their arrival was more like an episode of awe, rather than a threat to their way of life. This was to quickly change, European colonizers fostered an ideology of their racial superiority and a determination to conquer the massive earth surface (Slemon, 1990). For those who survived the treacherous journey, their arrival signalled irreversible dynamics to the life of millions of inhabitants of the African continent. The scramble for Africa set in motion the first migration of Europeans to Africa as settlers, colonial administrators, and sojourners looking for adventure⁴⁸. In its search for suitable British settlers, those who would develop the colony's production and accrue returns used to build the railway line, the British government launched a campaign to attract settlers of British stock to the colony. These were people who could capitalize on the territory's agrarian potential and produce cash crops for the world market.

⁴⁷ Under the Swynnerton plan in (1954), Kenya Land tenure reform system was instituted to signal an agrarian revolution along pre-industrial European lines (Haugerud, 1989, Thurton, 1987).

⁴⁸ Elkins (2005).

Settlers were urged to come and take advantage of the cheap land, abundant labour, and large potential profits. Advertisements in the British local papers enticed who would-be settlers to pick up their stakes and move to the colony⁴⁹.

“Settle in Kenya, Britain’s youngest and most attractive colony. Low prices at present for fertile area. No richer soil in the British Empire. The Kenya colony makes a practical appeal to intending settlers with some capital. Its valuable crops give high yields, due to the high fertility of the soil, adequate rainfall and abundant sunshine. Secure the advantage of native labour to supplement your effort” (BBC Documentary: “White Terror”, January 29, 2013).

Thousands of settlers responded to the call and migrated to Kenya in search of fortunes. They came determined to forge a “white man’s country”⁵⁰. Decades later, this tremendous migration would open counter migrations from Africa to Europe. Child and Williams (1997) aver that large-scale immigration of groups from former colonies is a postcolonial phenomenon.

3.3.3. Narratives of Migration as a Postcolonial Phenomenon

What began in earnest as a reactive phenomenon from the interaction of the European settlers with the African communities saw an increased reverse migration to colonial centres. However, there are differences between imperialist migration and the current so called “migration crisis”. Recent migrations in Europe are a result of forceful violence and internal societal disintegration caused by war. In what is being referred to a “migration crisis” (Nail, 2014; Lirola,2014), populations of refugees started pouring in Europe early 2013, fleeing conflict torn regions in Yemen, Syria, Eritrea, Somalia, Afghanistan, and Iraq⁵¹. These movements cannot be compared to the deliberate migration of African and Asian migrants in post-independence periods, which were in some ways the indirect result of imperialism. Albeit, in the recent past violent conflicts have seen millions of people displaced from their homelands that mimic other historical mass conflict generated dispersions. The 1994 Rwandan genocide and Bosnia ethnic cleansing, are examples of the most violent occurrences that led to massive migrations of refugees⁵². However, unlike the previous conflict generated migrations Kenyan migration to Europe which increased in the 1960s to present, can be linked to imperial factors that warrant a need to improve a way of life, or essentially be part of the global movement. Yet, often the media and political discourse frame migration to Europe as caused by escalating civil wars or internal conflicts. Increasingly, the economic pursuit is the reason for migration especially

⁴⁹ British Broadcasting Corporations’ 2013 documentary *“White Terror”* based on the research of Harvard’s History Professor Caroline Elkins (2005), details the colonial atrocities and thereafter state of emergency in 1952. It was also published as evidence to the case where 5 Kenyans (one has died since then) through a law firm filed a suit against the British government for their suffering at the hands of British colonial agents.

⁵⁰ “White man’s land” is an expression describing 19th Century European colonization of Africa into Patchwork of colonies, exploring and exploiting their resources. It is also title for a (1970) documentary directed by Anthony Howarth and David Koff about colonialism.

⁵¹ Migration Crisis is referred to the influx of migrants into Europe from Africa, the Middle East and South Asia. The escalation of the crisis is reported and is attributed to flight from conflict or persecution with hope to get protection across international borders. Critics of the crisis have maintained that the crisis is exacerbated by people entering the EU borders through irregular means Ernst and Young 2016 report.

Also see: Union (EU). <https://www.hrw.org/tag/europes-migration-crisis>

⁵² April 1994 marked the beginning of 100 days of massacre that led to the deaths of over 800,000 mostly ethnic Tutsis – what was later acknowledged as a genocide. In July, the Rwanda Patriotic Front stopped the killings in a military offense. Close to 2 million people had been displaced and flowed into neighbouring countries as refugees (Des Forges, 2007). The Bosnian genocide is recorded as occurring at Srebrenica and Žepa committed by Bosnian Serb forces in 1995. It also relates to wider ethnic cleansing campaign in most areas that were under the occupation of the Republika Srpska army and took place between 1992–1995 (Thompson, 1994).

in countries with measurable stability. Where migration has resulted from conflicts, the media narrative depicts a negative western influence in former colonies. For example, Frederic Jameson (1982) points out that multinational capitalism and the Green Revolution by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in development and Agribusiness, assigns a neo-colonialism, which changes its relationship to its colonies from an old-fashioned imperialist control to market infiltration. The policies come into play as interventionists ideas that purport to help solve problems in Africa. At the onset of such development pursuits, traditional economies are distorted, creating a whole new society deprived of survival with the alternative option to migrate. Using a postcolonial glance, it is easy to assume that colonialism disenfranchised its colonies economically and culturally. However, it cannot be ignored that although colonialism left in its wake culturally dismantled nations, there were specific gains such as health care, education, and trade that exposed Africa to the outside world. Such gains have propelled Africa to the global market fostering sustainable linkages to its former empires. Yet, the so-called development problems are generated from a history of interferences and institutional bureaucracies created during the colonial era. For example, the British colonial impact was assumed to implement ideological formations of the empire and its control. Its long gulag lasted for over half a century, and in some countries like Zimbabwe, just a few decades ago. The political and economic instruments inherited from the colonial regime strongly characterize how affairs in the former colonies are run. In the case of Kenya, the colonial and post-colonial economy created disarticulation in the form of geographical and structural institutions (Ake, 1981). These stratifications led to a concentration of development in major towns in Kenya such as Nairobi, Nakuru, Naivasha, Eldoret, and Kisumu. Scholars like Herbst (2000) have explained that it is common for African states to commit resources to areas near to the capital whereas ignoring the outskirts. This trend was set during the colonial era, where resources had to be close to the center of colonial administration. In the process, many rural areas are impoverished devoid of basic amenities and feeder roads essential for the transportation of farm produce to the markets. The structural disarticulation is focused on agricultural-based economic activities and less on industrialization. As noted above, the colonial economy utilized vast lands for commercial farming of crops like tea, pyrethrum, coffee and horticulture targeting foreign markets. The resultant is that Kenya's agriculture-based economy is dependent on fluctuating world market prices. The raw material produced relies on industrial markets in Britain, countries in Europe, the United States of America, and Japan (Ndege in Ochieng, 1992)⁵³) and more frequently in China. With decolonization, the Metropole and the periphery were separated, but connections created throughout years of colonialism remain impenetrable. The connections continue to determine the social, economic and political structures within the formerly colonized states. Post-colonial administrations have for a long time depended intensely on the organization techniques that claim to address political, economic and military

⁵³ Ndege's article on Kenya's Foreign trade between 1895 to 1963 reveals that though exposing Kenya to industrial nations of western Europe and the United States of America -transformed Kenya's local economy, production was oriented to demands posed on the international market (Ochieng, 1992).

manifestations of control. Thus, they utilize the same narrative as the metropole. Comparable accounts are replicated within the media as a discourse to inform knowledge as we might see in the next chapter on media discourse.

3.4. Migration and Development as a Postcolonial Discourse

At the end of the Second World War, influential American theorists, Walt W. Rostow (1950-60) and Arthur Lewis et al., (1950) thinking contributed to the categorization of countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America as under-developed or Less Developed Countries (LDC's)⁵⁴. Using the Marshall plan of action for development, experts argued that aid was central to improving the status of populations in these regions⁵⁵. In addition to the above colonial impetus, development has come to refer to various dimensions of the western measure of economic growth and stability (Naz, 2006). The widely-debated notions of economic prosperity, political stability, and technological advancements have created a controversial discourse of what development in modern societies looks like. In this thesis, I argue, migrant media disseminates a discourse to explain development in the context of migration to migrants and non-migrants. In doing so, migrant media's function is majorly to inform and influence thoughts and ideas on specific development activities in migration-sending countries. Using Norman Fairclough's approach to discourse analysis and learning from Michel Foucault's ideas, this dissertation deconstructs the conventional development approach. The strategy is to analyze how transnational digital migrant media producers create daily, hegemonic and counter-hegemonic discourses on migration and development. I assume, contemporary discourses in transnational digital migrant media seem to introduce alternative ways of viewing development, not just as a western construction, but frequently emphasize initiatives derived from local knowledge in migration-sending countries. I do not ignore the fact that media editors may use dominant concepts in explaining development, thus maintaining the dominant historical context. However, building on the postcolonial thinkers, I argue, this dominant view might be creatively adopted and interpreted. Therefore, the study draws insights from Escobar's critique of the Eurocentric development approach in relation to postcolonial perspectives in Edward Said's (1977) concepts of 'Orientalism', Homi Bhabha's (1983) 'Otherness' and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (1986) 'Subaltern'. The development narrative has features like those in postcolonial discourses, of Edward Said's (1977) 'Orientalism', and as introduced earlier in this chapter, it can be emphasized that the concept reveals a belief propagated by European colonizers to justify their territorial conquest. Said argues that the colonizer created stereotypes of non-European 'Other', the so-called 'Orientals', who were portrayed as "indolent, thoughtless, sexually immoral, unreliable and demented" (Said 1977). In his book, *Culture and Imperialism* (1994), Said writes that in the discourse of 'Orientalism', the 'other' or the 'not me' was different and deserved to be ruled. Said's concept

⁵⁴ Rostow, W. W. (1960). *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. It outlines different stages of economic growth that bore categories of worlds based on the levels of political and economic elements that were prerequisite for growth

⁵⁵ Naz, 2006 traces the historical discourse, since the onset of 'Marshall plan' – introduced in 1947 by US Secretary of State George Marshall as a European Recovery Plan (ERP) to aid Western Europe after the Second World War, but later institutionalized in US foreign policies that spread to the 'third world'.

informs the analysis of development as an Orientalist narrative that imposed hegemonic differences through language and culture, thereby replacing histories and values of the oriental people. Although, stereotypical branding was aimed at demeaning the colonized as an inferior, Said (1994) points out the problem was not with the colonized people, but rather, the unconscious desire of the colonizer to exert power, accrue wealth and dominate. Said's concept makes a thesis that representation of the colonized people and contexts challenge the understanding of development since they obscure its real meaning and effectiveness. On the other hand, postcolonial theorist Homi Bhabha (1983) examines how stereotypes create a form of knowledge to depict cultural, historical and racial differences that hinder the true understanding of populations that have remained out of dominant power structures. Similarly, discourses on development resound elements of narrow representations that (Bhabha, 1983) avers have relied on the perpetual recognition and disavowal of difference, inherent to discrimination of the "Other". Therefore, by making distinctions in categories of populations, development experts have created discrepancies in knowledge symmetries and ignored their cultural diversity as a non-existent form of knowledge. Another postcolonial theorist, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (1986), is more concerned with advocating a space where voices of the subaltern (the economically disposed) can be heard. Her contest is that non-dominant populations have continued to be stereotypically represented in the first world, male-privileged, institutionalized discourse. In line with Spivak's arguments, the subaltern has been excluded from positions of power and knowledge creation. For example, the metaphoric depiction of the 'third world', as 'a helpless child who needs a saviour to get out of poverty' has shaped the way the so-called 'third world' understands development (Naz, 2006). Only by speaking can the subaltern begin to redefine their subordinate positions in society (Spivak, 1986).

Escobar's de-construction of development

As outlined above, this assumption that western development trajectory is a blueprint for social, economic and political structures is contested. Arturo Escobar (1995) argues that development experts and policy analysts have used the Eurocentric view to group populations in homogeneous categories, regardless of their cultural and structural differences. By so doing, dictate how development is to be understood. Escobar's critic highlights the gap in development constructs. This gap provides a useful entry point for this dissertation which attempts to analyze how discourses give the power of speaking and imagining migration categories. In addition, Escobar scrutinizes how Eurocentric development policies have failed to 'improve people's quality of life', to borrow from Okigbo and Eribo (2004), but discriminate and destroy indigenous cultures (Escobar, 1995). In this study, migrant media practitioners (re)produce discourses on migration and narrations of development included in them. Escobar (1995) contests that the Eurocentric expert view of development has given voice to categories of knowledge that creates a misleading picture of the so-called 'third world'. Consequently, Escobar argues that to generate the development discourse, experts and politicians used categories that labelled conditions in the 'third world' as

problems caused by poverty and backwardness. This led to the creation of a new domain of thought or 'development', i.e., a strategy to solve the problems (Escobar 1995). In his view, I argue, development emerged as a discourse that gave power and institutionalized the way certain things were to be talked about and imagined. Escobar's approach is important for this study concerned with the deconstruction of development and assessing alternative counter-hegemonic discourses in migrant media since it calls on researchers to pay attention on ways in which people resist stereotypical representations imposed on them, and find means to re-define their reality (Escobar, 1995:17). His approach to development provides ways in which we can begin to think of development as a global discourse. Escobar also suggests an 'ethnographic pursuit for an alternative definition of development', specifically, incorporating thoughts from those for whom development is intended. On the other hand, Escobar's views offer an elaboration on the emphasis depicted in postcolonial approaches that advocate for a redefinition of populations which endeavour to gain socio-economic growth.

3.4.1. Deconstructing Migration and Development

Discourse for analysis in this study as we shall see in later chapters includes Eurocentric hegemonic views on migration and development nexus but also alternative counter-hegemonic views, especially those (re)produced in transnational digital migrant media. Although postcolonial literature reveals how stereotypes create specific power effects, the goal of this project is not to expose ideological misrepresentation of development. The goal is to use discourse analysis to deconstruct migration and development discourses (re)produced in transnational digital migrant media. Particularly, in the example of the migration of Kenyans to Europe. Bhabha (1983) has argued that to recognize stereotypes as an expressive form of knowledge and power, there is a need to alternate from identifying images as positive or negative to understanding the process of how dominant power is made possible through stereotypes. Therefore, a study on how editorial decisions produce and relate categories of migration and development help epitomize how media narratives are produced. To understand such processes suggested in Bhabha (1983), as part of addressing the question the (re)production of migration and development discourse I assume that stereotypical signifiers of development, for example, poverty, hunger, malnutrition, and illiteracy have become ideal categories of narrations on development in the media. Whereas these categories satisfy a dominant capitalistic view of problems that justify the rationale for development assistance, they don't explain how Western-initiated development strategies sometimes negatively affect the livelihoods of people in developing countries. For instance, loss of cultural knowledge, exploitation of natural resources and economic debts associated with development strategies have forced populations to migrate. Migrants search for alternative livelihoods in countries that are considered economically endowed, such as Germany and Britain, as this study illustrates. I argue, those who migrate, like Kenyans in Europe, are addressed by media images as 'effective change agents for development'. I assume, migration-sending countries like Kenya, rely on media discourses to define development, as well as to re-inscribe the development

narrative through the context of migration in the policy framework. Yet, this discussion is not without criticism and as Hamadi (2014) notes, postcolonial skeptics are concerned that questioning dominant power relations encourages terror and prefer mutually constructive ways to address conflicts between cultures. However, in line with discourse theoretic approach emphasized in this dissertation and expounded in the chapter (five), I argue, exaggerated representation of populations seen as subordinate to dominant ones creates difficulties in exercising knowledge of a group. Therefore, learning from Spivak's call to let the Subalterns talk, this dissertation argument that migrant media could be the next source of representation for those whose voices are muffled and limited in the engagement in the public sphere. Hence, a study of narratives on migration and development in specific transnational migrant media provides a chance to focus on multiple views of production of discourse on migration and development. This thesis argues, transnational digital migrant media has become engaged in the ongoing debate on the reciprocal relationship between migration and development, to (re)produce a prevailing development narrative in the public sphere. In the analysis of the (re)production of discourses on migration and development in transnational digital migrant media in Germany and Britain, it is a hope that this dissertation will add new knowledge to the literature on alternative voices, other than those found in dominant development discourses

3.5. Synthesis of Postcolonial and Discourse Theoretic Approach

This thesis uses discourse analysis as its methodological tool, recognizing that language is a powerful system of representation and forms the basis of the analysis. It determines ways in which words and texts are structured - their interpretation, and meanings created. In Frantz Fanon's *Black Masks White Skin* (1986), he illustrates the gravity in the necessity for foreigners or immigrants arriving in the West (France) to learn the new language. With language, the immigrant could acquire the power to pursue new knowledge. The immigrant could become financially independent and participate in the society and in postcolonial thinking, an essentialized "other". Albeit, in Fanon's own experience and participation in the society, depended on the racial and class differences that characterized France and other Western nation-states in the pre-second world war period. The opposite, not being conversant with the empires language meant one had to endure unending hurdles in the struggle for self-expression and economic determination (Fanon, 1986). In a similar way, Foucault (1980) recognizes language as a medium through which knowledge and power are expressively formed. It is through language that discourses are created for cultural expression and used in the public sphere like the mass media. For Foucault, discourse is a way of saying things. It gives power to the expressible and inexpressible meanings within social contexts. Expressible in terms of the spoken and written word, while inexpressible meanings depend on interpretations and intentions e.g. culture, the arts, military and political emblems. In applying Foucault's discourse analysis, postcolonial perspectives can be brought to life through a system of language that enforces conditions and regulates discourses created in Eurocentric debates. Drawing from Foucault's insights, Said (1977) suggests that the significance of knowledge lies embedded within systems of

power. He further notes that in taking a post-structuralist stance, knowledge acts as a discursive field derived from language. My argument is that postcolonial discourse analysis makes it possible to examine and interpret postcolonial texts. The texts broaden the interpretation of colonial power structure that essentialises historic assumptions of the West being in an authoritative position over the East. In other words, how European imperialism continues to influence the balance of power structures between the global North and South. The analysis of Eurocentric views on the migration and development nexus and underlying alternative views, especially 'migrant's local voices' (re)produced in transnational digital migrant media offers viable aspect to construct a non-Western development trajectory. The approach pegs on the idea that our environmental concepts and culture shape our language hence the discourses. Thus, experiences of colonialism have much to do with present-day concepts of civilization i.e. migration and development as can be predicted in literature and media narratives. Ideas on postcolonialism such as "Orientalism, Otherness, and Subalterns" speak to this study, their close connection to concepts of representation gives us material to look for in media texts. The goal is to see how the so-called third world was created as a concept to justify development. From the idea of representation, the European West took upon itself to construct a knowledge that delivers an acclaimed need to advance the material, intellectual and cultural state of the less developed world. The concept is prevalent in Western-Eurocentric ideas on development. As such, one can argue that the practice of disproportional distribution of resources in Africa, Asia, and Latin America is rooted in the colonial legacy.

Narratives of Colonialism and Development

European conquest initiated a quest to accumulate wealth from commercial lands acquired in the colonies, through mass production of food and cash crop for export to Europe. The effect was a displacement of non-Europeans who depended on the land for livelihoods. The European based mono-culture Agriculture soon led to the near extinction of indigenous foods which sustained populations of non-Europeans. The colonized adopted new crops and altogether neglected or nearly-erased their indigenous ecological knowledge. With the end of colonialism, land, as well as other economic resources, were transferred to the hands of reformers, or nationalists. The exchange of powers from the colonial regime to the nationalist did not enhance livelihoods of the majority poor, wealth and power remained in the hands of a few elite intellectuals. The political and economic elites also benefited from a Western education, and therefore, wielded imperial knowledge to control economic opportunities. Thus, development in former colonies remains skewed, as disparities between the rich and the poor continue to widen. Those who remain below the economic middle class are pushed to live in squalor. Additionally, they make a large population of those fighting to exist in slums and remote villages cut away from state led-economic initiatives. Moreover, the marginalization of the poor is inherent in many African contexts and has contributed similarities to postcolonial doublings identified in this dissertation in Bhabha's elocution of binarism, an emergence of class identities, the urban-rural, rich-poor, affluent literate-impoverished illiterates. In my opinion, it is such disparities that push people to look for alternative

livelihoods through migration. Ahmed (1991) argues, paradoxes between the Western civilized world and the Orient appeared to position the European as above the rest, as they express their presumed understanding of the non-European. Yet, it also included the non-European whose ideas were linked with that of the European, regardless of prevailing differences. What he suggests is that the European needed a non-European “Other” to actualize their inherent superiority. In so doing, the non-European remained in positions of subjugation to support and objectify the Eurocentric image. In Ahmed Aijaz arguments and learning from postcolonial concepts in this chapter, orientalism was a discourse of Eurocentrism or Western civilization. It is by defining the Orient as the “dangerous, inferior, civilizational other” that Europe has defined itself (Ahmed, 1991: 137-140). In line with considering images of development constructed in communication facets, the idea of development feeds from notions of impoverishment and intellectual deficiency among non-Europeans, conjured to justify why development is a necessary evil. However, some of the problems that demand development-oriented solutions are caused when people have stripped off their economic means after their natural resources are devalued through foreign acquisitions. As the environmentalist Vandana Shiva (2013) suggests, Africa and Asia are currently undergoing an “ecological apartheid”. For Shiva, as segregation instituted racial disparities between the black and white South Africans, ecological apartheid signals a separation of humans from nature resulting to discrepancies in economic equity⁵⁶. Nevertheless, unlike Shiva who strongly believes that foreign development has deprived local populations of their autonomy over natural resources and calls for alternative development paradigms, Ahmed is critical of scholars who use their Western acquired knowledge to induce alternative concepts. For instance, Ahmed blames Said for being an “Orientalism apologists”, he believes that Said benefited from the Western academic system that equipped him “European values and traditions: tolerance, universality, on-realistic pluralism, idealism, humanism, sympathetic participation and used them in the emotional experience of the “Other” (Ahmed, 1991:141).

3.5.1. Postcolonialism and Discourse Analysis

Orientalism like colonialism could be a Western style for dominating, restructuring and having authority over the Orient. Similarly, development as a discourse mirrors some material and cultural aspects like those found in colonialism. As a development agenda, the Western world uses its ideological positioning to push for ideal goals: good governance, restructuring the infrastructure, economic policies and debt mechanism aimed at lifting the less developed countries from their miseries. It is in line with tendencies that in the 1980s that birthed infamous Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs), responsible for increasing the debt burden on less developed nations. As a result, countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin

⁵⁶ From Eco-Apartheid to Earth Democracy (Vandana Shiva, 2013): <https://www.nextnature.net/2013/05/from-eco-apartheid-to-earth-democracy/>

America were pushed into an economic abyss, and perpetually depended on donor aid⁵⁷. The World Bank and International Monetary Fund Proposed SAPs as an economic package for development in Africa. The policy outlined strict measures to fuel local productivity, expand the economic base by reducing government expenditures and enhancing economic competences. There was predicted growth after implementation of SAPs in Africa, as Kingston et al (2011) found out in their analysis of SAPs in Cote De Ivoire, Senegal, Uganda and Zimbabwe. However, they concluded that free market proposals of the international financial institutions had a negative effect on Africa's development. The conditionalities imposed on African countries were politically motivated and encouraged the imbalanced distribution of resources. Their study also points to the fact that development in Africa may not have been a priority to IMF and WB, but a financial control through debt dependency. To continue receiving aid, states had to give up their economic autonomy and introduce policies favourable to the West. On the other hand, there was an inflow of foreign investments, some praised for contributing to the growth per capita in less developed countries, others were critical of the policies for devaluing local resources. As resources deplete, the environment is degraded, and vast lands become barren with toxic waste. Local communities lose their basic source of economic wealth and continue to rely on foreign oligarchs wielding economic power. Titanium in the Congo, oil in Nigeria and Sudan, diamonds in Sierra Leone are just examples of resource-tied nations that are of interest to multinational foreign investments.

The irony is a prolonged escalation of civil strife over scarce resources in these countries. To illustrate, in 2016, the United Nation highlighted on mounting violations in South Sudan what it termed was potential to escalate to full-genocide⁵⁸. Additionally, in applying a model based on the Collier-Hoeffler "greed" and "grievance" theory⁵⁹, Anywanu (2002) investigates whether civil wars in Africa have economic and political undertones. In his thesis, he argues, rebels will conduct a civil war for "loot-seeking" and "justice seeking". He suggests that existence of "loot able" resources was a panacea for civil strife, for instance rebellions in Central African Republic (CAR), political upheavals in Sierra Leone⁶⁰ and militant uprising in Nigeria⁶¹ (Anywanu, 2002). He further argues that profit-seeking rebel groups motivated by greed challenge governments for private gain from resources. Empirical evidence also shows that conflict can lead to a breakdown of the

⁵⁷ Sulaiman and Aluko (2014). *The Structural Adjustment Programmes in developing economies: Pain or Gain? Evidence from Nigeria: Public and Municipal Finance*, Volume 3, Issue 2, 2014.

⁵⁸ On November 11th, 2016, Adama Dieng - UN's Under Secretary General and Special Advisor on the Prevention of Genocide released a press statement detailing atrocities that he said amounted to crimes against humanity as well as ethnic cleansing see:

11%20Mr.%20Dieng's%20statement%20at%20press%20conference%20(Juba). rev%20FINAL.pdf
<http://www.un.org/en/preventgenocide/adviser/pdf/2016-11-> also see: <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/12/ethnic-cleansing-south-sudan-161201042114805.html>

⁵⁹ In their analysis "Greed and grievances in civil war", Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler (2004) theory assumes that political and civil variables related to grievances are somewhat connected to war and power. E.g. economic variables which proxy some grievances could be linked to the viability of rebellion and justifications for power.

CAR (civil conflicts from 1996-2016) still undergoing a civil war over land resources and religious differences fomented by government, rebels from the Séléka coalition and the Anti-balaka militias (BBC, 2016). <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-13150044>

⁶⁰ Sierra Leone (conflicts from 1991-2002) Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) and the Revolutionary United Front (RUF), Human Rights Watch (2012) <https://www.hrw.org/news/2012/04/11/armed-conflict-sierra-leone>

⁶¹ Nigeria (Conflicts 2004 -Ongoing) over resources control, environmental and ethnic divisions. Economic Growth and Conflicts: Evidence from Nigeria Journal of Sustainable Development Studies in Martin Oloyoboyi (2014): ISSN 2201-4268 Volume 5, Number 2, 2014, 116-144

levels of decades of economic gain. While it becomes difficult for development to thrive in a state of anarchy, Dillon (2014) cautions that conflicts are not quickly resolved as they present a potent ground for arms trade, sometimes backed from Western states in Europe and America⁶². The narrative of the carnage in less developed countries is a discourse that is perpetuated first by global political conglomerates employing international foreign media as their voice pieces. Secondly, the West-owned media often influence the global development agenda, then transferred to national and other alternative media like the transnational digital migrant media. What lacks in the discourse is an explicit connection of strife to Eurocentric development strategies? Significantly, some authors (McIntock, 1992; Dambisa, 2005; Escobar, 1995) have argued that Western-backed development is a neo-colonial approach to continue economic domination on developing countries. Similarly, in a postcolonial perspective, Orientalism in Asia like elements of Subalterns and Otherness in Africa, speaks through the eyes of European imagination, depicted as victorious over non-European hostiles. It is in the same breadth that Less Developed Countries are painted in images of disaster, emptiness, a feeling of loss that seems to reward oriental challenges to the West (Ahmed, 1991: 142). In an expression of hegemony, as I highlight in detail in chapter four, using the discourse of power and dominance, the West positions itself as a determinant of desirable concepts from which, the rest of the world can take a cue from. Affairs in Africa and other less developed countries are sometimes decided in boardrooms in the European centers by countries holding United Nations veto powers. While the 1945 UN charter was a precursor for global peace and equitable growth, often, capital interests override the humanistic-philanthropic guise of development initiatives. Said (1977) suggests that Europe is a producer of knowledge and the East the object of knowledge. In the Foucauldian sense, 'knowledge is power', therefore, whoever wields knowledge can determine which ways to exert power.

CONCLUSION

In summary, a discourse analysis of transnational digital migrant media in the context of postcolonial migration enables us to identify hegemonic and counter-hegemonic representations that portray migration and development as a postcolonial phenomenon. The discourse provides an example of how modern forms of migration and the so-called "migration crisis", can be interpreted as manifestations of impacts of colonialization in former imperial colonies. Post-Kenya's independence in 1963, the nationalistic regime incorporated British economic structures in their development agenda. The development approach was aimed to improve livelihoods of the majority of Kenyans disenfranchised during 50 years of colonial occupancy. However, Western-oriented development ended up creating sharp economic disparities. Government-run development initiatives backed with Western development aid benefited those who could access economic resources through education, political allocation, and sometimes ethnic affiliations. These disparities continue to act as push factors in the migration of Kenyans to Europe. Therefore, a shift in the current migration patterns of Kenyans is attributed to a drastic

⁶² John Dillon (2014): <http://knight.as.cornell.edu/publicationsprizes/discoveries/discoveriespring2014/13.%20Dillon.pdf>

deterioration in Kenya's economy from the 1980s. The first two post-independence decades experienced economic and employment growth and opened opportunities for Kenyans in various sectors. Thereafter, Kenyan economy continues to nosedive due to mismanagement and the loot in state institutions, causing massive migrations (Odipo et al., 2015). In addition, effects of globalization, a widened gap between developed and developing the world and growing human and environmental insecurities fuel the urge for many to migrate. In the recent past, migration through formal routes; education and professional ventures is slowly competing with irregular migration. Migrants from Sub-Saharan Africa using informal routes join others from war-torn countries in the Middle East, on a risky passage through the Mediterranean. These migrants are categorized as refugees seeking asylum in safe locations in Europe, but there are thousands whose main purpose is to take advantage of economic opportunities that Europe promises to offer. While Kenyans seldom take the Mediterranean route and prefer migration to Europe for professional reasons, they later look for settlement options, which sometimes involve informal processes. In my opinion, transnational digital migrant media acknowledge intricate restrictions in Europe's migration policies, which have tightened in the face of Europe's "migration crisis". The discourse cautions prospective Kenyan migrants about the risk of clandestine migration and provides information about initiatives within migrant communities that enhance development. Through a postcolonial perspective, transnational digital migrant media contextualizes development initiatives as a form of economic independence to discourage Kenyan migrants from making risky migration choices. For those not deterred, reports of capsizing boats and loss of human life in the most precarious episode in the history of migration to Europe, are produced in the mass media and sometimes replicated in migrant media. The images serve as reminders of hegemonic attitudes within host societies, migrants lucky to survive through this route, remain fearful of their fate. Often, rescued by coastguards representing European strict policies on migration, and at the same time, saviours amidst threatening waters. When the migrants enter the European society, they grapple to resist stereotypical prejudice and a negative racialized self-image. The power of discourse in transnational digital migrant media negotiates hegemonic and counter-hegemonic perceptions to (re)produce results that present multiple heterogeneous images and indicate counter forces. It is in this view that I agree with Foucault's (1991) theorization that "representations cannot be referred to any truth outside or beyond themselves or to the intentionality of the represented". The established truth is that the structure of representations is already inscribed in and are continuously controlled by the power of the discourse. Concepts of representations and postcolonialism help us to understand how to sift images in public and media discourses and begin to question hegemonic representations of reality. In addition, the concepts offer different sources of identity and empowerment. However, postcolonial authors like Said have been criticised for generating a discourse that tends to be almost wilfully ignorant. The critics are convinced that the controlling image of a unified West and disorderly Orient is always external to each other and locked in a mortal conflict of possession and subordination since the beginning

of time (Ahmed, 1991). Presently, Europe, political and media discourse is characterized with right-wing populist rhetoric which targets postcolonial citizens and their descendants in subjective categorization. As we shall see in later chapters, racial marginalization of non-European populations is justified for the presumed lack of historical contribution of non-European populations to the development of Europe. The xenophobic discourse frequently denounces the illegitimacy of the presence of non-Europeans in Europe, regardless of their migration status. This thesis utilizes narratives in transnational digital migrant media to question the role of Europe's colonial past in Africa in general, and specifically in Kenya, in terms of economic anomalies which result from the misrepresentation of Eurocentric development. This thesis tackles the question of dominant hegemonic discourse that still exists in the public and media spheres and exposes aspects of colonial economic violence. Although orientalism does not sustain an engagement with class gender except superficially, it is a significant post-concept that helps us see how the so-called third world was a Western creation to reorganize the worlds within economic paradigms.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0. NARRATIVES OF MIGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT IN TRANSNATIONAL DIGITAL MIGRANT MEDIA

This chapter specifically establishes that the mass media generates a hegemonic view on migration and development, sometimes replicated in transnational digital migrant media. The chapter evaluates migrant media adoption of traditional news selection criteria to (re)produce a heterogeneous discourse that includes hegemonic, as well as counter-hegemonic voices. I have gathered narratives presented in this chapter from studies done on sociological and communication approaches to media production and representations. Building on Gramsci's (1930) perspectives on hegemony, I show that migrant's colonial imagery is exhibited in media narratives through specific frames of representation. In interpreting postcolonial and discourse theoretic approach, I explore the production of power and dominance in media texts. This chapter establishes that migrant media texts as a form of discourse reinforce and or resist hegemonic aspects like otherness. I not only apply practical examples from outcomes of empirical data but synthesize discourse theoretic and postcolonial perspectives in aspects of media literature. I describe transnational digital migrant media as internet-based outlets for Kenyan migrants, producing news items and information for Kenyans in Europe, Germany and United Kingdom. The concept of digital migrant media encompasses online publication of news, audio, video, and photographs. In addressing the main objective of this study, I analyze digital migrant media narratives that (re)produce migration as a process that contributes to development in migration-sending countries (De Haas, 2007). Specific ideas in this chapter are part of a discourse I introduce theoretically but explore empirically in later chapters.

In this dissertation, we see narratives about actions of migrants that construct hegemony through frames of representation. In empirical chapters (six, seven, and eight), I examine concepts to explain the criteria for the production of meanings from Texts that appear to be simple. Moving forward, the initial conceptual assumption is that South to North migration is majorly caused by eminent problems in the South. Authors taking this position purport that civil war, economic, political, and environmental factors continue to displace people from their homelands. The argument is evidenced in the recent flight of millions of refugees from conflicts regions of Syria, Yemen, Afghanistan, Iraq and North Africa to mention, but a few. As a result, migrants are increasingly searching for safe havens across Europe and elsewhere. Their human suffering may not reach the magnitude of a holocaust, genocide or even slavery, but life in war and conflict situations can be as brutish, cruel and short. Undoubtedly, the underlying consequences point to the historical elements of colonialization and the side effects of globalization. As discussed in chapter three, colonialization in the so-called third world countries led to socio-economic imbalances between the Northern and Southern hemispheres. It was initially seen as a reason for the movement of first European settlers to Africa, Asia and other parts, which opened the world. The arrival of European settlers introduced

a new culture and polity that almost wiped away indigenous economic pursuits. Therefore, between colonial and postcolonial population dispersions, globalization has proved to be a more potent engine for mobility. Moreover, technological advancement and the expansion of global cultures have knitted the world together. Yet, presently immigration and security challenges persist as constant barriers to mobility. Kenyan migrants fall under the similar categorization of mobility, partly existing in the imagery of colonization and modernity. Furthermore, these contemporary migrants depart from their home country in the quest for economic opportunities, they also show a willingness to participate in development. In this chapter, I do not just speak on migrant's contribution to the economic development of the sending-country but see their transnational activities as narratives in transnational digital migrant media. In addition, migrants in the new host lands turn to migrant media as a space to connect and create bonds of familiarity in an otherwise excluding environment. In this framework, migrant media becomes a tool, where ideas on migration and development are shaped and shared. Thus, enhancing transnational linkages across migration-sending and receiving countries. It is a well-established fact that research relating migration to development has gained momentum, De, Haas (2007; 2010); Faist and Bauböck (2010); Faist & Sieveking (2010) argue on the role of migration in changing economic factors for most migrants and non-migrants. However, the focus on media and migration is relatively new and leaves room for further exploration. King and Wood (2001) point to this gap in migration studies and conclude that the media may intervene within the personal and collective experience of migration in numerous ways. They argue, images of migrants within the media may determine the sort of reception accorded to them, and the degree to which they will be included or excluded within the migration receiving-society. At this point, leaning on the relevant sociology of communication concepts, I will discuss how migration and development are constructed in the mass media, and (re)produced in transnational digital migrant media:

4.1. The Role of the Media in Construction of Migrant Identities

From the perspective of the discourse theory, I see elements of narratives in the media as critical sources of a discourse on migration and development that persists in public spaces. The literature points to the role of the media in the development of migrant identities, and how it determines their participation in socio-economic practices (Apparadui, 1996; Georgiou, 2005; Kosnick, 2007; Melton, 2013; Bruno, 2016). Some theories suggest more constructive perceptions among migrants and their transnational connection to migration-sending countries i.e. "brain gain and co-development" (Levitt & Lamba Nevies, 2001; Ratha, 2003; De, Haas, 2010). Others negate contemporary migration trends that label migrants as economic burdens (Dahya, 2017). Ongoing debates on migration flow from non-European to European centers are reported in international Western media. They indicate a rise in narratives calling for a need to "build walls", "restore boundaries", "restrain waves of refugees and migrants" (Bruno, 2016:5). Writing on media and migration in the United Kingdom, Terry Threadgold shows media framing of stories on migration and development collate with existing dominant discourses that

make migrants victims and objects and migration the problem (Threadgold, 2009). The language in migration stories brings out the subject of “invasion” as stories are unwittingly organized in news reports of remote dangers for instance (war, drugs, crime or at some point terrorism). Based on the empirical evidence in this thesis, I argue first that, transnational digital migrant media tries to rectify misrepresentation of categories of African migrants. Often, the discourse (re)produced in migrant media bounces from dominant narratives but excludes negative portrayal of migrants. The discourse in migrant media prefers frames that construct migrants as agents of development. Secondly, in their practice, migrant media producers resort to self-censorship, to avoid situations of conflict of interest because of their affiliation with migrating communities. Hence, producer’s personal experiences as migrants, influence the way stories are framed. Owing to their migration background, migrant media producers can be perceived as victims of hegemonic representations. Thirdly, transnational digital migrant media rely on existing codes of media practice such as news values, editorial policies, skills and knowledge in the production of a migration and development discourse. News and information on transnational digital migrant media are also influenced by European-British media practice. The approach is an avenue for a hegemonic construction albeit, aspects of hegemony are profound when texts are critically examined beyond surface subtle meanings. In addition, migrant media producer’s postcolonial education inherently influences their perceptions of existing dominant hegemonic views. For instance, stories of Kenyan migrants involved in criminal behaviour, suggests a narrative of “tarnishing the good name” of other seemingly hardworking, law-abiding Kenyans.

We can see migrant discourse downplay vices but emphasize the positive attributes of an otherwise, under-represented group. In such circumstances, migrant media turns a blind eye to narratives that view migrants as “criminals”. The attitude challenges the ability of migrant media producers to be impartial in their practice, by presenting facts as they are. The reasons for the lack of impartiality can be attributed to migrant media self-regulation tendency to operate autonomously in a “free internet zone”. This means anyone can publish on the internet without strictly following ethical guidelines. Apart from occasional complaints from migrants arising from perceived misrepresentations, migrant media rarely catches the attention of national ethics bodies. To illustrate, media regulatory bodies are more focused on traditional mainstream media, with their capacity to pay hefty fines, if they come short of ethical requirements. Furthermore, from migrant media images, I conclude that politics, social science research, and policy narratives influence the outcomes of migrant identities. In doing so, migrant media create assumptions and perceptions of what being a migrant means and expected contributions to sending-countries. The common media practice criteria for news selection is framed by Johan Galtung and Marie Holombie Ruge concepts on news values (1965). Although the researchers first published their work in 1965, their basic hypothesis is still relevant in the media production process and has been advanced in (Berger and Freeman, 2011). Values significant to migrant media production in this thesis include; frequency, meaning, relevance, negativity, and human interest. For example;

The more the information is interpretable within the cultural framework, the more culturally close to migrants, it will be considered *meaningful*.

- The more *frequent* the span of an event unfolds in the media outlet, the more likely it will be recorded as news within the media.
- If the event happens in a cultural distance, but still bears significant meaning of its implication to the migrant user, it is *relevant* and warrants selection.
- The more *negative* an occasion is in its results, the more plausible will it pass the determination criteria. In this case, negativity could enhance elements of conflict, anxiety, crime, racism, discrimination related to the representation of migrants.
- The more an event is seen in personal forms i.e. if it touches on *human interest*, due to the activity of particular people, the higher the possibility of it ranking in editorial priorities⁶³.

Examining the above-selected hypotheses on possible news values in migrant media production, I argue, the construction of migrant identities borrows from news values and intertwines with alternative creative concepts relevant to migrant audiences. News values are created through personal impressions of producer's perceptions of existing social realities, of what migrants are understood to be. The images are also constantly produced in existing public spheres. Lastly, the relationship between migrants and producers is enhanced with selective, and sometimes distorting facts from the host and sending societies. The images contribute to perceived migrant identities as part of a process to define and understand migrant's contribution to socio-economic affairs in the homelands. Therefore, migration and development feed into news value themes that connect migrants to economic activities in the sending countries. In this case and as established in the literature, development is loosely associated with remittances as financial capital send to migration-sending countries in the 'Global South' (Rapley, 2007). To stay relevant to migrant users, as their production criteria based on news values transnational digital migrant media frequently detail stories on development initiatives in home countries as fostered through migrant remittances. In addressing research questions in this dissertation that explores narratives of Kenyan migrants as agents of development I see the impacts of remittances as significant. Data from the Central Bank of Kenya (2017), show that remittances send towards domestic incomes surpass Foreign Direct Investment (FDI). However, poor-quality infrastructure, lack of security due to factors like terrorism, political tensions, and an unfavourable business climate undermines the performance of FDI ⁶⁴. Remittances received within non-migrant households facilitate the provision of food, education, and healthcare, particularly, in rural areas with high rates of unemployment and income inequalities. Building on

⁶³ Guidelines on news values - Galtung and Ruge (1965)

⁶⁴ In 2011, Kenya Defence Forces (KDF) waged war in Somalia following conflicts that involved Al-Shabaab militant's intrusion to Kenya's sovereign space. The war code named Operation "Linda Nchi" (protect the nation) resulted in the militants' retaliations in Kenya that led to the massacre of 153 Garissa University students, the bombing of a high-end shopping mall where more than 60 were killed and a series of terrorist like attacks in Nairobi and Mombasa.

existing development concepts we see that money injected into the economy of migration-sending countries enhances financial circulation and a reduction of inflation rates. Through remittances, migration-sending countries achieve their Sustainable Development Goals (SDG). However, research points to factors that indicate dismal impacts of remittances in migration receiving-countries (Oltmer, 2015). On the negative side, remittances increase economic dependency and often could be channelled towards money laundering rackets ending up financing violent terrorist activities (Dustman, Fadlon, & Weiss, 2011). Remittances have also promoted transnational activities thriving on interactive communication technologies, easy and affordable flights, and prominent numbers of migrants moving back and forth.

Constructing Migrant Identities

Although this study focuses on (re)production of migration and development narratives in digital migrant media, it goes further to elucidate how migrants and non-migrant's identities are shaped and shared. In other literature, media for migrants is described as diasporic. This is the media that use new media technologies to produce information and communication items to articulate marginalized positions, absent in dominant mass media circles (Kosnick, 2007; Macri, 2011; Georgiou, 2010). The etymological recognition of media for migrants as diasporic takes its precedence in describing contemporary migrants as having a diasporic identity. Several authors (Bhaba, 1994; Brubaker, 2005; Ameneli, 2010) are critical of identifying Africans without a history of slavery, or holocaust as Diasporas. Yet, Safran (1991) recognized that in the 1980s, the definition of Diasporas was expanded to include expellees, expatriates, political refugees, alien residents, exiles labour and economic migrants (Safran, 1991 in Cohen, 2008; Clifford, 1994). Authors (Zezeza, 2005; Gilroy, 2007) have also pointed out that recent migrations should be seen to be within the final stages of a process that started with the forced migration of particular individuals from the African continent within the 16 centuries. Their settlement within the Caribbean and afterward movement of their descendants to the United States, Britain, and elsewhere (Zezeza, 2005; Gilroy, 2007).

As previously mentioned, Kenyans exhibit to some degree a colonial imagery, their decision to migrate to Europe is attributed to a search for education, employment, business or any other purpose as its policy on diaspora provides. Up till now, as I have discussed in the conceptual chapter, it cannot be ignored that Kenyan's migration to Europe stems from adverse effects of British colonialization. Therefore, diasporic media or in this thesis, transnational digital migrant media, become relevant sources of collective feelings of diasporic-migrant identification. The media negotiates and articulate narratives that speak to the social contexts within which diaspora are produced and understood. Macri (2011) illustrates that diasporic media plays several roles initially, creating an identity as an ongoing process where diaspora is understood, and how it is defined by others. She argues, diasporic migrant media, constructs identities that stretch between two intersecting levels of unremittingly flowing boundaries between the 'us and them', the 'here and there'. It is at the boundaries that

symbolic space is negotiated, and identities fiercely talked about, built and re-constructed (Melton, 2013:6). Additionally, migrant media plays the balance between mass media hegemonic views of different categories of migrants. As well, following discursive perspectives in this dissertation we see that migrant media endeavours to deconstruct dominant stereotypes that influence the public view of migrants. In some cases, the constructs essentialises people with a migration background. In the current waves of migration, the mass media provides service and space to mobilize migrants as well as normalize public perceptions of migrant identities (Parker, 2015). This hypothesis is supported in findings from a group of Canadian Social Psychologists (Esses, Medianu, and Lawson, 2013). The authors argue, while the mass media builds dominant images of migrants, it also dehumanizes them by creating "a false crisis". The analysts premise that a negative depiction of migrants within the press can imperil the sense that a migration crisis is approaching if it's not already taking hold (Clark, 2013). Other examples of similar representations are found in King and Wood's (2001) illustration of the reportage in 2000 in the British press of the hijacked Afghan Airplane forced to land at Stanstead Airport because of linking Afghans to terrorism. Similarly, the influx of Roma Asylum seekers influenced and shaped the discourse on illegal migration. Hence, learning from discourse analytic theory we relate the way migrants were depicted within the mass media, determined the knowledge, attitudes, and conduct of the British and European citizenry with regard to modern migration (King and Wood, 2001:30-4).

Another author (Fujita, 2009) exemplifies the migrant agency through the media in his study on the engagement of Filipino female migrants in the United Kingdom in electronic parenting. Through a gendered feministic approach, Fujita illustrates that Filipino mothers offer parental guidance through mobile and internet calls. In the process, they transfer social remittances in addition to acting as sole breadwinners for families left behind (Fujita, 2009:13). In another example of migrant agency, a group of Africans who migrated as scholars published a study that argues that more Africans are pushed from their homelands due to the failure of their governments to secure conducive economic environments (Authur, Takougang and Owusu, 2012). I agree with perceptions in the illustrated study and exemplify that diminishing employment opportunities in Kenya is attributed to a collapse in economic systems. As a result, complete absence of social support for young professionals, push them to seek alternatives including migrating. The authors posit that this is to blame for the rapid explosion of South to North migration of professionals and youth (Authur, Takougang and Owusu, 2012). In my opinion, the prevalence of a systematic narrative on problems in Africa in the global media, continue to normalize factors such as scarcity of jobs for young people, corrupt systems, regional insecurities as push factors for migration to Europe. I am convinced, the narrative relies on images produced in electronic media (TV, radio, and internet) on possibilities in the West. To this point, migrants risk anything and everything to take advantage of expected opportunities. I am cognizant of the fact that mass media images may be used in the exploration of Western popular culture and may not reflect the reality on the

ground. I assume depictions of migrants in the mass media succeed in painting images that when interpreted, create desirable impressions of the West. Kosnick (2014) contrasts this view and argues, strict immigration control in Western destinations, rely on “European border politics”, to employ opposite narratives that dissuade migrants from taking the journey. Similarly, European mainstream media coverage highly targets immigrants risking treacherous journeys across the Mediterranean or transcontinental transport routes. To illustrate, the rhetoric is disseminated through music, films, and information advisory promotions to emphasize how immigrants ignore apparent hazards including suffocating in trucks or capsizing in small fishing boats. Mass media messages detail images of bodies washed up on the shores of Lampedusa and the Canary Islands. Kosnick further argues, the European mainstream media utilizes such imageries to discourage potential foreigners from even considering it. The message on “illegal” migration is aimed not just on European audiences but to potential migrants themselves (Kosnick, 2014:6-8). Hence, while some migrants are successful to reach their destinations, integrate and devote to their pursuits, others get caught up in a tedious economic trap. In this situation, and as explored in the literature on economization of migration, work is characterized with long hours in low paying jobs to survive, what (Orrenius and Zavodny (2013) have termed the 3D jobs. On the exploitation of migrants, the International Organization of Migration (IOM) identifies the “three-D” jobs as dirty, difficult and dangerous. The labour is deemed low and cost-effective, a means to sustain economic enterprises, both in migration-sending and receiving countries. The occupation in the mentioned three-D jobs may include the production of agricultural foodstuffs, domestic service, menial construction labour, as well as in the “sex industry” (IOM, 2002:5). I argue, despite the anticipated economic gain from such occupations, migrants are expected to send money home to sustain domestic incomes of their non-migrant others. In my view, those who use clandestine routes to migrate undergo torturers struggles or end up in the underground economies. Seldom are their tribulations heard in migration and media narratives, yet, their successes are celebrated. Having said that, these aspects call for a serious consideration in social research on the role of the media in (re)producing erroneous images of the West, as well as positioning alternative views of migration as an enhancer of development. This thesis partly endeavours to establish this hypothesis, by examining narratives of migration to an economic end. In the search for solutions, Apparadui (1996) is convinced that media and migration are ‘two major and interconnected phenomena. It’s in glancing through a transnational lens that this thesis connects concepts of modernity and globalization as enhancing the link between media and migration. This facet sets an impetus for the inquest in this study and to achieve this premise, I look at relevant frames from media discourses on migration and development.

Framing as a criterion for selection

Framing is a classic media theory that explains the process of news selection. As we established in Galtung and Holombie Ruge’s, (1965) analysis, another author (Borah, 2011) has progressed this argument and sees news values media

producers apply framing to select themes, or topics to focus on out of other available possibilities. Plus, the choices are made from a set of beliefs and practices that guide journalistic approaches i.e. editorial policies and styles. Whereas McCombs and Shaw (1972) proponents of the agenda-setting theory argued that framing was an extension of the former theory, later media critics have pointed to differences between the two classic media concepts (Carvalho & Barrichello, 2013). For instance, while the agenda-setting theory relies on the frequency and salience of news, it does not determine how the subject is treated or (re)produced as what framing attempts to accomplish (Jamieson and Capella, 1997 in Borah, 2011). In my opinion, stories in the mainstream media generate dominant frames of representations on the construction of migration and development narratives in the public sphere using the element of news values. As this dissertation established migrant media outlets may (re)produce similar frames or provide alternative ones as I consider in possible contexts framing discussed below:

4.1.1. *“Money is not grown on trees”*: Images of Migrant Agency

Migrant media constructs the development initiatives of Kenyan migrants collectively or individually as positive outcomes of their migration to Europe. Such initiatives are important in addressing challenges within European host societies including aging populations, demand for skilled labour and changing cultural dynamics brought about by migrations. On one side, some non-migrants depend on financial assistance from their migrant relatives. On the other, they regard migrants as disdainful, and out of touch with realities at home. Migrants also complain about their non-migrant relative's persistent financial expectations. “It is common to hear migrants talk of “they (meaning non-migrants) think money is grown on trees”. In my view, migrant's initiatives towards development are enhanced in lieu of pre-existing enabling environment for migrants to participate in the labour market. In addressing the research question on images of migrants as development agents, this dissertation found that migrants' contribution to nation building places them in prioritized perspectives, comparatively to their non-migrant counterparts. In Kenya, the urban middle class has attained appropriate economic statuses similar or even better than those of migrants, yet, their migrant equivalents are objectified as well-endowed in economic, demographic or sociological terms. As we shall discuss in later chapters, empirical data for this dissertation reveals divisive narratives between migrants and non-migrants. Besides, development concepts in transnational digital migrant media in this study continuously emerge as a negation of Eurocentric attitudes towards development. According to latest social research, migration has become a critical issue in European sphere and instead of creating conducive possibilities, there are strategies aimed at curbing migration or managing potential migration from sending-countries (Metcalfe-Hough, 2015; Fleras, 2009). As we see in narratives in communication contexts, Europeans, as well as Africans, access an abundance of information from travelogues, sermons, informative dossiers that detail possibilities in global mobility. Consequently, the information is compiled and consumed in the frame of financial journals, movies, cartoons, comics, music, pictures, posters,

documentaries, tour brochures and mass media communications. I argue, migrant media producers adopt a tried and tested guideline for framing news in the production of information. Furthermore, media framing highly leans on Western news values and the production of dominant hegemonic discourse as we have established in arguments on news values. In addition, migrant media counters dominant hegemonic views with narratives about challenges migrants face in host lands, when migration is construed in racialized, economized and secularized frames in mass media. This position is reflected in the argument that migrants are represented as disturbing harmony in host societies in the process of integration and adaptation (Metcalf-Hough, 2015). To illustrate, Kenyan migrants are assumed to settle in Europe for purely economic and labour purposes. For this reason, they are becoming less tolerated in host societies regardless of their settlement, work, and legality of migration status. Reviewing mass media reportage, we see an increase in populist narratives emphasize curbing migration and promoting Western conservatism. To this point, European institutions are taking lead in backing initiatives to manage the migration from sending points, supported with a dominant mass media and political discourse (Lie, 2008, Knoblauch, 2013). For example, information on migration evidence that the European Union is mapping migration hot spots in African destinations, to curtail migrants from crossing from the Libyan coast through the Mediterranean (Concord et al., 2017). This strategy, I argue, is brought about by the economization of migrants, further aiding the construction of migrants as potential competitors on the job market in migration receiving-countries. As a result, Kenyan migrants are caught between competing for hegemonic populist narratives in the mass media and counter-hegemonic variations from migrant media. Contrary, transnational digital migrant media does not attempt to claim an abundance of economic opportunities in migration receiving countries. However, they produce narratives that give pointers to how migrants can access work and engage in other economic endeavours. Migrant media publishes stories with tips on establishing small-scale investments, getting financial support, and procedures required to start businesses etc. To some extent, migrant media producers suggest that migration improves economic potentials of migrants. In view of the question on images of migrants as development agents, empirical data in this dissertations gives example of migrants' agency, however, authors like Ford suggest migration should not only be understood in economization frames but also assessed on acculturation, diversity, and transposition of heritage outcomes (Ford, 2011). Literature surveyed in this study indicate an abundance of negative association to migration that is heralded with the so-called 'migration crisis'. Nail (2015:158) has contended that a quick shift of attention between refugees and terrorism was only certain within the European reactions to the Syrian refugees, and presently explicit within the response to the tragic attacks like what happened in Paris in 2015 where more than 120 were killed⁶⁵. In this view, Kenyan migrant becomes susceptible not only to the framing of migrants and refugees but also to the reality that every person with a migration background is regarded suspiciously. Migrants are framed as potential criminals or

⁶⁵ ABC News (2015). *Paris attacks: More than 120 killed in concert hall siege, bombings and shootings; suspected terrorists dead.* Available at:<http://www.abc.net.au/news/2015-11-14/paris-attacks-120-dead-in-shootings-explosions/6940722>. Accessed on 06.06.2017.

even terrorists, a narrative that continues to exclude them from active participation in the European community. Current migration to Europe is a complex issue without straightforward answers but offers possible frames of analysis of migrant representations. In view of dominant public discourse, we see migration constructed as a challenge without sufficient legal and policy solutions in ever-changing global dynamics. In this thesis that draws from discourse analytic approach and Escobar's (1995) alternative development concepts, I deconstruct migration emergency as a mass media creation of terror, utilizing "crisis" as a frame to normalize hegemonic discourses that articulate migrants as a threat and danger to the host society. In contrast, migrant media uses images that (re)produce Europe as a location of safety and stability. The result is that potential migrants read in the narrative and use images to influence their decision to settle or migrate. In the examples below; **Picture 1** is used to illustrate a story on the stereotypical representation of Kenyan migrants published in the *Diaspora Messenger*, a US-based migrant online publication. In my analysis, the illustration says nothing of the stereotypes but affords in selling an image of clean streets, modern infrastructure, cultural monuments, and the ease of living in a Western city. **Picture 2**, from Mkenya Ujerumani consultancy page, shows a German city in the glitz of modern architecture and technology, to appeal to a concept of trade and economic growth.



Picture 1: Printed in the *Diaspora messenger* to illustrate a story on the representation of Kenyan migrants. Source: *Diaspora Messenger* (2016).



Picture 2: Is used to advertise consultancy services on Mkenya Ujerumani for business opportunities between Germany and Kenya. Source: *Mkenya Ujerumani* (2014).

I argue, through pictorial illustrations, as examples above, migrant media accessed in migration-sending countries, manage to sell images of the West as endowed with infrastructure and opportunities for work and settlement. The impact is determined by a powerful media representation of unequal social relations and the generation of social control (Cottle, 2004). According to Cottle (2004), through representations, individuals of the media audience are welcomed to develop a sense of who 'we' are in connection to who 'we' are not, whether 'us' and 'them', 'insider' or 'outsider', 'colonizer' or 'colonized', 'citizen' and 'foreigner', 'normal' and 'deviant', 'friend' and 'foe', 'the west' and 'the rest'. He further argues, in so doing, the mass media marks out social differentiation in the society which is rendered vulnerable to discrimination (Cottle, 2004:2). However, migrant media rides a thin line between hegemony and freedom to promote social-cultural diversity and provide space for imposed identities to thrive. Literature shows that migrant media highlights interests or resist negative narrations and use the media platform to influence perceptions. Although, data on migration is often incomplete and

presented in stereotypical, misleading and racist frames (Mengara, 2001 in Mezzana, 2012). Based on these assumptions, migrant media located in host societies may attempt to correct cinematographic images with alternative desirable narratives. Using an example of migrant media under this study (Mkenya Ujerumani and Ukentv), we see migrants (re)produced from political discourses in Kenya as significant agents of development. Migrants agency is pronounced in the use of education and professional skills to effect changes in policy, economic and political narratives. The narratives inspire people with African descent to look for alternative ways to sustain their livelihoods, including migrating to Europe. Wobst (2010) follows the history and recurrence of migration of different people from their countries to other areas, to variables entwined and related to the colonial time. Kenyan migrant media producers in this study learn from their colonial history. Migrant media producers refrain from (re)producing narratives that equate development in Africa to Western aid. In addition, colonialism is seldom associated with current waves of migration, although it remains a historical factor in Kenya. As well, current migration waves are attributed to socio-economic challenges. Ciumasu (2010) argues that increased migration implies more dispersal of human beings in other parts of the world and regularly depend on Information, Communications Technologies (ICTs) and media productions. In a similar argument, Madianou & Miller (2012) illustrate how new media facilitates the existence of transnational families, where migrant's sense of belonging is pronounced through frequent visits home and enormous use of communication tools to keep in touch. In this thesis, I argue, transnational digital migrant media utilize new media and ICT applications as a bridge for migrants all over the world, through news, information, and images of migration of Africans to Europe and beyond. Building on postcolonial authorship we now confirm that though in the west migrants are sometimes treated as outsiders, in their homeland, they project what Bhaba (1994) describes as an elocution of mimicry, perpetuating the "us vs them" binaries. This dissertation learns from postcolonial essentialism to establish that narratives of economic differences between migrants and non-migrants are hyped in frames of access to global markets, control over economic and social remittances and class formation. I argue African governments have come to regard migrants as a financial potential, and increasingly purport a political and social narrative that construct migrants as an essential economic value to drive development in the homeland.

Images of Migrants in Kenyan Media

A brief view on how migrants are depicted in Kenya's national media aids in understanding the formation of a related discourse in migrant media. To this view, migrant media narratives may not reflect similar discourses on migration and development in national media. The discourse in Kenya's mainstream media produces suitable and precise political and ideological requirements that conform to prevailing Western dominant discourse. The practice heavily borrows from Western-style British discourse practice, where development is constructed as an aspect of economic growth. Debates on national media in Kenya, incorporate migrants as a "diaspora component", portraying them as agents of development and

voices of credible narratives on migration. In discursive repertoires voices of migrants and return-migrants are often sought after as sources in news productions. Migrants are quoted in opinion pieces and in migration and development related topics. For example, in media interviews and debates migrants posit that development aid from European centers loaned to African government opens loopholes for corruption, redundancy in aspired economic growth, and increases the debt burden. However, a few stories are framed on challenges migrants are forced to cope with in the process of integration and settlement in host countries. Still, the emphasis is placed more on investment opportunities and migrant's entrepreneurial initiatives in the European locations and home. Stories on financial outcomes of migrations are considered as positive attributes. They inspire other non-migrants to consider migration as an alternative to personal and collective development. There are rare images of Kenyan migrants using unregulated channels to migrate to Europe. Examples of other Africans from Eritrea, Somalia, South Sudan, Libya in national discourse and migrant media platforms indicate mobility as a conflict triggered factor. Producers attribute economic limitations and conflict as major factors that force people to migrate seek refuge and asylum in Western countries, as the only option to survive. Consequently, examples in the media of African migrants crossing illegally through the Mediterranean Sea or breaching migration laws, come from West and Central Africa. In most cases, such experiences act as deterrents to potential Kenyan migrations. Kenyan migrants are aware of the media discourse in the home country and attempt to limit the representation of migrants in "economic" terms. This is because the representation of migrants in economic frames is steadily attracting negative connotations. We see from a media reviews that national media often pick cues on migrants from online publications for migrants, such as those chosen for this study. To answer whether migrants' agency is visible, we see that Kenyan migrant communities in Europe (Germany and Britain) create entrepreneurial and investment linkages with established migrant media networks, as part of the development initiative.

The choice of migrant media in this study is based on its focus on migration issues, generation and conveyance of content that reflects migrant's social encounters and identities. Through migrant media space, migrants connect with significant knowledgeable others. Non-migrants share and inspire ideas and look for possible ways to replicate the practice in migration-sending countries. Newland (2010) avers that migrant media facilitates interaction of people spread across different locations. In her view, through the context of globalization, distance or isolation is no longer a barrier to transnational connections of migrant communities. I argue, through monetary transfers in form of economic remittances, migrant communities act as social change agents, while migrant media becomes a platform where ideas are mobilized, produced and disseminated. To illustrate, in its 2010 Diaspora Development Policy project, dubbed "Voice after Exit: Diaspora Advocacy", the Migration Policy Institute (MPI) captures the notion of the world without borders, where humanity utilize diverse platforms including the mass media to advocate for positive social change across the globe regardless of

nationalities⁶⁶. Conversely, Karim (2002) has evidence that politics in migration-sending countries provide significant debates in transnational digital migrant media, because of the ties migrants retain to their countries of origin. Migrant media outlets are disseminators of current information especially during times of crisis. For instance, a positive representation of migrants was seen during the 2007-8 post-election violence in Kenya, when some migrant groups founded initiatives to send food caravans to thousands of Kenyans displaced in the clashes. On the negative side, migrants reverted to the internet and ethnic radio stations to channel biased reports against conflicting ethnic sides that were caught in the dispute (Radoli, 2011). Reports analyzing the impact of the media on the violence singled out migrants as fomenting ethnic hatred and exacerbating tensions at home through internet blogs, while they remained in the comfort of their homes in migration-receiving countries. Altogether, in progressive years, Kenyan migrants have become vocal to call for peace and constitutional dispensation on election irregularities, to avoid a repeat of the post-2007 crisis in Kenyan elections. It is for such reasons that non-resident Kenyans are keen on their inclusion in local elections. The marginalization of migrant issues on mainstream media in Western metropolises has seen the growth of transnational digital migrant media intensify.

4.1.2. Economization of Migration Narratives from Europe

As discourse previously established we concur that global mass media through cinematography, entertainment, music and frequently social media, generate images of economic opportunities in migration-receiving countries. Images of lush, wealthy, carefree lifestyles in the West, act as an attractive stimulus for potential migrants to embark on a journey to share in imaginary plunders of wealth. Although this may be far from reality, migration is represented as a powerful agency of the social and economic change in Africa (Eltantawy and Wiess, 2011; Taran & Genorimi, 2002). Migration culminates in the fulfilment of unmet needs and fills gaps in structural inequalities and the inability of African central governments to create conducive conditions for investment (Authur et al; 2012). As mentioned in the literature reviewed for this thesis, limited economic opportunities in migration-sending countries are blamed for brain drain, a condition where skilled professional migrate to look for better opportunities. On the other hand, young non-migrants working in public or private institutions must compete with obsolete technology and senior employees, reluctant to adapt to technological changes. In my opinion, young professionals frustrated with economic conditions devise ingenious ways to survive harsh economic conditions, if it's not through employment or entrepreneurial ventures, then migration is an enticing alternative. Evermore, many young professionals in Kenya are rendered jobless and remain dependent on aging parents or migrating significant others for financial sustenance. Those caught up in this trap find migration as a possible route to make significant economic changes in their lives. Young Kenyans utilize different routes of migration to Germany and the United Kingdom. They hope to improve their economic status and support dependents left behind. As we shall see in the empirical chapters migration to Germany is

⁶⁶ Migration Policy Institute (2010): file:///C:/Users/s7512890/Downloads/diasporas-advocacy.pdf

through various channels, the most preferred method for semi-skilled non-European migrants to Germany is through Au Pair and Social Work or the Freiwilliges Soziales Jahre (FSJ) visas⁶⁷. The entry procedures through the programme are more accessible and allow high school and university graduates of between 18 to 26 years to take a social year in Germany. During this period, young migrants are attached to German families and receive a small allowance. They are expected to share in the cultural experience, learn the German language, and support host families in performing domestic chores, helping with the children, or taking care of elderly relatives. In the (FSJ) route, migrants strictly volunteer with German foundations, learn new skills and get exposed to the German culture. An analysis of texts from transnational digital migrant media for this study indicates that young Kenyan migrants are caught up in a web of fantasy of the “wealthy lifestyles in German homes” and want to hold on their dream much longer. This group of migrants has no work experience from Kenya, as Au pairs, they are categorized as domestic workers and professionally not recognized. Some of these young migrants are torn between returning home, where they have no source of income or work experience and finding loopholes in the system to stay in Germany. Frequently, young Kenyans who came through these routes are forced into affairs with German natives or African migrants with residence status. The migrants start families and depend on the German welfare system, a practice constructed as abusing the social welfare system. Germans, as well as Kenyans who migrated for professional reasons, frown upon the practice. In the end, ex-Au pairs and social workers may be caught in a rat race with immigration, struggling to get the right residence papers always frightful of deportations. The migrants struggle to find their identity and those of children born out of rushed unions and face challenges in reinforcing their image as Kenyans abroad. On top of that, migrants are overwhelmed with financial expectations from non-migrants and sometimes suffer disillusionment and social apathy. In the UK, transnational digital migrant media reports that some Kenyans who have migrated as students or professionals end up in the underground economy. These migrants work in menial jobs to maintain expectations of non-migrants, and to fulfil the illusion of living a dream abroad. In summary, through migration, countries from the African continent continue to experience alterations in human and capital resources. In their endeavour to fit within migration categories, they may shade off past images and adopt new ones or continue to exist between two diverging identities the African or Kenyan, and the Afro-European or Kenyan-European. In their arguments, Arthur et al; (2012) show that the migration landscape in Africa has gone through a systematic process since colonialization. After the independence of many African nations, the continent endured social and economic changes that replaced pre-independence economies. Colonialization brought forth systematic transformations and the incorporation of African societies into the global economy, thereby, contributing to capital investments and technological innovations. Advancement in communication and transportation and the ease of movement of people and goods across borders, has enabled people to move from locations

⁶⁷ Freiwilliges Soziales Jahr (FSJ) :<http://www.young-germany.de/topic/work/volunteering-in-germany-freiwilliges-soziales-jahr>

in the South to North or vice versa. Currently, Kenyans have advanced from the post-colonial rural to urban migration in search for salaried work. In this situation, regional migration has extended beyond national borders towards international boundaries. Narratives on the explosion of African migration show that young people boldly take risks to migrate to countries in the United Arab Emirates (UAE), Asia, Europe, North and South America as semi-skilled or sourced workers. There are mass media reports of persecution, bodily maiming and even death of young Kenyans in informal and domestic work in hostile destinations in the UAE⁶⁸. However, the grim situation has not deterred their determination to look for favourable pastures. The goal of migration satisfies the assumption in this dissertation that as development agents, migrants aim to acquire ideal statuses of wealth, economic wellbeing as a mimicry of images of the west (re)produced in migrant media.

4.1.3. Narratives of Returning Migrants' from Europe

Returning migrants either for retirement, short visit, for holidays and business to migration-sending countries relate narratives of success to impress their non-migrant others. They expose a sense of social actualization, partly denying any elements of failure, suffering, and exclusion (King and Wood, 2001). Returning migrants may also utilize narratives represented in migrant media to support and justify their claims. I argue transnational digital migrant media acts as a forum where migrants keep in touch with developments in migration-sending countries and share a common discourse with non-migrants. Migrant media taps into this unique position and generate stories that reflect migrant perceptions and experiences. Returning migrants also follow migrant media to get informed of the political and economic situation in migration-sending countries. They keep tabs on updates about immigration legislation and possible perceptions held by non-migrants about life in Europe. Returning migrants rely on the available online media content (newspapers, TV, radio, and online streaming) to source material and topics for discussion in their private social media discussion forums with non-migrants. Again, here as we shall evaluate in the methodology chapter we see the practice of intertextuality of narrative produced in audio-visual and text formats transecting from transnational digital migrant media, online and offline forums including social media. The possibility of contributing feedback and sharing links with further information on topics of interest to non-migrants enhances the (re)production of images of an idealized migrant life. Returning migrants utilize remittances to establish business investments, maintaining transnational networks with contacts in migration-receiving countries through a social integration processes. Drawing from the concept of transnationalism (Basch, 1994; Amelina & Faist, 2012) we establish that transnational networks provide valuable links to sustain migrant images after their departure. The mentioned activities produce a convincing discourse of possibilities abroad and home. Specifically, Kenyan return-migrants have created jobs for non-migrants in their Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs) and sometimes maintain connections to migration receiving-

⁶⁸ Reuters (2015) „Desperate Kenyan maids abused in UAE despite ban “: <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-rights-domesticworkers-kenya-idUSKBN0OC02K20150527>

countries. They are also engaged in the production of social remittances in their philanthropic and humanitarian social activities. They support the building of schools, hospitals, and churches, institutions that enhance community development. Through shared experiences from host countries, return-migrants use transnational digital media to initiate debates on foreign policy and pertinent economic and social issues in the migration-sending country. Kenyan return migrants pro-active approach to improving livelihoods at home has seen them push for sound economic reforms in the domestic financial institutions. The actions aim at providing micro-economic stability and prudent monetary policies that support a conducive business environment. Their position as opinion leaders in economic, technological and policy matters in Kenya helps to paint a desirable image of tangible values. Returning migrants influence economic turnarounds key to a country's development. Contrary to Western formulated leadership strategies this dissertation establishes that migrants' reverse ideology utilizes positions of knowledge experience on good governance and leadership to change mind-sets. Their socio-political agenda is rooted in hauling dysfunctional systems, fighting nepotism and corruption prevalent in African leadership. In their use of transnational digital migrant media, return-migrants circulate information on the advantages and challenges of experiences abroad. Returning migrants use different news genres, including those produced on migrant media to reach out to potential migrants and target subjects and institutions of investment. In addressing the research question on migrants as agents of development, we see their transnational connection as an enabling factor and migrant media as an influencer of transnationalism. King and Wood (2001 et al.,) have exemplified that migrant media obscures boundaries between, written, audio and visual media and mixes varied media sources (King and Wood, 2001; Ekwon, 2011; Clifford, 1994). The genres of media (re)produce information relevant to migrants and non-migrants and return-migrants in forms they can access and utilize in their social practice.

4.1.4. Narratives of Migrants in Host Countries

Global media placed in migration-receiving countries construct critical images that influence the type of reception for migrants in host lands. The media highlights the condition of migrant's, their eventual experience of inclusion and exclusion. Acting as mouthpieces of political parties or other powerful groups, the mass media is immensely persuasive in developing migrants as "others" or as "criminals" or "undesirables". These stereotypes may not represent the reality and are hard to erase (King & Wood, 2001:2). However, transnational digital migrant media may reflect hybrid inputs from countries of origin in the destination settings (Elkins, 1997; Morton, 1999 in Tettey & Pupilampu, 2006). Migrant media are a source of collective feelings of identity. They negotiate and articulate these narratives and construct an ongoing process to determine migrant identities and how they are defined by others. Scholarships indicate that the media plays a significant role in creating a space for migrant engagement. Similar arguments are elucidated in Mandaville (2001) in (re)imagining Muslim migrants suggesting that migrants regularly engage in more intense search and negotiation of identities since they are experiencing

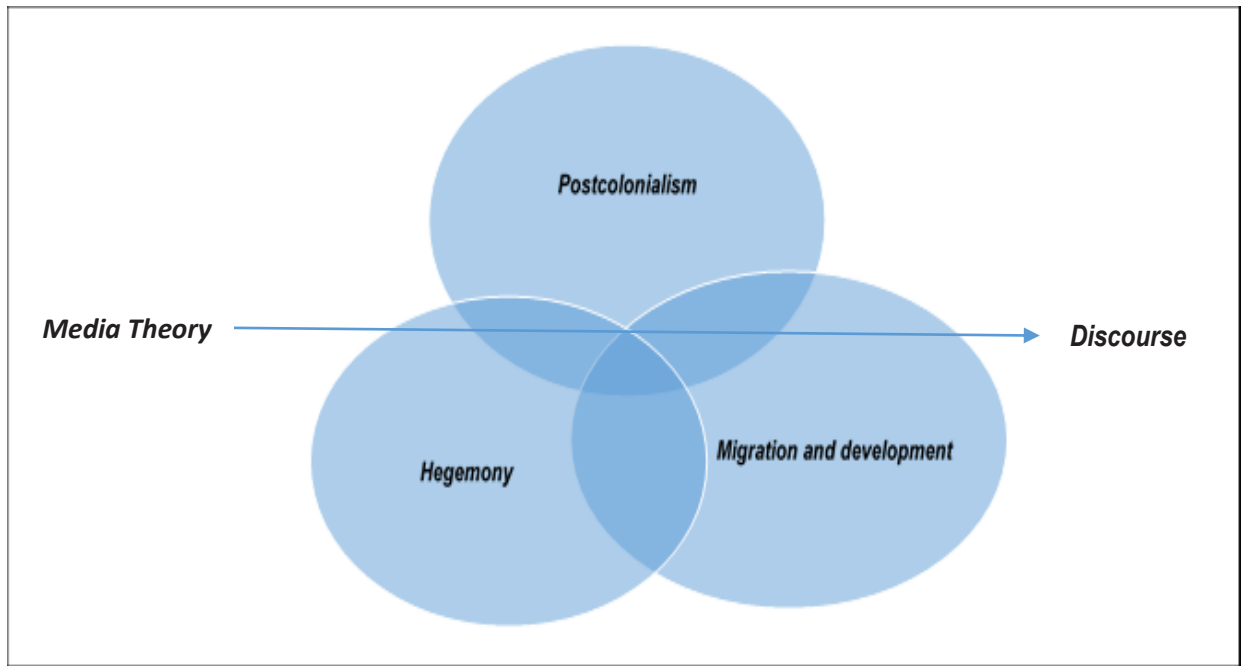
separation from the 'natural' setting of their countries. As part of addressing the research question of (re)production of discourse, this dissertation shows that migrant media highlights on marginalized issues ignored in the mainstream media and provide a space for negotiation and identity creation. As such, the media is attributed to roles of shaping, maintaining and performing identities (Bosa, 2014). On the other hand, Georgiou (2005) shows how migrant media production becomes a critical source of agency and self-representation in the European formation and beyond. In this thesis, I argue that transnational digital migrant media also taps in the power effect within Internet-based Information Communication Technologies (ICTs) in the creation and exchange of content. With this power, comes the production of knowledge sustaining the asymmetrical relationship between migrants and non-migrants. In my opinion, unlike the traditional media, the new media facilitates a lively connection between ordinary people in real-time interactions. The exchange is made possible with apps downloaded on iPhones, mobile phones, tablets and another state of the art high-tech devices. In effect, the mobile nature of technology ensures that migrants are no longer restricted to territorial boundaries but can interact with significant others across the global cyberspace. The result is that discourses on migration and development are constantly (re)produced within these spaces and transferred to national media, whenever journalists are engaged in the production of media content. Audiences interpret these discourses, shape and mobilize them as social narratives. This powerful process in the production of knowledge is significant to migrants and non-migrants. Bosa (2014) further extolls that using migrant media, people can empower themselves and take control of stories and, eventually make a sense of identity for themselves and others. This conviction answers once an anxiety perceived by the Nigerian renowned feminist and author Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie (2009), in her oration on TED Talks show titled: *"The danger of a single story"*. In her speech, Chimamanda critiques the practice in Western-oriented media in printing negative stereotypes from Africa, or third world contexts. In my view, migrant media can resist known stereotypes, through producing unknown personal stories of success and determination in the face of hostility and ethnicized racialism.

4.2. Theory of Hegemonic Perspectives in Migration and Development

In this section, I relate to the concept of hegemony theorized by the Italian social researcher Antonio Gramsci (1930), also in Bates (1975) as the power of dominance that one social group has over others. Further, the theory has been discussed in Straubhaar (1991) as an "asymmetrical interdependence of political and cultural relations between and among states" (in Lull, 1995). The concept is useful in evaluating how migration and development are viewed in sending and receiving countries, where economic disparities reproduce social inequalities that influence continuous flows of migrants from the South to North. Migrant media use criteria based on traditional agenda setting and media framing theories, to select news items based on established news values that depict existing hegemonic power between migrants and non-migrants, between migrants and European natives in migration-receiving countries. Additionally, migrant media negotiates elements of

the hegemonic relationship between migration-sending and receiving countries to (re)produce a discourse that portrays migration as an alternative strategy to development. The narrative suggests that through migration, economic conditions in migration-sending countries could be improved thereby, closing disparity gaps and overall, abating economic oriented migration. To ascertain this assumption, the sociological question on the (re)production of migration and development discourse in transnational digital migrant media, inspires an analysis that identifies concepts from media texts to explain Kenyan migrant's anticipated contribution to development. In this thesis, I have argued that the migration of Kenyans to Europe is attributed to factors such as unemployment, political conflicts, scarce resources, and weak institutions. Such factors introduce grounds for hegemonic contextualization, in constructing development discourses. The discourse depicts prevailing social and economic challenges in Kenya as reasons for migration, as well, it highlights on efforts Kenyan migrants take to integrate and develop their home country. Secondly, the institution of colonialism produces hegemonic relationships which theorize Africans as "poor and perpetually depended on the European knowledge systems for their development and enlightenment". These hegemonic perceptions are perpetuated in Western mass media concepts and are currently being criticized in migrant media texts. Thirdly, Kenyan migrants use the skills and knowledge acquired in host societies to enhance their economic positions. It is debatable, but Kenyan migrants could be perceived as taking advantage of the economic systems in European locations, to better their lives and progress the development agenda. This begs the question of whether by doing so, migrants can claim independence from Eurocentric influences, or whether they can objectively generate alternative perspectives on development. Rather, I argue, in this scenario, migrants export perceived capitalistic Western values of honest work to utilize opportunities to better oneself. It is for this point that this dissertation finds postcolonial and discourse theoretic approaches useful as they present a multi-facet phenomenon of hegemonic and counter-hegemonic discourse. **Figure 1** below illustrates the connection between discourse-theoretic and postcolonial perspectives. I argue that hegemony, evidenced in social and economic disparities between migration-sending and receiving countries can be traced to the colonial era. The media acts as a platform for discourse production and dissemination of hegemony and counter-hegemony.

Figure 1: Linking Gramsci Concepts on Hegemony and Postcolonial Discourse



Source: Author's interpretation based on Gramsci ideas on hegemony (2018).

As I have hypothesized, Gramsci approach to hegemony helps in the analysis of text and language in use to ascertain if migrant media (re)produces a discourse that borders on hegemony as an expression of power. This is probable, looking at how hidden meanings in language and enunciations are used in the production of texts. On one hand, migrant media frames migrants as conduits of development through remittances, and on the other, migrants are understood in stereotypes of hegemonic representations in dominant media. Migration and development may not be clearly exposed in migrant media discourse, rather, the discourse according to Michel Foucault (1980) is re-constructed to constitutes a social reality. The nuances of migration and development are formulated through images, words, expressions, and voices as sources of the narrative that normalize perceptions and attitudes. Gramsci identifies dominance as expressions of power created through the voice of local citizens, politicians and the economy and normalized through media coverage. In this view, migrant media (re)produces information adapted from mass media and assumed to be relevant for migrant consumption. This dissertation works on the assumption that discourse (re)production in migrant media becomes possible when marginalized voices like those of migrants are ignored in dominant media. However, migrant media attempts to solve this problem and become a place where migrants as a minority can express themselves. Ideas are rephrased and (re)produced then circulated in migrant contexts. Consequently, migrant media producers are caught between contesting standpoints and may choose to remain silent out of fear of (re)producing stereotypes that connote to hegemonic assumptions. Migrant media producers practice self-censorship through silence and highlighting public media stances that expose underlying hegemony. In their

criteria for selection, migrant media emphasize on current prominent angles that appear in mass media such as migration crisis, border controls, and illegality of migrants. Building on the concept of framing we can argue that migrant media endorse a hegemonic migrant identity within migration circles. This practice is supported in the agenda-setting theory (Bennett et al., 2015), where the media chooses items it assumes to be important or salient. Gramsci concept of hegemony is related to a media framing that deliberately promotes uniformity and decreases the range of views within groups. The quest then is to ascertain whether, in the (re)production of hegemonic discourse on migration and development, migrant media producers exercise self-censorship to conform to the dominant discourse. Does migrant media avoid parts of information that contradict hegemonic perceptions to avoid opposing views? I argue hegemony is a constant ideological concept buried within contesting opinions from public spheres and production influences. Migrant media producers may not fully disclose hegemonic viewpoints, but through hidden meanings in seemingly straightforward texts, hegemonic concepts are realized. Existing social pressures owing to migration also contributes to self-censorship. Producers are less critical of the western agency and conform to acceptable notions to avoid disapproval from migrant peers. Therefore, it is possible to resist hegemonic interpretations when producers are aware of the formation of discourse in the production process. However, media producers must cope with other challenges like limited space, resources, time and numerous sources of information on migrants readily accessible on the internet. Migrant media, therefore, seem to play safely in representing migrant's development agency and global citizenry. On the other hand, learning from Spivak's (1986) nuances of representation of minorities we see migrant media maintaining its watchdog role. It acts as a representative of minorities and ensures that migrant voices are heard within a context, where they would otherwise be excluded. The process of hegemonic creation (Artz, 2013) occurs when political and economic structures in the media institution and resultant production, distribution and ideological practices are dominant. Producers also use a selection criterion that highlights dominant viewpoints. Artz (2013) further argues that the key ingredient in any authority is consent. As such, hegemony cannot be diminished to domination or manipulation, rather, hegemony demonstrates consensual relationships among groups or classes where one sector represents or leads the other (Artz, 2013:336). I am convinced that the practice of discourse in migrant media production is accepted and stabilized, following well-versed mass media logical theories such as agenda setting, news values, and framing. The theories support the production of migration and development discourse that adopts hegemonic perspectives. Lull uses Gramsci's ideas to illustrate that technological advancement, improves the ruling elite use of mass media as instruments to propagate power and wealth, within the conservation of social attitudes (Lull, 1995:33). In the same context, media owners hold enormous power and influence in the (re)production of discourse and ideologies that favour their operation. Frequently, the elite leans on advertisers and politicians controlling media legitimacy and financial capabilities. In addressing the question on criteria for production we see that transnational digital migrant media

follows general news production criteria, that determines the type of discourse to produce and influences to achieve. Through the discourse, migration and development is contextualized as a product of historic trading connections and linkages that arose due to colonialization and the expansion of the frontier to the global world. For instance, Saskia Sassen (1996) demonstrates how economic migration linkages originating from offshore production, foreign investment, export-oriented agriculture and multinational corporations that depend on consumer markets in developing states, frequently result in the mass movement of people (Sassen,1996:77). This relationship speaks to a hegemonic association between the North and the South. Whereas the North has dominance over markets, technology, and industry, the South is still a sole producer of the raw material. The relationship extolls postcolonialism through neo-liberalism and economies of scale in production and distribution of goods and services dictated within global trade relations. We see that South to North migration is often attributed to economic inequalities in the South, yet, the current discourse on migration and development extends to broader social-political contexts of migrants.

4.2.1. Narratives of Hegemony and Postcolonial Perspectives

The so-called “migration crisis” is a testimony of the plight of migrants and refugees fleeing from persecution and terror from their homelands and signals political action both at national and international levels (McGhee et al., 2017). Conversely, factors that have pushed Kenyans to migrate are singled out in Eurocentric development theory as requiring intervention from the developed world. As we discussed in postcolonial concepts the seclusion of migrants like Kenyans from the dominant society may reify sentiments like those found in postcolonial categories, such as “Others”, ‘Orientals’ and ‘Subalterns’. The representation may limit their full integration or recognition as important players in the social and economic aspects of migration-sending and receiving countries. Therefore, the postcolonial perspective is important for this study, as it provides ways to examine representations found in colonial discourse as well as respond to Eurocentric approaches that undermine social and economic contexts of subjects from developing countries (Said, 1977; Bhabha, 1983; Spivak, 1986). Through Fairclough’s discourse analysis, postcolonial perspectives are systems of language that enforces conditions and regulate discourse created through Eurocentric debates. The concept of media hegemony applies to Antonio Gramsci’s (1971, 1977) furthered in (Lull,1995, Artz, 2013) as a form of political, social and ideological authority. Gramsci categorized the ability of capitalist classes in the industrialized west to win the consent of the working and middle class and other social formations. He noted, hegemony was a fluid concept that must be persistently negotiated among social classes, and in case challenged by emerging political or social power, will be coerced by prevailing groups unwilling to give up control. He was more concerned with authentic institutions contending social forces and their political agencies (Artz, 2013:336). Although Gramsci had not foreseen the aspect of hegemony as enunciated in the media, he acknowledged language, ideology, and communication as significant instruments in establishing hegemonic leadership. I determine in this thesis that the media

helps in creating dominant discourses. Other scholars (Stuart Hall, 1986, James Lull, 1995) have also interpreted the concept of hegemony in varied phenomena including the media. Artz (2013) further adduces that with the development of transnational media outlets, hegemony is established in media practices that compete to appeal to the audience. Hegemony is conceived when those dominated are influenced to agree to hegemonic ideas, as an acceptance of dominant concepts (Gramsci, 1971 in Riley, 2011; Hall, 1977 in Wood, 1998). These concepts are reproduced through social interaction in a communicative discourse and when group members support the dominant discourse, legitimized through laws and imposed by law enforcement organs like the police and military. The discourse is then ideologically (re)produced in media texts and other world material. In this study, transnational digital migrant media exercise their hegemonic power when producers derive consent from Kenyan migrants. While consent is not explicitly portrayed in form of feedback, it becomes relevant in nature and impacts from stories published. The stories are considered relevant for migrant's consumption and in enhancing transnational linkages to non-migrants. Consent also depends on benefits for migrant media producers, whether they can appeal to advertisers or enhance social and political visibility in receiving and sending countries. Producers may also want to meet their agenda in producing alternative discourses, to represent migrants as agents of development. In so doing, this dissertation determines that media texts in migrant media present multiple heterogeneous images, which also indicate counter-hegemonic forces. Hegemony is sustained through communicative process given that in the new information age, technology is deeply embedded in everyday realities of modern societies including that of migrants. Mass media social influences are not continuously recognized, talked about, or criticized, especially in Western economically developed societies. Therefore, hegemony can easily go undetected (Bausinger, 1984). Conversely, Hall (1985) notes that hegemony is fragile in specific social and political setups and requires renewal and re-modifications through assertion and re-assertion of power. Hall also notes that counter inclinations frequently show up within the seams and cracks of prevailing forms (Hall, 1985).

4.3. Contesting the “Unique Tragedy of Africa”: Counter-Hegemony

Mediated communications including those from transnational digital migrant media inscribe messages that challenge central political positions and cultural assumptions. Counter-hegemonic tendencies in migrant media are not solely confined in texts that contest the “unique tragedy of Africa” and provide alternatives. However, texts are formulated in a process of communication, in interpretations, social circulations and in media content. Transnational digital migrant media use online platform to provide counter-hegemonic discourse in its representation of migrants, not only as economic exploiters but also as positive contributors to development. Migrant media uses texts to construct migrant discourse as a resistant or contradictory to dominant hegemonic discourse in mass media. In interpreting texts as a discourse, we see that resistance is not pronounced in migrant's actions but is embodied in texts that remain as a permanent discourse on migrant media

outlets. Texts can be searched, transferred, quoted or adopted in other relevant discourses on migration and development. Although the scope of this dissertation does not analyze the effect of texts on users, I argue that producers assume, the audience can read through texts to critically interpret dominant development discourse that tends to adopt hegemonic proportions. Emerging migrant networks and associations also use transnational digital migrant media to endorse counter-hegemonic approaches to development. Migrant networks act as opinion leaders and increasingly, generate dialogue that negates historical perceptions in the construction of categories of migrant. In view of the above observation, I argue, mass media dwells more on themes that emphasize the plight of migrants and refugees, the displacement of persons, and the perilous journeys across the Mediterranean and less on the human attributes. Having said that, there are underlying issues that bring into focus the power interplays between migration sending-countries, and migration-receiving countries that are not dealt with, in addition to vocal imageries. As we established in the conceptual chapter on the postcolonial theory, we now see media narratives on cultural and aesthetic attributes of migration sending-countries shelved in favour of wars, starvation and political insecurities in the media framing of the “unique tragedy of Africa”. The elements of poverty and destitute conditions are also exemplified in the rural exodus, land struggle, and chaotic urbanization as in the case of Latin America (Georgiou, 2005; Macri, 2011; Bosa, 2014). Projects such as organized recruitment of labourers by governments or employers are not highlighted, however, they stimulate migration that's not associated with human suffering. Therefore, in this dissertation, we establish that transnational digital migrant media generates a counter-hegemonic discourse through the production of content that offers global directories of individuals, communal institutions and migrant-owned businesses in receiving countries. The migrant media for study in this thesis, Mkenya Ujerumani, and Ukentv follow similar production trends, where links to stories, upcoming events, and festivals connect Kenyan migrants to other migrants in global spaces. The media outlets use digital technologies to connect migrant groups and initiate citizen dialogue to counter-hegemonic perceptions. Murdock terms this practice as “cosmopolitan democracy” (Murdock, 1998). He argues that migrant media create connections with broader groups on the Net (internet networks) aimed to address issues such as human rights, climate change, the environment, and development, to harness the connections and energies. The mentioned issues are well sorted after in the struggle to streamline western ideals in African societies. However, I argue that not all western ideals are negative, there specific contingencies that have proved to give the migrant's power to determine their own destinies. Migrants rely more on each other in host societies. The familial and community bonds enhance a memory of home and nostalgic aspiration to participate in nation-building. The practice embodies the social and emotional values that drive counter-hegemonic positions. In their study, “Diasporas in the New Media Age: Identity, Politic and Community”, Andoni Alonso and Pedro Oiarzabal (2010) found that the impact of innovation on international migration is unquestionable. It encourages the flow of people between districts, nations, and continents, as well as the formation, development, and

support of migrant communities. It also enables continual communication and connection with significant others left in migration-sending countries. The presence of a migrant media sphere reduces elements of loss, disillusion, and desperation on arrival in host countries. The new migrants connect with others already in the receiving countries and immediately foster familial bonds or identity. This situation is more anticipated compared to desperate experiences of early migrants, who had no way to connect with the homeland once the voyage had been set, as exemplified in the following excerpt:

"I couldn't take it anymore when we found ourselves alone in that small boarding house without love, or any friend to talk to, and released my pain" (Santiago Ibarra, 1954) quoted in Santiago Ibarra: Historia de un inmigrante Vasco, by Angeles de Dios de Martina (in Alonzo and Oiarzabal, 2010).

Grinberg and Grinberg (1987) shows that migration requires an individual to reproduce the fundamental things he thought were already settled, he must reproduce another work environment, set up successful relations with other individuals, change a circle of friends set up a new house that will not be an overnight tent, but a home, and so on. These exercises demand great physical effort, sacrifice, and acknowledgment of numerous changes in a short time. But to be able to carry them out gives one a sense of inner strength, a capacity to dream, a capacity for love (Grinberg, 1987:176). The web has become a space of migrant expression of alternative thoughts. Even more, cyberspace, the communal space digitally created by the interconnection of millions of computerized machines and people is a virtual home for many diverse dispersed communities across the globe (Karim, 1998).

4.4. Narratives of Power and Dominance in the Media

Building on Foucault's work on discourse as a source of power we see concepts of power and dominance as inherent in texts. Therefore, there is a need for critical interpretation of texts that appear to be straightforward to expose hidden concepts using discourse analysis. On power, Van Dijk (1993) identifies a direct associational explanation that depicts power as control (by members of one group) over those of other groups, in relations to perceptions. The more powerful group may limit freedom and action of others, but also attempt to influence their mind or way of thinking. Forms of power control in the society are manifested through quelling of violent protest by police, aspects of manipulation e.g. in political rhetoric aimed at changing the mind-set or thinking of others for biased self-interests. Similarly, Fairclough suggests that power can be exercised through coercion in different ways, including physical violence, and through consent. Whereby, "those who have power can exercise it and keep it, through coercing others to go along with them" (Fairclough, 2001:27-28). In another argument, Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) highlight the dialectical relationship between structures and events, as inherent in the production of power apparatus. Drawing on Harvey (1996), they argue that internal and dialectical relationship exists between macro-level social structure (including power dominance and inequalities between two social groups) and micro level of social action (language use, discourse, verbal interaction, communication between social groups) and within aspects of social practice. Harvey sees the social practice as comprising six diverse elements; discourse,

language, power, social relations, material practices, institutions, rituals, beliefs, values and desires (Harvey, 1996). The elements are aspects of discourse (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999:6), and are used as part of tools of analysis in the empirical chapters of this thesis. Equally, Foucault (1972) is elaborate in his argument that power relations do indeed serve the discourse, but not because they are formed at the point where relations of power are exercised. He maintains that resistance to power does not have to come from elsewhere to be real, nor is it inevitably frustrated through being the compatriot of power. He adds that like power, resistance is multiple and can be integrated into multiple strategies (Foucault, 1972:142).

Dominance: Maybe enacted and reproduced by subtle, routine, everyday forms of texts and talks that appear natural and quite acceptable (Van Dijk, 2000:268). Hence, the work of discourse analysis is to focus on discursive strategies that legitimate control or naturalize social order, especially in relation to inequality (Fairclough, 1985). Critical discourse analysts are concerned with unearthing power abuse in institutional discourse, such as in the breach of law and principles of democracy. However, they have also been criticized for ignoring the authorial intention in the discourse and focusing more on the rhetoric force (Gibbs, 2015). In this dissertation, I show the work of discourse in media texts and talks and argue, media discourse analysis may fail to expose the intention in the words expressed but elevate the speaker as an active user of discourse. Sometimes, interpretation is left to the audience and could perpetuate misconceptions. Van Dijk (2013) further explains that the concept of dominance is created out of the difference between legitimate - acceptable and illegitimate - unacceptable forms of power. He adds, dominance exists and is persistent in society until it is challenged. Common examples of dominance appear in gender, sexuality, racism, and in this thesis, prominent in colonial and development discourses. The work of dominant discourse is to make seemingly simple straightforward concepts to be acceptable and legitimate.

4.5. Discursive Power Apparatus

As we have established in the literature and specifically to be analyzed in the empirical chapters increasingly, migrants in Europe are recognized for their contribution to homeland socio-economic development. These contributions include economic remittances, philanthropy, knowledge transfer, investment and business development and policy influence (Brinkerhoff, 2010:8b). It is this element of participation in nation-building and improving livelihoods in migration-sending countries that enhances migrant media (re)production of migrants like Kenyans in Europe, as possessing a bargaining power as principal players in affairs of the nation. In this case, I opine that although migrant's position of knowledge bestows social power over non-migrants, they remain dominated on in the host countries due to challenges related to integration, language, professional and education positions. The discursive power apparatus of the media can be seen in Teun van Dijk (2000) work on societal power enhanced in new media. Like Gramsci (1930;1971;1977) ideas on hegemony, Teun van Dijk

(2000) focuses on social and institutional power or social connection between groups or institutions, including the control by (a more powerful group) or institution and its member's activities on the minds of (individuals) of a less powerful group. He further sees the power within the new media as exuding from a privileged access to socially esteemed resources, such as force, wealth, income, knowledge or status. On the other hand, media power is generally symbolic and influential, within the sense that the media fundamentally have the potential to control to some degree the minds of readers or viewers, but not directly their actions (Teun van Dijk, 2000). Contrary to earlier media theorists (McLuhan, 1975; McCombs & Shaw, 1972) attribution of symbolic media power and influences through the agenda-setting role, I argue, in the new media, the audience is not a purely passive receiver of content. Audiences in transnational digital migrant media retain minimum autonomy and independence in the production of discourse. In new media outlets like those singled in this study, the audience engages actively through feedback possibilities, as an "active user" and interpreter of information. Research shows that the analysis of symbolic dimensions requires going past a limited social or political approach to power. Migrants may also use their positions of power to threaten global security when they support terrorist or violent groups. They may also participate in regime change and contribute to sustaining conflict in their home countries, with spill over effects into neighbouring countries and the global arena (Galtung, 1998, Karim, 1998, Mohamed, 1996). Those who fail to integrate socially economically and politically become marginalized and may be vulnerable to recruitment into violent activities (Hernandez et al, 2006 in Brinkerhoff, 2009; Galtung, 1998). Additionally, migrants who lack collective identities are defined as "psychologically desperate" and may fall easy prey for terrorist organizations seeking to fill the psychological void (Taylor and Lewis, 2004: 184). While it's clear to distinguish between migrants negative and positive agency, the analysis to justify existing use of such power apparatus remains controversial. For instance, (Hagos, 2000) argues that journalists and scholars in the so-called third world backed by critical researchers within the first world have emphasized the imbalance in news flows from international news media. Civil war, coups, oppression, dictatorship and violence in general, still makes the sample of news menu within the South, especially, when seen as a threat to the first world. I contend it is also common for poverty, starvation, underdevelopment, misery, and more recently ecological catastrophes to satisfy news values for bulletins as critical news from migration-sending countries. As argued from a postcolonial premise on "othering", justification and analysis from international media point fingers to a generalized view of third world 'backwardness', policies and behaviours of the third world leaders and non-functional systems (Zezeza, 2005; McIntock, 1992). Nonetheless, the media and the internet have become the quickest and easiest forms to mobilize collective identity into action (Bardici, 2012; Apparadui, 1996; Karim, 1998). The media is an organizational and networking resource for assembling and communicating among individuals and groups, for providing information and referrals to other actors and facilitates issue framing and confidence building (Brinkerhoff, 2010). To support the thesis that migrants are (re)produced in the media as agents of development,

Laguerre (2005) argues that the evolution of a migrant group outside its homeland, what he refers to as 'digital diaspora', reflects the engagement of its members in progressive activities related to informational and technology.

4.6. Reinforcing "Otherness"

In addressing the main research question for this thesis on the (re)production of discourse on migration and development in transnational digital migrant media, I argue, in their selection criteria, migrant media producers may use hegemonic discourse existing in dominant public and mass media spheres to construct concepts related to migration and development. As a result, the discourse reinforces stereotypical representations that we identified in postcolonial theory as amounting to "Otherness". At the same time, texts possess elements of heterogeneity and seem to be critical of the dominant concepts of migrants. A significant amount of scholarship suggests that mass media operates a racist discourse, even in spite of the fact that often publicly, they commit 'to the beliefs and practices of an inclusive multi-ethnic, multicultural society (Cottle, 2000:3; King and Wood, 2001). In the long term, demeaning mass media representations have strong negative effects on people categorized as gender, racial and economically marginalized. I suggest, while migrants access different news channels in migration-receiving countries, they also frequently search available online media content, where discourses that reinforce otherness are (re)produced. Further, the component of new media as the case of transnational digital migrant media for this study suggests gives the audience a possibility to contribute feedback. Migrant media shares links that have more information on topics under discussion. In the process, migrants gain the power to (re)produce a separate discourse that shapes concepts either negating or conforming to dominant stereotypical otherness. It is in exposing hegemonic discourse that Chavis (1998 in Mezzana, 2012) sees current representations of the African continent, particularly within the mass media, as predominant appearances of specific imbalances of power at the symbolic and communication level. He contends, players within the Northern hemisphere, such as government power groups and multinational organizations, whose interests are often concurrently inter-woven determine the nature of representations. The image of Africa in international media is intentionally distorted, created ad-hoc to conform to shared requirements and strategies of foreign, commercial and cultural policies. At the same time, it conceals Africa's role especially, its economic participation and articulation (Chavis, 1998; Ebo, 1992). To confront hegemonic development portrayals, Jo Ella Fair (1992) illustrates how during 1990s food aid campaigns for Africa, the discourse on hunger in Africa and its courses was interpreted as one of the signs of a cold war between the East and West. Additionally, in his research, Asgede Hagos (2000) underlines the close relationship between governmental bodies and the US media and the continuous inclination to disregard the African continent because of its minor strategic significance for the United States government. Hagos (2000) further illustrates that during the cold war, media scope was exclusively created to suit precise political and ideological prerequisites. In general, the reportage undermined communism (e.g. as a translation of phenomenon such as the anti-apartheid movements in South

Africa or the starvations in Ethiopia and Sudan over periods examined). Stereotypes run from accusing issues afflicting Africa on 'imperialistic scheming' to the representations of the continent as incapable to develop single handed without outside assistance, scarcely concealing paternalistic attitudes (Agade, 2001 in Mezzana, 2012). A few authors accept that the real decolonization of symbolism must be accomplished within the system of the multicultural globalization of humanity (Pieterse and Parekh, 1995). Empirical data in this study indicates that topics as exemplified above are (re)produced in migrant media, with the possibility of transference of concepts.

To some extent, active (re)production of images of representation is replicated in sociological and communication research or and in mass media discourses. I submit that gradually, historical assumptions of the power of mass media to influence audiences is changing. On one hand, audiences have gained freedom and space to engage in interactive dialogue with media producers. On the other, media practice shapes the social reality and rely on interconnections between the media practice and social discourse, in other words, producer's assumptions of pursuits of media users. According to Jo Ella Fair, mass media tend to package, re-use and spread discourses produced by political science, religion, education and other knowledge producing organizations (Fair, 1992). Fair further illustrates that media discourse suggests an endemic portrayal of problematic Africa. Migrant media may reflect historical interpretations in dominant discourse. In exemplifying a discourse-theoretic approach, we see that the famine in Ethiopia between 1984 - 85, sparked off four major discourses; i) the discourse on the crisis (how famine was defined); ii) the discourse on the aid providers (related to their objectives, the political stances on the international checkboard with influences from the cold war; iii) the discourse on the receiving governments; iv) the discourse on the people in the poor countries receiving aid (Fair,1992). Based on this view, I argue, through highlights in the discourse of famine, recipients of aid were barely represented in terms of their social endurance but were merely seen as poor beneficiaries of aid. In literature analysis for this thesis, we find that the media projection confirms well-known stereotypes of dominance. In other words, otherness is depicted in stereotypes of "passive populations in Africa incapable of looking after themselves without aid". I aver, repeated and exaggerated negative representations are expected to create lasting impressions in people's minds. In another stereotypical example, as considered in the literature, in the British press "being Romanian is synonymous with being criminal" (Macri, 2011; King and Wood, 2013). Some authors have contended that ethnic migrant media develop as results of distortion or diminished attention paid to particular minority issues within the mainstream media. Subsequently, ethnic or migrant groups are said to embrace techniques to challenge dominant discourse and make minority voices heard (Cottle, 2000; Teun van Dijk, 2000; Alia and Bull, 2005; Karim, 1998). In this thesis, I recognize that transnational digital migrant media production is not just a weapon that minorities use to struggle with negative portrayals or lack of coverage. In addition, migrant media provides a different lens through which, minorities can begin the process of identity reconstruction. Building on Habermas' argument, Dayan & Katz (1988) argue that migrant

media and communication offers a 'micro public sphere' in which diasporic identities are constructed and re-constructed. Turning to negative contrast, in fact, the historical mass media reportage of Africa has enhanced "Otherness" in reinforcing stereotypes that presented Africa as different from the Western world.

Otherness is reinforced in the process of selection and omission of what the media presumes to be important and salient, to the public. This thesis shows that sometimes, migrant media mimics a western structured selection process. The media (re)produces or re-elaborates certain representations of the African continent. Several authors (Mezzana 2012; Fair, 1992; Hawk, 1992; Bhaba, 1994) identify specific elaborations of how representations of Otherness are created. *Firstly*, as expounded in Fair (1992), the construction of the African identity is done through *sensationalism*. Whereby, news tends to focus on crises, coups d'état, wars, revolts, famines, starvation, and epidemics (alleged origin of diseases, aids, Ebola, Zika virus) and sometimes, cases of cannibalism. In my view, more often news from Africa depicts brutal and violent social conflicts but ignores other socio-cultural concepts that could be used to (re)produce a different image. Similarly, Hawk (1992) further elaborates that Africa is rife with danger, yet at the same time it is an exotic continent, the land of adventure. *Secondly*, learning from postcolonial authorship experience of colonialization birthed significant expressions of *Binaries*'. Settlers and sojourners described people in Africa ("them") as different to the West ("us") therefore, perpetrating disavowal synonymous with differentiation. According to Bhaba (1994), binaries are extracted from simple morphological differentiation, for instance, pigmentation, traditions, and resistance. Mezzana (2012) also notes that the use of simple binary oppositions to describe complex situations (for example, primitive/modern) depicted inhabitants in colonized lands as simple, hospitable authentic and kind, in line with the myth of 'good savage'. On the other hand, Corbey (1995 in Mezzana, 2012) posits that Africa was seen as an all chronic land, where time is believed to flow differently, if at all. Corbey's double elucidation proposes that the diachronic experienced by the rest of humankind in the northern hemisphere was enhanced by the exclusive rural nature of the continent. He proposes that the cultural characteristic of Africa emphasized the alterity engrained in differences as compared to Western models. *Thirdly*, the essences behind the expressions of the "Black Continent" (Gilroy, 2007) enunciated the assumed obscurity, dullness impenetrability and the mysterious side of the African world. As articulated in Jean-Loup Amselle (2013) article, "Why do the African States Fail? Don't Blame Neo-colonialism", as it were a few purely aesthetic components of African art, the interrelationship between their life and the universe, African sexuality, Africans sense of community are recovered and acknowledged. I argue, representations are reified when sociological material is replicated in the mass media using the "agenda setting theory" and engrained elements of news value. Mass media producers incorporate organizational culture and journalistic mechanisms to facilitate the selection of news items. The result is reportage of facts stripped off any historical, social and political or economic, cultural information. In effect, meanings are left unexplained giving room for different interpretations of contexts. Interests towards Africa can be

greatly enhanced if background information is added to the events described. Fourthly, representations are created using the element of *dramatization* to describe events and processes, as well as human and social relations. For example, in the reportage of the 1994 genocide in Rwanda, and the subsequent civil war in Congo, Western media (re)produced clichés of “barbarism, savage and brutal nature of Africans”. This was in sharp contrast to the representation of the Jewish Holocaust, which is not publicly blamed on the violent nature of Germans (Amselle, 2013).

In another argument Esses et al (2013) found that the media dehumanizes utilizing terms to depict Africans as not having raised from animal-like status, being subhuman or being immoral, infection carriers with ill intentions (Clark, 2013). The element of dehumanization in news emerges from the elimination of actors, in support of entities or theoretical forms or generalizations (as happens when certain conflicts are blamed on certain perceived racial characteristics, such as “violence among blacks” (Bosa, 2014; Mezzana, 2012; Melton, 2013). Lastly, otherness can also be exemplified using synecdoche (i.e. a figure of speech by which a part represents a whole sample unit), for example, when populations such as the Maasai community are used to represent the entire African continent, yet, they are only found in specific cultural populations in parts of East and West Africa (Melton, 2013). Melton further points specific terms that reify otherness, for example, the excessive use of words like “tribal”, “primitive”, “animism”, “savage”, or “jungle”. For specifics, the collective term “Africa/Africans” is sometimes used to refer to a country, while Africa is a continent comprising 54 sovereign states. In this section I have tried to expound that stereotypical representations reinforce “Otherness”, therefore, transnational digital migrant media criteria for selection puts emphasis on the value of African migrants as change agents and their resilience in migration-receiving countries.

4.7. Analytical Distinctions Between Hegemony and Counter- Hegemony

The apportionment of colonial hegemony left Africans battling against larger adversaries, such as colonialism and subjugation. Africans profoundly refute inalienable historical hegemonic factors through the fight for their freedom and right to their culture. Transnational digital migrant media frequently depict African aspirations that are excluded in Western media as counter-hegemonic stands. Migrant media tell stories of different African struggles endemic to the ways in which Africans live. African theatre and cultural forms become elements of resistance and the struggle for financial and social freedom (Ekwo, 2011; Esses et al, 2013). Some authors suggest that alternative counter-hegemonic perspectives have the potential to help in the preservation of indigenous cultures across the African continent (Beckett, 2012; Hardey, 2008). This premise is adopted in various transnational digital migrant media when stories, narratives, and memories of Africa are (re)produced through its migrants. Africa is exposed to cultural information from outside sources, its people hold the power to transmit their cultural information to the outside world and preserve it for themselves. Alternative counter-hegemonic dialogues in migrant media are distinct from representations in mass media, which form the first and sometimes, the only source of

information about migrants. The information is an important reference for people outside the social and cultural circles. For example, filmmakers use a popular genre to propel serious messages to niche audiences' eager for self-representation and contribution to the film's commercial success. In my opinion, film production is a source of hegemony in the representation of foreign cultures. However, African film industries like Nigeria's Nollywood, Rwanda's Hillywood, and Kenya's Riverwood have embraced alternative images of Africa. The production emphasizes on aesthetic values of the continent, it's abundant natural resources and the celebration of a culture and indigenous heritage. Sometimes, the films offer a flashback to colonial and postcolonial theatres, where migrants and non-migrants become a global norm, rather than the exception.

There is a continuous national interaction of migrants using communication tools which connect migrants to non-migrants. I assume that migrant media reaches a wide spectrum of migrants placed in specific communities in migration-receiving countries. However, there is a general observation that narratives in migrant media may only be relevant to migrants who have established a form of residence permanency, unlike those in transitional connection. Georgiou (2005) proposes that migrants from Africa around the world may not willingly want to be associated with communities in host countries, instead, migrants are integrated into routines and rituals of daily life, as well as the struggles for settlement and belonging (Georgiou, 2005). In this thesis, migrant media consumption and production offer important clues on the degree of resistance of migrants towards a Eurocentric framing within host societies. Migrants have sometimes assumed to remain loyal to their homelands and transport culture, religious practices, and identities in host lands. It is for such reasons that Deuze (2006:266) provides that policymakers perceive the growing popularity of ethnic minority media/ migrant media as disruptive to the fabric western society (in Mezzana, 2012). I posit that representation of people's alternative viewpoints emerges as an expropriation of the mass media industry. In this dissertation focusing on the (re)production of discourses, images, and processes I concur, counter-hegemonic reactions of a relatively small number of people have the power to shape messages communicated through media products. In this way, representations of minorities including migrant communities indicate that, although far removed from Africa, the African-ness of migrants in this category exposes them as targets of racism and stereotypical identification. Migrants are often reminded daily of their difference and unwanted presence in host-societies. On the other hand, migrant media acts as a preferable safe place for the (re)production of migrant discourse. It enables migrants to get empowered and decide how they want to be represented and, ultimately create a sense of identity for themselves and others. In support of this argument, Hardey (2008:7) avers internet generated technologies shape how users interact with the technology and how discourses are shaped by those interactions. These dynamics reshape how migrants conceive their host environments and of themselves as citizens in a European world. However, it should not be entirely assumed that an equal reciprocity of ideas exchange through electronic means between migrants and non-migrants exists. According to Beckett (2012:9) despite global technological advancements, home

countries experience a digital divide, meaning that communications technologies upon which this involvement depends are not available to those without the means to afford them. The convergence of African urbanization technological changes and digital media are driving major changes in the communication industry (Powell, 2012: 7). The desire for new technology is close to basic needs and as Powell notes for example, that people in Kenya's slums in Nairobi would rather sacrifice a meal to get that all-important cell phone. Although the digital divide still exists, there is a high penetration of cell phones into Africa and a high projected growth in the market. Social media ensures that people share user-generated content that empowers them to become the source of news for the entire world. The expansion in new media and migrant communication provides an alternative space for shaping images about migrants and their associations in migration sending and receiving countries.

CONCLUSION

4.8. Synthesis of Media Narratives and Postcolonial Concepts

The theoretic approach in this thesis employs discourse analytic and postcolonial perspectives, to unearth inherent elements of hegemonic power relations (re)produced and resisted in migrant media texts. The texts indicate a connection between migration and development discourse to postcolonialism. The previous chapter (three) on Postcolonial theory, offers insights into the criteria for the production of transnational digital migrant media for Kenyans in Germany and Britain. In analyzing media discourses, the thesis learns from the theorization of the power of representations in generating hegemonic and counter-hegemonic assumptions. Using a postcolonial lens discussed in chapter three, this chapter (four) has elucidated that migration and development are produced as a dominant mass media discourse and replicated in transnational digital migrant media. Migrant media occasionally perpetuates Eurocentric views of Africans as benefiting from Western development intervention. However, migrant media also generates counter-hegemonic narratives that offer alternatives to concepts created through mass media, educational and religious institutions to legitimize hegemony as a societal norm. This chapter examined hegemonic perceptions exposed in inherent disparities between South and North migration continuums. It tackled hegemonic correlations between former colonies and empires. Their articulation in Western mass media and (re)production in migrant media. In this thesis, we saw how postcolonialism is applied to deconstruct development as a concept consistently framed using Eurocentric models. In this thesis we see Eurocentric concepts associating economic growth to development aid in the so-called third world countries. The colonial connotation in migration and development discourse, are also present in migrant media discourse as hegemonic perspectives. Producers perceive development as Eurocentric enlightenment, where narratives emphasize the need to change economic statuses of people in sending countries. The discourses imply that non-migrants live in the undeveloped state. This development practice follows similar notions that recognize Western development approach as the norm. Deviance from the traditional development norm is expressed as a failure.

In Africa, states that are represented as not having accomplished development goals are constructed as “failed,” “corrupt” or “tribal”. Being underdeveloped is constructed as a problem, which needs to be solved by the European Western development models connoting a postcolonial narrative of “white man’s burden”⁶⁹. However, migrant media resist this trajectory, and suggest possible approaches to development, highlighting workable ideas in migration-sending societies. Though Eurocentric approaches, only see recipients of aid as needing to be developed, Africans are not viewed as possible agents. Hegemony is further expressed as a form of dominance by powerful nations over less powerful nations. Dominant power is expressed in the production of culture, education, media, fashion etc. Further, western media promotes the cultural legacy of colonialism and imperialism by acting as a source of knowledge. It also depicts its culture in the external control of socio-political and economic power structures. I conclude that since the media remains a powerful tool of influence, the way subjects are (re)produced and through the interpretation and application of news values, determines how people view the world around them, and therefore, forms the social reality. This chapter established that dominant hegemony in development can be found in the effects of colonial rule, reproduced through expressions of language, also evidenced in geographical demarcations as we highlighted in chapter three. The boundaries have become sources of economic disparities and conflicts, after people that were originally homogeneous, are separated on ethnic and tribal lines. The result of these demarcations is negative ethnicity and nepotism. The ideologies are powerful structures that prevent populations from accessing resources. Moreover, colonial artificial boundaries are a source of conflict in former colonies, and a reason for migration. People who would otherwise have nothing in common, are forced to live in proximity and struggle over resources as means of livelihood. In the production of alternative voices to counter-hegemony, migrant media uses the migrant agency as pacesetters to socio-political and economic development. Migrant media express resistance to hegemony using postcolonial thinking. In other words, migrant media acts as a representative of subalterns, marginalized or excluded. Migrant communities in host societies are often less endowed voices muffled in the heist of elite discourse. Kenyan migrant media stand in the gap between dominant society and marginalized communities, through highlighting issues that would otherwise be neglected. In the production process, migrant identities are shaped through social practices. Lack of authentic identities serve as an obstacle to postcolonial perspectives and offers migrant media a chance to adopt alternative images of migrants. The media resist images that dehumanize, racialize or demonize the migrant body. Resistance in migrant media is also enhanced through articulation and “storytelling” of the positive attributes, and contributions of migrants to development. These aspects of resistance pose a challenge to the continuation of the colonial history.

⁶⁹ An expression from Rudyard Kipling’s (1899) poem on US Imperialism, “The White Man’s Burden”, urging the US to take up the burden of the empire as Britain and other European Nations. Available at: <http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/5478/>. The expression “White man’s burden” became a euphemism for Imperialism. It is often used to describe the Western obligation to support the East in terms of development owing the guilt of slavery, colonization, entitlement and economic disparities. Also, the title for William Easterly (2006) book: *The White Man’s Burden why the West’s efforts to aid the Rest has done so much ill so little good*. New York. Penguins Press.

4.8.1. Migration and Development as Postcolonial Discourse in Migrant Media

I have argued that migration and development is a postcolonial discourse as it highlights on hegemonic expressions in migrant media discourses. In chapter three I argued, that migration and development discourse have features like those in postcolonial discourses. I showed how relevant postcolonial concepts such as; 'otherness' and 'resistance' are evident in stereotypical representations of migrants in the mass media. As elucidated in arguments of postcolonial authors Edward Said, Homi Bhabha, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak. Therefore, in this chapter I emphasized that "otherness" reinforced in media texts, expose misrepresentations of migrants. In resistance to this representation, Kenyan migrant media (re)produce Kenyans as taking seriously their responsibility towards national building and development as a postcolonial stance, to counter hegemonic misrepresentations. Transnational migrant media also resist elements of misrepresentation in mass media that lump migrants together as "pursuers of economic gains" and instead, project a discourse that positions Kenyan migrants as change agents. With knowledge, migrants empower non-migrants in the development process of the migration-sending country.

Therefore, I conclude that transnational digital migrant media has become a source of enhancing collective feelings of migrant identification. Migrant media negotiates and articulate narratives that support their contribution to development in migration-sending countries. In the process, migrants form an identity in a continuous endeavour to understand themselves, and at the same time recognize how they are defined by others in the mass media spectrum. Identities are constructed at the intersection of persistently flowing boundaries between 'us and them'. Migrants regularly engage in more intense search and negotiation of identities since they are encountering division from the 'natural' setting of the country (Mandaville, 2001). In this chapter, I also considered the fact that the mass media has been criticized for creating stereotypes that represent people with a migrant background negatively. I highlighted the role of the media as shaping, maintaining and performing identities prevalent in the dominant discourse. Building on (Teun Van Dijk, 2000; McCombs, 1998) this chapter established that the power of the media is attained from access to valuable social resources (in terms of public opinion, respondent's raw commentaries and official documents). Media power and relying on established news values enables the production of what is assumed to be credible information in the interest of the public. I submit that the role of the media as the voice of the masses comes with crucial responsibilities, which among other ethical and structural factors, is to strive to remain impartial and objective in its reporting. While the media's goal is to ensure that vital information is disseminated to the public, as the frame narrows to migrant media, the thin line between objectivity and subjectivity also narrows. The media in this study is owned and produced solely by an individual or a partnership of two like-minded migrants, to serve a wide spectrum of Kenyan migrants looking for information content with a connection to home, or what they can identify with. In such a context, it is easy to trample ethical standards as producers deal with strained resources, both in

human and technological forms. Often, migrant media producers in the case studies for this thesis - Mkenya Ujerumani and Ukentv juggle as writers, editors and organizational managers all rolled up in one. The result is sometimes, a biased one-sided interpretation of migration and development discourse based on individual predictions and limited or prejudiced interpretation of the social environment.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0. RESEARCH DESIGN

In this chapter, I take a methodological overview of discourse analysis as a strategy to answer sociological research questions on (re) production of discourses on migration and development in transnational digital migrant media. This thesis takes a qualitative methodological approach and in the empirical chapters (six, seven and eight), I analyze data from media texts and interviews using Norman Fairclough's concepts on discourse analysis. I trace discourse analysis as a form of critical social analysis and for this thesis, I place it between Systematic Functional Linguistics (SFL) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as a qualitative methodology. I then discuss the Fairclough stages of discourses analysis and present my own steps in data collection including text selection and interview process. Finally, the chapter establishes ethical issues arising from the methodology. Fairclough builds his work from Michel Foucault's perspectives, more so, expressions of hegemony inherent in institutions of power (prison, schools, asylums, clinics etc.). I argue, and as we have elaborated in chapter four, that transnational digital migrant media produce discourses that may portray hegemonic and counter-hegemonic assumptions. The media utilizes existing dominant discourses to emphasize elements of representations at the same time, continually looking for alternative concepts. Foucault notes that discourse analysis allows examining legitimate perspectives for the agent of knowledge and fixed norms for social behaviour (Foucault, 1980).

In addition, discourse analysis not only looks at what is said but also relates to the social and historical contexts of themes under analysis (Foucault, 1986:3). In this dissertation, I establish that media producers use knowledge and skills as sources of power to recreate discourses, from existing dominant perspectives in Western media and public discourse. The discourses shape development rhetoric assumed to be relevant and usable to migrants. In addition, ascertaining the research question on the criteria of production we find that media producers use news values as a criterion for selection, to legitimize their power. They do so, to be objective, and uphold truths, thus acting as opinion leaders for migrant information. Literature provides various approaches to discourse analysis (Halliday, 1978-1994; Porter, 1986; Wetherell et al, 2001; Wodak & Meyer, 2001; 2009). In this thesis, Fairclough's units of analysis (the text, the discourse practice, and social practice) help to expose dominant discourse strategies, hidden in seemingly straightforward texts. In doing Discourse Analysis, there is a possibility to extract and integrate different sources of discourses, such as texts and transcripts (Fairclough, 2013; 1995; Wodak & Meyer, 2001; 2009; Gee, 2005).

Critical Social Analysis

The analysis in this present study takes a form of Critical Social Analysis. This is a form of discourse-theoretic approach that focuses on narratives and other social relations, for instance, discourse insights on ideologies and power relations. It is a

discourse analytic-dimension that lies between Systematic Functional Linguistics-SFL (Halliday, 1978 -1994) and Critical Discourse Analysis-CDA (Gee, 2005; 2014; Rogers, 2011). The approach does not only describe existing social realities within texts but seeks to explain the effects of structures of mechanisms of power such as hegemony and counter-hegemonic perceptions hidden in media texts. Textual analysis is a form of "Systematic Functional Linguistic" (SFL), a linguistic theory that illuminates a relationship between language and other aspects of social life. Rogers (2011) assumes that since language is a social practice, as a result not all social practices are created and treated similarly, all investigations of language are inalienably critical. Discourse analysis serves as a linguistic investigation of texts (Halliday & Hassan; 1976, 1989; Van Leeuwen, 1993, 1995, 1996; Sanna, 1998). The analysis in this thesis does not dwell so much on the micro-level analysis (grammar and semantics) but focuses on language use in texts. It is concerned with macro-level analysis, how texts relate to subtle contexts of power relations. The study draws its analysis from elements of textual analysis and discourse theory. Both of which are engrained in the structure and methodological approaches of the thesis.

5.1. The Discourse

Discourse can mean ways of talking about things, or a process in which the social reality is formed. It is an articulation of knowledge and power, of the visible and the expressible (Escobar, 1995). Discourse-theoretic perspective is also associated with political science research of Howarth and Stvavakakis (2000). In performing a discourse analysis, the assumption is the purpose of language is not only to communicate ideas and knowledge but also to create meaning in the social reality (Bryman, 2008). There's a variety of definitions on the meaning of a discourse. In a modified adaptation of scientific classification, Bloor and Bloor (2007: 6-7) recommends possible distinctions of discourse as; a) the highest unit of linguistic description phonemes, morphemes, words, phrases, clauses, sentences and texts; b) as a sample of language usage, generally written to be spoken, in a form of speech; c) it alludes to the communication anticipated in one situation context, alongside one field and registers, such as the discourse of law, medication, or media; d) it can also mean a human interaction through any means, verbal and non-verbal, through sounds, movements, and images; e) discourse could also relate only to a spoken interaction; f) discourse stands for the whole communicative event. These distinctions suggest, discourse happens in a communicative event, which progressively produces expressions of power and knowledge. Additionally, Hall (1992:291) describes discourse as statements which provide a language of talking about things. We can assume that discourses on migration and development occur within a social context, where social issues are (re)produced and discussed in migrant contexts. Issues on migration and development are framed on a range of topics, e.g. legality and illegality of migrants, their integration, transnational connections, economic activities etc. Therefore, discourse can take place anywhere. The discourse initiates meanings in which to understand the world and its social practices. It enables us to appreciate knowledge represented in different historical moments.

5.2. Fairclough's Logical Approach to Discourse Analysis

Informed from Michel Foucault's foundations, Norman Fairclough (1992; 1995) articulates a tri-dimensional approach to doing discourse analysis. Fairclough achieves this by assessing specific units of analysis: the *text*, the *discourse practice*, the *social practice* (Fairclough, 1995). In the deconstruction of development Escobar's (1995) connects to Fairclough's analytical lens and recognizes development as a possible discourse that constructs alternatives to hegemonic systems of dominance. This chapter, therefore, learns from Fairclough's aspiration and yet, connects discourse theoretic to postcolonial concepts explaining development. However, the unique standpoint in this thesis is not to give solutions, but as we shall see in the empirical chapters to open a sphere to confront seemingly simple texts as discourses. Escobar (1995) is hesitant in proposing global alternatives to development, a position that could reproduce a model he criticises i.e. the Euro-centric approach to development. Escobar provides three useful dimensions like Fairclough's units of analysis when he argues that a search for alternatives must begin with "local ethnographies of the circulation of discourses, practices of modernity, and development" (Escobar, 1995:223). In the Foucauldian sense, discourses exercise power in society, because they institutionalize and regulate ways of talking, thinking, and acting on certain societal issues (Foucault, 1991). This thesis provides possible ways of looking at the exchange of social activities between migrants and non-migrants, as well as the (re)production of the same in transnational digital migrant media. According to Fairclough (1995), any instance of language in use is a text. This definition is, however, limiting in a media context, given that different genres of programmes do not only contain texts, but also visual images and sound effects.

In this thesis, I focus solely on textual analysis and learn from Fairclough's argument that discourse is a form of language and power, an aspect of how language functions in maintaining and changing power relations in the society. Therefore, using discourse to analyze language to reveal power and dominance, gives a possibility to be more conscious and able to resist and change prevailing dominant attitudes (Fairclough, 2001). Technological advances like the internet hold immense power because information on the internet can be freely accessed, manipulated and distributed on a global level. I identify the relevance of technology as that used in transnational digital migrant media production in the circulation of knowledge, and as a tool to resist dominance. Technology also allows forms of networking for social and economic mobilization. However, I contradict the celebratory approach to technology use and argue, technology produces a level of dominance where economic disparities in migration-sending and receiving countries inhibit equitable access to technology. In focusing on technology, Fairclough tries to close the gap, identified in Escobar (1995) on alternative possibilities to address social problems emanating from Eurocentric development constructs.

5.2.1. The Methodological Research Strategy

I developed a methodological strategy to systematically answer the main sociological research question on how the discourse on migration and development is (re)produced in transnational digital migrant media. The goal is to examine how communication particularly, journalistic or mediated communication, is used to reinforce new and existing or dominant ideas on migration and development. I use the methodological strategy to reconstruct media discourses on migration and development. The strategy analyses images of migrants as development agents, identify the production criteria and make a comparative analysis of similarities and differences emerging from discourses produced in Germany and Britain migrant media. To achieve the objectives, I examine Fairclough's units of analysis (**text, social practice and discourse practice**) using discourse analysis of texts and expert interviews as the research strategy. The aim is to establish the validity, scope, and the distinction between justified belief and opinion (Fairclough, 1995). I chose discourse analysis as it is often conducted as a textual analysis of news and interview transcripts (Fairclough, 1995).

Figure 2: The Methodological Research Strategy

Objective of the Study	Unit of Analysis	Research Strategy
1.Reconstruct media discourse on migration and development	Media discourses as they appear in the media texts	Discourse Analysis of texts
2.Analyse images of migrants as development agents	Media discourses as they appear in media texts	Discourse Analysis of texts
3.Identify production criteria of media discourses in migrant transnational media	Social practices of productions in the media organization	Expert Interviews
4.Comparative review of discourses of migration and development in transnational digital migrant media in Britain and Germany, as well as the comparative analysis of their media production	Media discourses as they appear in the media texts and the social practices of their production	Integration of discourse analysis results and the results of expert interviews

5.2.2. Fairclough's Units of Analysis

Fairclough's units of analysis are described as the *text*: 'a written or spoken language provided in the discursive event'. The *discourse practice*: 'the production, distribution, and consumption of the text and its interpretation'. The *social practice*: 'the acting out of relations of power and domination which exists in a larger social sphere' (Fairclough, 1995). This project provides possible ways of looking at the exchange of social activities between migrants and non-migrants, as well as the (re)production of the same in transnational digital migrant media. The material for discourse analysis in this project include media texts and interviews with media experts. Fairclough's (1995) units of analysis build on the logic of discourse identified

through elements such as *representations, stereotypes, identifications, actions, and assumptions*. The elements form the basis of analysis on how discourses in transnational digital migrant media propagate dominant hegemonic perspectives and alternative counter-hegemonic discourse.

5.2.3. Fairclough's Stages in Performing a Discourse Analysis

For the analysis of the texts, Bhaskar (1986); Chouliaraki & Fairclough (1999) analytical framework for discourse analysis offers a possible schematic model. Fairclough's stages of performing discourse analysis aid in the articulation of texts and discourse styles enhanced using the methodological research strategy discussed above. I aim to identify migration and development discourse, through looking at texts, styles and sentence structures. The model provides a relevant guide in the analysis of how discourses on migration and development are (re)produced in transnational digital migrant media.

The schematic model has the following five stages:

Stage 1: Focus on a **social problem** which has a semiotic (discourse) aspect

Stage 2: Identify **obstacles** to it being tackled, through analysis of

- a) The **network of practices** within which the (practice is) located
- b) The relationship of **semiosis** to other elements within practices(s) concerned
- c) The **discourse** (the semiosis itself)

Stage 3: Consider whether the **social order** (network of practices) in a sense 'needs' the problem

Stage 4: Identify possible **ways past the obstacles**

Stage 5: Reflect critically on the analysis 1-4 (Wodak & Meyer, 2001).

Interpreting the five points in relation to research objectives

Fairclough's five-point schema helps to focus on the objectives of the study, which uses a discourse-theoretic and post-colonial perspective, to examine how aspects of knowledge and power are (re)produced in transnational digital migrant media.

Stage 1: Focus of the social problem' in its semiotic aspect

According to Fairclough (2012:6), CDA may be a form of critical social science that aids in the way better understanding of the nature and sources of social issues, the challenges in addressing the issues and possible solutions to overcome the obstacles. In this thesis, social problems can be understood to mean aspects of social structures, systems or forms of power and attitudes that are detrimental or limit migrants' development potential. The obstacles can be eliminated or resolved through a complete change in systems of order or an introduction of alternatives. Obstacles identified in this study are in the form of a dominant hegemonic discourse, prevalent in European mainstream media. We see narratives exposed in literature in the previous chapters that often in western media discourse, migrants are lumped together in one category, regardless of dissimilar identifier factors. Migrants are described as interested in economic gains or infringers of social welfare in migration-receiving countries. Further, as we discussed in the chapter (four), stereotypes often appear as nuances that downplay any positive construction of migrants as potential contributors to development in migration-sending countries. In an attempt to find solutions to these obstacles, transnational digital migrant media (re)produce a heterogeneous narrative of migration and development. The main novel standpoint in this dissertation is that I have established from other media and sociological authorship and in my own data analysis that migrant media narratives represent hegemonic ideas on development, as well as alternative voices or counter-hegemony. What constitutes a social problem in this analysis is debatable since migrant media producers apply a selection criterion that relies on dominant European media production models like news values and criteria for selection. In so doing, migrant media may indirectly accentuate identified stereotypes. Despite biased mainstream western media portrayal of migrants, transnational digital migrant media also focuses its production on the untapped resources as an economic boost to migration-sending countries' domestic budgets. I argue migrants are slowly emerging as key development agents in migration-sending countries.

We can elaborate Stage 1 in two steps

Step 1: *Select a research topic which relates to, or points up a social problem, and which can productively be approached in a trans-disciplinary way with a focus on dialectical relations between semiotic or discourse and other moment* (Fairclough, 2012). Hence, the topic of the thesis is selected from my interest in the connection between migration and development, and the (re)production of discourse in migrant media. The topic is also prominent in academic literature, given the current rise in South to North migration and the so-called "migration crisis" and new trajectories of development devoid of aid, in Africa. However, the analysis of the topic through focusing on media discourses is limited and provides new data for analysis. Thus, using a media and sociological background, I examine perceptions of migration and development discourse in impacting on the life of migrants, and their transnational connection to non-migrants.

Step 2: **Construct objects of research for initially identified research topics by theorizing them in a trans-disciplinary way** (Fairclough, 2012:7). In this thesis, I discuss the (re)production of migration and development narratives in transnational digital migrant media. The analysis takes a transdisciplinary nature and learns from relevant theoretical approaches in social science. I use discourse-theoretic and postcolonial approaches that embody both discourse analysis and conceptual approaches in media and postcolonial theories. The focus fulfils both the dialectical relations between semiotic or discourse and material moments. The social problems identified in this study include the presence of a dominant Eurocentric development approach that instead of improving livelihoods in the so-called third world countries has contributed to impoverishment, forcing people to migrate in search for economic alternatives. Consequently, an increase in corruption and greed among people who hold power in migration-sending countries has widened the gap between the rich and poor. As such, migration becomes a perpetual phenomenon of citizen's search for alternative livelihoods. Subsequently, professionals like Kenyan migrants are motivated to secure economic activities to support non-migrants. The mentioned problems have a significant semiotic or discourse aspect. The research objective therefore from this study, is to examine how transnational digital migrant media attempts an alternative narrative to empower migrants as development resources.

Stage 2: Identifying obstacles addressing the social problem being tackled

Stage 2 focuses on the social problem through an inquiry of how migrant's life is structured and organized prevents them from attaining their assumed development role. The obstacles in migration and development discourse could mean resisting negative analytical distinctions. The solution to this question could be arrived through examining the social order within migrant-receiving countries. Secondly, studying the criteria for the production of migrant media and how it shapes a heterogeneous discourse on migration and development. In so doing, migrant media changes the social reality through resisting dominant assumptions. The (re)production of migration and development discourse, highly depends on its definition within the social reality. The obstacles being tackled can be addressed through the analysis of:

2. a.) The network of practices: Generally, views on the subjects are influenced by perceptions (re) produced in the media. When transnational digital migrant media reports on migrant development initiatives, it is often limited to their participation in migration-sending country's social welfare through monetary remittances. Migrants are also positioned as agents for alternative voices or counter-hegemony. Aspects such as entrepreneurial initiatives, investments, and community leadership are examples of ideas that this study identifies as alternatives to dominant hegemonic development approaches. Conversely, putting much emphasis on the role of migrants in development could also perpetuate dependency syndrome where non-migrants remain hooked to migrants' remittances. This is what Fairclough identifies as a group of 'losers', the poor, the socially excluded, and subjects of oppression (Fairclough, 1999).

2. b.) Relationship of semiosis or discourse: Issues on development constructed in Eurocentric narratives pose a challenge in practice, within the context of Kenyans in Europe. Kenyan migrants' carry a colonial history, where imperial domination was elevated to categorize colonized people as undeveloped and in need of European civilization and economic models. While development concepts have continued to ride on similar representations, the rejection of such concepts in search of an alternative practices presents potentials or problems. For instance, in adopting foreign Western acquired innovative skills and knowledge, Kenyan migrants could be mistaken for reifying the very stereotypes that migration-sending countries are struggling to overcome.

2.c.) Discourses (semiosis itself): Is a critical linguistic analysis of the conceptualization of migration and development as a discourse in transnational digital migrant media. The discourse informs migrants and their engagement in the public and media spheres. The element of home attachment for migrants is framed as a moral obligation used to instil a sense of duty in development processes in migration-sending countries. This scenario of Kenyan migrants to Europe contribution to aspects of development is replicated in almost all states with a postcolonial history.

Stage 3: Consider whether the social order needs a social problem

Regarding the social problem identified we can argue that ***a dominant Eurocentric development approach has contributed to a debt burden in migration-sending countries, leading to migration as an economic alternative.*** If we look at *how the social order may 'need' the problem*, a possible answer might be using discourse analysis to show how Eurocentric development approach has historically not asserted the potential of developing countries, in terms of natural resources, climate, Agriculture, resilience and industriousness of its people. The Eurocentric development agenda is to control markets and natural resources needed for industries in the West. However, migration presents a potential in terms of skills and knowledge among migrants. Through transnational digital migrant media discourses, these group could present alternative development narratives. **Stage 3** makes us consider whether the social problem is prevalent in the hegemonic social order of things, whether we can derive possible solutions within existing structures, or through considering alternative or counter-hegemonic perceptions. The question raises the aspect of discourse as an ideology, it contributes to sustaining relations of power and domination. The environment in migration-receiving countries in Europe creates new challenges for Kenyan migrants. Discourses emphasized and projected in transnational digital migrant media are constructed out of the need to maintain cultural contexts in Europe and change situations in migration-sending countries. Other frames of analysis include new media technology, migration trends, integration concepts in migration-receiving countries and how they affect the involvement of Kenyan migrants' development affairs. The structures help to analyze how migrants become voices of both positive and negative influences within fragile democracies in migration-sending countries of Africa, Asia etc. In as

such, the research attempts to establish answers to existing social problems generated within migrants' social contexts as change agents.

Stage 4: Suggested possible ways past the obstacles

Stage 4 moves the analysis from negative to positive critique: The possible way past the obstacles would be looking at dialectical relations between semiosis or discourse and social realities. This includes examining ways in which images of Kenyan migrants are articulated in two distinct sources of data. The analysis develops a semiotic or discourse on the ways in which these obstacles are tested, challenged and resisted. It could be within media discourse that highlights on social movements of migrants, their initiatives, and transnational relationships with non-migrants. Specifically, the discourse arguments for Kenyan migrants in Europe to contest and resist Eurocentric development approaches through sustainable alternatives. Fairclough (1995) units of analysis provide a comparative schema of examining the (re)production of discourses, and the criteria for media selection to ascertain some assumptions held in the dominant discourse. Other ways are looking at the possibility of incorporating aspects of development from the European based Centre for International Migration, on their collaboration with returning migrants and integration process for migrants in Europe.

Stage 5: Finally, this stage involves taking a critical analysis of stages (1 to 4) reflecting on whether the research has contributed to finding new alternatives to address the social problems without academic biases.

5.3. Discourse Analysis of Media Texts

Media discourse analysis deals with meaning-making in each social context. The discourse occurs by talking about a topic enhanced in the inter-connection between media organization, media texts, and audience. It is used in different ways within different fields. It has been widely adopted in researches on media and communication, cultural studies, socio-legal studies, education, history and politics (Seale, 2004). However, various ways of doing discourse and the unclear separation between practice and resources, for example, discursive psychology and Foucauldian discourse analysis have elicited staunch criticism. Wetherell (et al, 2001) calls for an "eclectic approach", where practice and resources are united. In this study, discourse analysis takes a resource approach, with more emphasis on macro-level analysis (how elements of power, dominance, and hegemony are expressed in media content) on migration and development to form social realities. This study learns from Norman Fairclough's (1995) approaches to discourse analysis but does not follow them strictly. Fairclough (2013) situates discourse analysis as a research investigation based on the selected textual material. He argues that language as a social practice and discourse does not only involve analyzing text, nor just analyzing processes, but also analyzing relationships between texts, process, and their social conditions. In these processes and socio-cognitive situations, the interplay of power and knowledge is exhibited to regulate dominant and emerging perceptions. Furthermore,

Fairclough adds that discourse also incorporates immediate conditions of the situational context and the remote conditions of the institutional and social structures. In this study, the relationship between texts, interactions, and contexts is examined.

5.3.1. A framework for discourse analysis for a communicative event

The schema in **Figure 3**. below elaborates Fairclough's approach to discourse analysis as a social practice. The schema informs how the social conditions within a given discourse environment shape the material resources. Further, the social conditions determine the production and interpretation of texts. Following the process outlined in **Figure 3**, I argue, in any communicative event, conditions of production determine the social resources in which the discourse occurs. Discourse is not only shaped through the interaction between the producer and the receiver, rather, it originates from the discussion and perceptions of the whole society or the social context. In this thesis, the production process or the selection criteria is shaped through media practices that conform to ethical, technological and production perceptions of the knowledge community in the affiliated discourse. Experiences of the knowledge community and the social context influence the nature of media texts within which the discourse is shaped. The interpretation of texts is hinged on beliefs and principles of individuals, and institutions producing dominant and emerging or alternative values. The conditions of interpretation change and evolve depending on the social issues produced in the societal context, politics, economics and empirical inquiries.

Figure 3: A Framework for Discourse Analysis in a Communicative Event

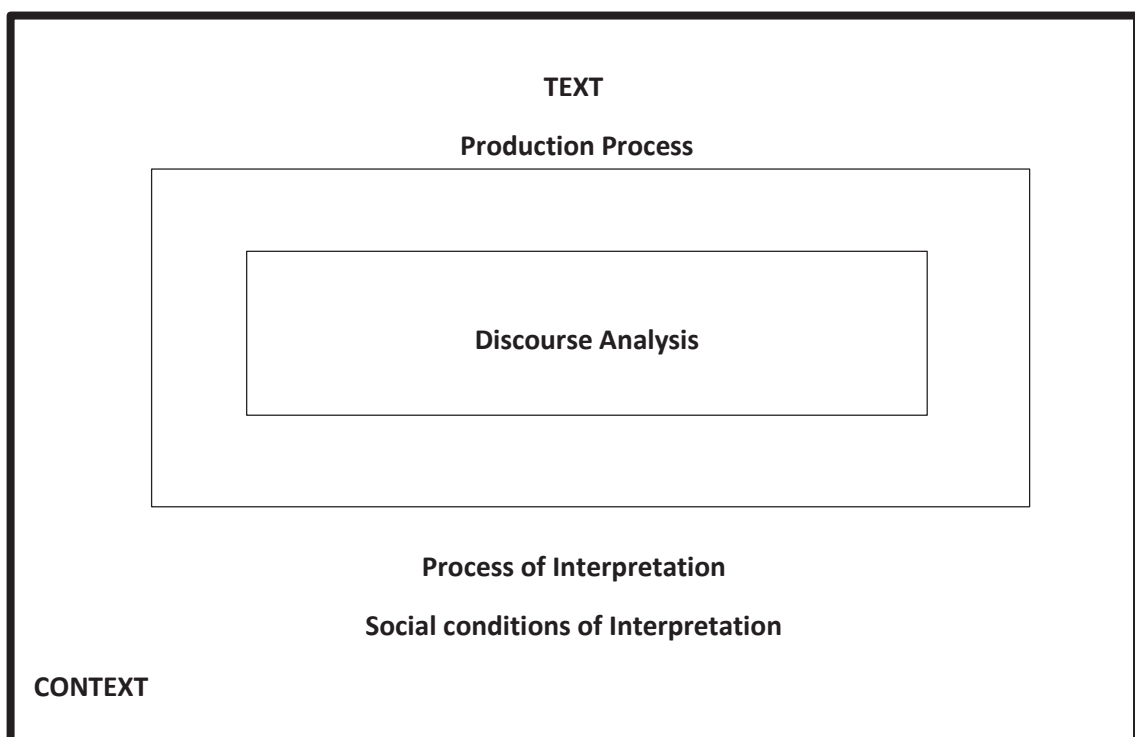


Figure 3: *Discourse as a text, interaction and context (Fairclough 1995:59)*

5.3.2. Selection of Texts

The texts are selected for their focus on themes including resisting otherness, expression, and deconstruction of stereotypes, hegemonic and counter-hegemonic narratives on migration and development etc. The themes are important in answering the main sociological research question on how discourses on migration and development are (re)produced in transnational digital migrant media. The discourse themes determine the selection criteria of news items and the prominence given to articles on migration and development in two separate media entities with different categories of migrants. Media texts are known to influence people's way of thinking and form their identities. Therefore, one way of doing media research is to focus on language in texts using a form of discourse analysis. What is important in this research study is to interpret the language of migration and development as reproduced in transnational digital migrant media.

5.3.3. Steps in the Text Selection Process

Text material is retrieved from transnational digital migrant media in Germany and Britain. Mkenya Ujerumani and Ukentv respectively. The texts on the migrant media were (re)produced in genres of features, news, and documentaries. The material was selected for its focus on migration and development themes. The media items were published between January 2014 to December 2016 to cover two years selected for the case study. The study period helped in examining how discourse emerged and developed over a wider spectrum of time, how they interplay and replicate and relate to new developing concepts. The period was important as within that time, Europe experienced a wider media focus on migration as a result of the "migration crisis" and "Brexit". At the time of writing the research proposal, these two events were not considered, but during the study period and the data collection process, they served as overlapping themes to the main topic of the thesis. The texts provided an expansive overview of different themes. They were compared for their use of language in the contexts of migration and development, basing on Fairclough's analysis.

Figure. 4: Steps of Text Selection

Steps	Selection Strategy
Step 1	Look at sentences and phrases producers use to construct texts on migration and development published in transnational digital migrant media homepages.
Step 2	Analyse how items address readers (Kenyan migrants to Europe, non-migrants, and return migrants) in specific situational social contexts and within the framework of social cultural conventions or social practice .
Step 3	Look at the production and dissemination process or discourse practice and how texts are creatively constructed to attract audiences. Note the number of paragraphs, the length, the style, phrases, vocabulary and illustrations e.g. pictures, diagrams.
Step 4	Compare items on migration and development on Mkenya Ujerumani against those published on Ukentv

Source: Own Analysis (2017)

5.4. "Letting the Source Speak": Analysing Interviews

Drawing from Spivak's (1986) submission that those endowed with the power to speak can represent the marginalized, I employ this strategy in letting interview partners speak. The approach opens a platform for rich, raw and fascinating interactions and conversations with interview partners with a migration background actively producing content on migration and development. Therefore, to address the objectives of the research study, I examine the criteria for discourse production on migration and development in transnational digital migrant media in Germany and Britain. I use expert interviews to support discourse analysis. In employing sociology of knowledge approach, experts are seen to have a special knowledge which is related to their profession. Since the research focuses on specific structures of knowledge, experts become relevant because of their involvement in planning, controlling and providing solutions (Littig, 2013). I carried out interviews with 10 expert producers, editors, and journalists and other external experts on transnational digital media production.

The producers were Kenyan journalists working in Germany and Britain international media houses specifically, Deutsche Welle (DW) and British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). They agreed to speak to me on their capacity as Kenyan media experts with knowledge on migration and development news contexts and not employees of the mentioned organizations. Out of the 10 media experts, three were producers and managers of migrant media. Specifically, Mkenya Ujerumani, Ukentv, and Proud Chocolate Internet Radio. The producers derived their expertise from personal experiences producing stories on migration and development. The experts have a migration experience having moved to Europe for professional or economic reasons. For this study, I use Mkenya Ujerumani and Ukentv as my case studies for migrant media production. I developed a guided questionnaire and distributed it to respondents one month in advance, before carrying out the interviews. Chamaz (2006); (Coffey and Delamont, 2003) found that the nature of the investigation determines the methods selected to carry out the study. Hence, I chose interviews as part of my data collection because it is a flexible method and conforms to existing research methods and theories. During the data collection process, I used a total of eight months (September 2016 to April 2017) for field work to extract texts and carry out expert interviews for data analysis. The interviews provided a range of material to examine the selection criteria of the media texts and intended expectations of audience anticipation from stories. The data informed the framing of migration and development, while Fairclough's units of analysis are derived from media texts and media producers' appropriation of discourses on migration and development. I used purposive sampling (Calmorin, 2008), where respondents were selected based on their knowledge of the subject context. The two different placements of the sample for the study, Britain, and Germany, produced a rich corpus of data for the interpretation of discourses on migration and development.

5.4.1. Data Collection Process

Phase 1: Germany

I used the first four months to retrieve and analyze a corpus of data which included 15 media texts from Mkenya Ujerumani and approximately five expert interviews with Kenyan media producers, editors, and journalists in Germany working with the Deutsche Welle, Proud Chocolate Internet Radio, and Mkenya Ujerumani. In the first phase, I did interviews in (Bonn, Frankfurt, and Hamburg). The interviews were face to face and lasted between 30 to 45 minutes. I carried out the interviews between the months of September 2016 to December 2016. The interviews were recorded and transcribed word for word.

Phase 2: Britain

In the second phase, I dedicated another four months for a similar analysis of 15 media texts and interviews with five media experts in Britain. The experts were Kenyan journalists and producers based in Britain working with the British Broadcasting Corporation and Ukentv. I carried out the interviews between the months of January 2017 to April 2017. In preparation for the data collection in Britain, I was denied a British visa and resolved to use telephone interviews and internet calls. Biographies of respondents are included in the appendix 2 (a, b).

5.4.2. The Interview Process

The interview process took a conversational approach that brought the respondent to a personal level of talking about everyday issues and human experiences. The interviews helped to examine attitudes and hints on perceptions that media producers have on migration and development, as well as recording their personal experiences in the field, in the newsroom, and as Kenyan migrants. The interviews gave insight into the migrant media production process, the challenges in terms of financial resources to hire writers, or travel to other locations to reach potential sources. Generally, I identify respondents as media experts, but they could be grouped into two categories; 1) Migrant media producers and; 2) International media producers. I resolve to refer to them as media experts because of the general view on the concepts presented in the questionnaire. According to Garium and Holstein (2003) and Rubin (2005) interviews are a flexible and unpredictable form of social research. During the interviews, new concepts and viewpoints together with personal and emotional experiences emerged and contributed to a rich source of data. In the second phase of the interviews in Britain, I adopted new media techniques essential for online communication including Skype and WhatsApp calls⁷⁰. They were cost effective and enabled a completion of the process within the schedule. In this methodological approach, I experiment with new tools of communication WhatsApp and Skype as an emerging and effective method of data collection. Stewart and

⁷⁰ Skype: Online messaging and communication software with video and texting options.

Mann (2003) have suggested that researchers can use Computer-Mediated Communication (CMC) for data collection and online interactions. The format had its limitations given that personal touch and detailed observations are sometimes not possible because of the virtual interface. Skype calls gave me the opportunity to talk to respondents in virtual forms, this was essential in analyzing their body language and conversational clues. In the face to face interviews, I took a more informal conversational approach and ensured that respondents were at ease before delving into the questions. The questionnaire was not followed to the last detail but acted as a guide giving room for follow up questions. In the face to face interviews, I was sometimes invited to the homes of respondents or carried out the interviews in selected meeting points in their residential towns. The interviews lasted between 30 to 45 minutes and were recorded using a sound recorder that could be connected to a computer for transfer of audio material to the Audacity software for transcription⁷¹. It was also possible to record the skype interviews using the audacity software. It was easy to combine my own media skills as a journalist and existing contacts and networks to source for respondents. The respondents were first contacted through email, and then by telephone, I also prompted for some possible contacts with other respondents in their networks.

5.5. Intertextuality and Interpretation of Media Texts

This thesis derives intertextuality from texts and transcripts, the two sources of data are treated as one data set, to utilize comparative shared knowledge among migrant media producers, and experts in addressing the topic under investigation. The data gives a comprehensive approach to talks and texts under study. Fairclough (2012) identifies specific elements in texts and talks used to interpret discourses. The elements analyzed in chapter six and seven include genre chains, social events, social practices, representations, stereotypes, identifications, actions, meanings in sentences and clauses, speech acts, intertextuality and assumptions. Authors (Fairclough, 1995; Wodak & Meyer, 2001; Gee, 2005) suggest the possibility to extract and integrate texts with discourses in the concept of intertextuality. Portes (1986:34) sees intertextuality as a system where language, grammar, and lexicon, drag along numerous bits and pieces of information in a coherent sequence of texts in the interpretation of contexts. Accordingly, in his critical discourse analysis, Van Dijk (1993) identifies intertextuality in media biased stereotypical, sexist or racist images embedded in interrelated media products: texts, illustrations, and photographs. Thus, to expose these stereotypes, one requires a detailed observation and analysis of communicative situations derived through an editorial decision-making process using news values, as a list of factors that influence which stories get included in the news. In addition, common studies associated with media research touch on socio-political representations as endeavoured in the Glasgow University Media Group (1976; 1980;1982;1985;1993). The media group examined representations of "Bad News", during reporting of (industrial disputes, the Falklands/Malvinas war, and coverage of Aids (Van Dijk,1993: 359). Texts help identify specific actions that enable social relations between migrants

⁷¹ Audacity is electronic software for audio recording and editing mostly used in radio production studies.

and non-migrants to exist. To achieve intertextuality, I focus on the order of texts build from a framework from fragments derived from different genres and contexts. According to Portes (1986), in sustaining intertextuality, texts refer to other texts and rely on them for their meaning. He further explains that texts are interdependent and understood with other precursors (Portes, 1986:35). Like (Van Dijk, 1993), Portes suggests that intertextuality helps shift focus from the writer as creative, free uninhibited spirit to more sources and social contexts from which the writer's discourse arises. Therefore, (Portes, 1986; Leitch, 1983; Van Dijk, 1993) indicate that every discourse is made up of "traces" pieces of other texts that help to constitute its meaning. In sum, intertextuality in this analysis also touches on the unsaid or unannounced sources and influences, clichés, metaphoric phrases within which migration and development are construed. In this thesis, the analysis derives interpretations from speech use in texts, looking at both direct (those that adhere to what was originally said or written) indirect phrases (do not adhere to what was originally said). It goes beyond looking at grammar and focuses on the role of knowledge in the application of performance of speech acts in communicative interactions. The speaker assumes that the hearer does not know contexts (re)produced in articles on migration and development. The aim of the text is to reveal information implied to be new to the reader and draw interest. Albeit, many contexts on migration and development are already known in the public domain.

5.6. Limitations and Ethical Issues Arising from Methodology

Variables in Discourse Analysis Methodology: Discourse analysis as a methodology presents certain challenges, given that there is no specific style for doing the analysis. The choice varies from linguistic or critical orientations. The methodological assumptions in this thesis are positioned between Systematic Functional Linguistics (SLF) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) but do not strictly follow any derivatives. As such, the study learns from examples and guidelines of doing a discourse analysis provided in several authorships and specifically that of Norman Fairclough (1995, 2012). In adopting Fairclough's guidelines on specific unit analysis, the research is limited, and results may not produce comparative outcomes to other methods for discourse analysis. Secondly, doing a media discourse analysis calls for methodological alertness and constant adjustment of frames of meanings and interpretations depending on the nature and source of the discourse. Taking an example from case studies for this research, it is imperative to note that media discourses are influenced by dominant oppositional and emerging discourses on migration and development. The discourses keep changing over specific periods of time.

Evolving Media Discourses: Media discourse is not a stagnant subject but evolves depending on what is happening in the socio-political and economic spheres. While the research addresses aspects of new media, it is limited to only elements in internet publications. It does not address the concept of social media, although this type of medium contributes a great deal to the generation and formation of discourses surrounding migration and development. The discourse generated for analysis emanates from communication professionals whose ideas and world perspectives are shaped and influenced by dominant discourses in the society. If not critical, the experts may act as mouthpieces for the same structures and organs that the study challenges. Their media practice is curtailed within editorial and ethical policies in the environment which they operate. The structure may inhibit their objective view of issues, however, their professional pre-requisite for an impartial approach in media production shapes standpoints and opinions. In as much, migrant media producers may present biased subjective views, given that their internet publications are run as autonomous outfit individually, or collectively. The house policies for migrant media appear to be ad hoc and based on ethnic, education, knowledge level, migrant experience, and business agenda. The aspects inform the outcome of the discourse.

Historical and Cultural Effects on Outcomes: Conversely, media discourse occurs within an established historical and cultural environment. Western cultural values emphasized in Germany are not so different from those in Britain. However, public perceptions of migrants are influenced through media and public discourses shaped through norms, language, and cultural interpretations. The discourses may seem alien to the migrant society. Albeit, migrants might mimic these assumptions either to fit within societal expectations or conform to dominant views. Thereby, denying emerging possibilities relevant to their social interaction with non-migrants in migration-sending countries. Actors in migrant media production come from a high context environment. Here, social values, beliefs, and aspirations shape the discourse. On the other hand, migration receiving-countries operate within a low context environment, where the emphasis is placed on truth and factuality. The approach delimits underlying values that shape the contexts of migrants. Different context environments create conflict in the interpretation of discourse before it is formed into texts. The pressure to practice in a low context space, in the long run, dilutes deep engrained value system that migrants carry from migration-sending countries. Historical differences and ethnic prejudices in a migration-sending country like Kenya are transferred to migration-receiving countries of Britain and Germany. The outcome affects editorial policies. In practice, discourse on migration and development occurs within a larger society. It misses intricate personal values like body language, expression, tone and voice experienced in face to face interactions. Texts remain mundane and detached and sometimes do not present critical perspectives that explain migrant's behaviour and attitudes towards development in the home country.

Policies in Case Study Locations: The two European locations for the case study have different migration policies and attitudes towards development in the migration sending-country. Britain's relationship with Kenya remains significant based on historical colonial ties. In some way, the colonial connection continues to influence structure, policies, and attitudes towards development in Kenya. Germany bilateral relations focus on institutional and capacity building in areas of not limited and including education, governance and democracy social welfare and less on trade. This is attributed to Germany's foreign policies on economic aid to Africa and Kenya. Whereas Britain's development cooperation with Kenya is increasingly focused on mitigations to terrorism and migration, areas it presumes impedes on its interests. These disparities impact modes of production and dissemination of discourse in transnational migrant media. They produce dissimilar reactions for analysis from migrants. In addition, strict immigration policies in the advent of a "migration crisis" in Germany and Britain, present overlapping influences on research that focuses on categories of Kenyan migrants.

CHAPTER SIX

TEXTUAL ANALYSIS

6.0. EXPOSING MEANINGS OF MIGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT IN SEEMINGLY SIMPLE STRAIGHTFOWARD TEXTS

In the previous chapter, I detailed the discourse analytic approach that I now apply to analyse texts selected as empirical data from migrant media in Britain and Germany. In this chapter, I address the sub-question on the criteria of production in migrant media. Excerpts from the two migrant media sources are treated as one data set and the main outcomes fulfil Fairclough's unit of analysis (text, social practice and discourse practice) and to address these outcomes, I expose meanings in seemingly simple straightforward texts. In analysing the social practice, I found narratives of migrants (re)produced as active agents and participants in development endeavours in Europe and transnational subjects traversing home and abroad. Finally, on the production criteria as a discourse practice, I see narratives in texts from the two migrant outlets interrelate and conform to traditional news values in editorial styles like the pyramid and inverted pyramid. As discussed in literature, the discourse on migration and development is contextualized as a general dominant hegemonic discourse in migrant media texts, but also assumes counter-hegemonic alternatives of representations. This chapter, the first of three empirical chapters aims at deriving meanings from text excerpts from Mkenya Ujerumani (Germany) and Ukentv (Britain). The chapter is followed with a more macro level approach in chapter seven analyzing media expert's perceptions of hegemony and counter-hegemony in migration and development discourse. Chapter eight utilizes a comparative approach in the production of migrant media discourses in Germany and Britain. In this chapter, I touch on the micro-level analysis of specific elements and structures facilitated through language and words. In using discourse analysis, I assume that Texts are shaped by powers of social structures such as language, discourses, and social agents.

The analysis in this section learns from Norman Fairclough's (1995) approaches to discourse analysis but does not follow them strictly. As we have seen in literature, Fairclough (2004) situates discourse analysis as research investigation based on the selected textual material. In his view, language as a social practice and discourse does not only involve analyzing texts and processes but also analyzing relationships between texts and their social conditions. In this analysis, I include immediate conditions in contexts within migrant media text excerpts and remote conditions of social structures of media production. I examine the relationships between texts, interactions, and contexts within social events. In this case, determined through a migrant's social practice (re)produced as narratives in transnational digital migrant media. Themes on migration and development appear in different styles of migrant media production i.e. through texts, audio, and visual elements combined and developed using predetermined media formats. This current textual analysis utilizes

Fairclough (1995) units of analysis, the *text*, *social practice*, and *discourse practice*. The aim of discourse is to create desired changes to explain the social practice. As a result, a network of interconnected texts, which manifests as “chains” of genre variables are produced and interpreted from textual analysis. In chapter four, we discussed how framing is enhanced through technical quality and readability of texts, using framing as considerable media practice that leans on the agenda-setting theory. While this thesis is not critical of the agenda-setting theory (Shaw and McCombs, 1972), I recognize, framing helps in identifying prioritized themes on migration and development. In the current analysis, I examine the length of text articles, their readability, headlines, captions and balance on the online pages. I also consider the number of words and any additional features, like photographs, graphic illustrations and how they shape meanings. The present analysis does not provide an account of every line of the text or details in grammatical phrases, as in the case of conversational analysis (Seale, 2004:376), but data is selected for its rich analytic composition. As such, in the frames of analysis below, I consider how internal text structures (meanings, grammatical, phrases, vocabulary) and external (social practices, discourse practice) relate in texts. Through a mediation of “interdiscursive” analysis of genre discourses and how they have drawn upon and articulated together. The overall goal is to answer the main sociological question on the (re)production of migration and development discourses in transnational digital migrant media. The task is to first, reconstruct media discourse on migration and development and second to analyze images of migrants as development agents. I use media discourses as they appear in media texts as my unit of analysis, and discourse analysis of texts as my research strategy. Now I will explain the facets of the outcomes in the next section:

6.1. The Work of Texts as Narratives

In this section, I examine texts from articles on transnational digital migrant media, Germany based Mkenya Ujerumani (MU) and Britain's, Ukentv. Hence, texts are a ‘written language or words provided in the discursive event’ (Fairclough, 1995). The material for analysis is retrieved from stories published within two years, beginning from January of 2014 to December 2016. In total, 30 articles are analyzed, 15 articles retrieved from Mkenya Ujerumani, and 15 others from Ukentv and are treated as one data set. The frame below (**Figure.5**) shows an outline of how texts retrieved from Mkenya Ujerumani and Ukentv are ordered. Themes surround migration, development and socio-economic factors. In the section addressing the criteria for production, we shall address the aspect of genres chains. This entails the style, structure, and formats of texts. In the (**Figure.5**), we can already visualize the number of paragraphs suggesting the length of the story and the genre outcomes, with features, commentaries, speeches, tips, and press releases being longer than news items. The genres mentioned were balanced across texts retrieved from the two outlets that are analyzed as a single data set. The table highlights themes covered in the texts, the number of paragraphs to identify the type of story, whether the text was

accompanied by pictures and the overall genre outcomes. The Journalistic description of the genres (News, Features, Commentary, Interview, Tips, Essay, Speech) is included in **Appendix 3**.

Figure 5. Text Ordering from Transnational Digital Migrant Media⁷²

Mkenya Ujerumani- Germany					Ukentv-Britain				
	Theme	Para	Pictures	Genre		Theme	Para	Pictures	Genre
Text 1:	Migration, livelihoods	7	1	Feature	Text 1:	Business, technology	9	1	Tips
Text 2:	Development, investment	35	1	Speech	Text 2:	Development, infrastructure	14	1	Speech
Text 3:	Development, aid	5	1	Commentary	Text 3:	Development, migration	9	7	Discussion
Text 4:	Banking, investment	16	None	Interview	Text 4:	Investment, trade	6	1	News
Text 5:	Migrant experience, migration	14	4	Interview	Text 5:	Investment, bilateral relations	13	1	Press release
Text 6:	Migrant experience	10	None	Tips	Text 6:	Kenyan independence	6	1	News
Text 7:	Eurocentrism, Afrocentrism	7	1	Commentary, essay	Text 7:	Banking, business climate	5	1	News
Text 8:	Social welfare	4	none	News	Text 8:	Education, development aid	7	1	Feature
Text 9:	Germany Vs Kenya, culture	12	1	Feature	Text 9:	International markets, investment	6	2	News
Text 10:	Employment, racism, marginalization	6	1	Feature	Text 10:	Business, Kenyan brands	4	1	News
Text 11:	Policy, laws, remittances	23	none	Commentary	Text 11:	Presidential visit, infrastructure	56	1	Speech
Text 12:	Return migration, migrant experience	13	1	Essay	Text 12:	Migrants network, business	6	1	News
Text 13:	Industrial training, marginalization	5	1	News	Text 13:	Banking, business climate	5	1	News
Text 14:	Investment, development, remittances	9	1	Speech	Text 14:	Transnationalism, welfare	8	1	Commentary
Text 15:	Technology, media	28	2	Feature	Text 15:	Migrant representation	8	1	Feature

Source: Authors own interpretation of ordering (2018).

Having highlighted the nature of selected text items for analysis, I now establish the work of texts in narratives, I integrate Escobar's views on deconstructing Eurocentric development, using alternative approaches to understand development in African contexts expressed in texts. To do this, I examine the role of Kenyan migrants as agents of development as constructed in migrant media texts. I assume texts (re)produce migrant's agency as an alternative approach to Western development models. Fairclough's three analytical frames, help integrate textual and social analysis of discourse. The aim is

⁷² Texts items retrieved on Mkenya Ujerumani were 15 and included: Features:4, News:2, Commentary:2, Essay:1, Speech:2, Tips:1. From Ukentv the selected text items included: Features:1, News:8, Commentary:1, Essay: None, Speeches 2, Tips:1. Items were selected for their focus on themes relevant for the analysis of a migration and development discourse.

to illustrate how hegemonic discourses are perpetuated in simple straightforward texts and expose relevant discourse analytic concepts in migration and development. I identify key concepts in Fairclough (5 stages of performing discourse analysis) exposed in texts. As I noted in the chapter (5) research design, the main statement for the social problem is described: "Instead of dominant Eurocentric development approach improving livelihoods in the so-called third world countries, it has contributed to economic failures and a debt burden stimulating migration as an economic alternative". I argue that Text produced as articles on migrant media expose hidden narratives on the limitation of Western or Eurocentric development models, the precursors for migration and efforts of migrants to find alternative solutions through development initiatives. Let us now consider language and nuances in text excerpts and exposed meanings:

6.1.1. Hidden Meanings in Seemingly Straight Forward Texts

Text analysis helps to re-construct migration and development of language within the confines of migrant media discourse. In migrant media text, subjects are identified either as Diasporas, or Kenyans living in Germany or Britain, but in this study, I identify them as migrants. Their transnational practice is enhanced through social values and periodic engagement in forums that focus on issues about Kenya. Texts confirm that Kenyan migrants arrive in European host lands as professionals, students of higher education or to reunite with families. Nevertheless, they are sometimes generalized as illegals and foreigners. This representation challenges a held perception of their ability to contribute to development in the migration-sending country. Whereas aspects of representations are reified in Western mainstream media, migrant media attempts to offer alternative expressions of development. I notice the development in migrant media texts is equated to ownership of migrant's institutions of production, economic utilities, and factors that sustain their livelihoods. In general, texts reveal that attitudes in host societies hinder migrant's actualization of these goals. Furthermore, texts indicate that aspects of globalization constructed as inspiring policies of free movement of people and goods limit and exclude people of Africans descent. To this view, stringent immigration and integration processes in Europe, are cited as resolutions to harness the migration problem. Conversely, migration is framed as a conduit for development. Plus, young Africans are portrayed as ambitiously seeking to actualize imperialistic tendencies of enlightenment or acquire European connection. The following text from Mkenya Ujerumani construes that through this path, one can develop socially, economically, hence achieving a desirable status:

"This African desire for Europe has created a veritable cottage industry. A young Kenyan woman without the right education or middle-class upbringing can find a safe and solid exit strategy by seeking out a middle-aged or older white male, either a tourist, development worker or expatriate. A sizeable population of young Kenyan men also make it their life-quest to pursue white female UN workers and interns from international government agencies that are housed in Nairobi. This pursuit in nightspots has cultivated its own sub-culture and economy. Even when it's clear that these white young women have very little economic wealth, the sheer perception of whiteness and

European-ness, in and of itself, presents enough value for certain Kenyan youth. This desire to have some connection, however, the larger idea of Europe or America looms for these youths” (MU 2015, text 7).

Notably, the text claims that acquiring a level of European-ness is sort after among potential migrants and those who have migrated to Europe. In the text, the desire towards a European connection creates a subculture and economy for young migrants. The text implies that in pursuit of a European image home and abroad, migrants thrive on trans-local relationships as a vehicle to attain economic and social status. However, the hidden meaning within the social practice in the text is nuanced with unsaid expressions. The text suggests that social interactions between Africans and Europeans, produce a generation of mixed race children, who embody a racial and social symbol of European multiculturalism. Neither African, nor European, but representing a memory of colonial, modernity and inter-racial connections. In this view, social interactions rather than economic pursuits are considered viable and factors that facilitate migrants in attaining a European image. Alternatively, migrant media expose migrants to an economized industry providing new ways and strategies for personal and communal development. However, the inability to readily access economic and social status in host societies is framed as a setback to development. Hence, texts confirm that transnational digital migrant media is a source of ideas and thought practices on ownership of development aspirations. Texts approve that migrant media discourses shape a narrative of sustaining life in host societies by producing information on job opportunities, possibilities of integration and education. Given that migrant voices in the mainstream media are dismal, migrant media becomes a vehicle for self-expression. Migrant media acts as a resource for attaining new knowledge, economic, social participation and cultural hybridity forming values systems later transferred to migration-sending countries. Significantly, migrant media formulates words in codes that either articulate or objectify migrant agency. As we shall see in progressive sections of this analysis, the criteria for selection in migrant media production determines the choice of words, phrases, and style of organization. It may differ or hold similar characteristics as those from mainstream media as exemplified in the text excerpt from Mkenya Ujerumani:

“In the 1960s, after independence, African education curriculums retained large doses of centuries of European history, which continued to be forced on new generations. A push for Africanization later introduced the continent’s own post-independence history and in comparison, to European history, these new narratives seemed contemporary and immediate to Africans. Official images of Europe, mediated through TV, postcards and magazines, remain generally monumental: heavy, grey and imposingly permanent castles, ancient battlefields and cobbled villages. Even recent ubiquitous statistical reports on Europe that are distributed in Africa constantly paint European populations as old, adding to an imagined narrative of Europe as ancient to Africans. The narrative represents a larger African idea of Europe. Age. Authority. The Old World” (MU .2015, text 7).

In the theoretic chapter (four) on media and migration, we saw examples and arguments that pointed on the facet of mainstream media influence on migration and in the text above, we see a (re)production of texts leaning on the mentioned images from mainstream media as representative of a larger African idea of Europe. Consequently, I consider that remnant

of colonialism exists in the academic literature since independence movements in the 1960s. Thus, ideas of European culture and mannerism are not only (re)produced in academic discourse but find their way into migrant media texts. Texts evidence that postcolonial generations learn about European perspectives from books of history and institutional workings. Furthermore, the discourse of European identity is debated and (re)produced in the media, constructing an imagined narrative that Europe is ancient to Africans. The text excerpt (MU, 23.03.2015, text 7) suggests, gazing at Europe with a touristic expatriate eye of the knowledgeable and affluence, elicits the desire in the young African generations to migrate. If only to taste the images recreated through mediums of education and mass communication. Consequently, the construction is replicated in migrant media and enabled through the producer's colonial history, a British education, cultural experience in language and Journalistic practice. The production of texts on transnational digital migrant media in Germany and the United Kingdom indicate similarities and differences, as we shall see in the later empirical chapter (eight). Moreover, producers' fluency in foreign languages (English and German) enhances familiarity with European material knowledge in linguistics, education and speech use. Generally, migrant media producers like many Kenyans who have settled in Germany, speak German as a pre-requisite for social ascendance and economic practice. Selected articles for analysis depict a conformity to a Western journalistic style of writing and argument. The phrasing of words in migrant media production articulate certain preferences and basis about migration, media practice, and development. Moreover, migrant media does not only serve as a media outlet but a link between migrants and Kenyan development agents. A text from Ukentv seems to emphasize that the migrant media's primary focus in creating networks with Kenyans in the UK to:

“Avail opportunities for existing and potential investors in the UK to meet and network with senior government officials, leaders of business and industry from Kenya to exchange ideas aimed at enhancing investments” (Ukentv 2016: text: 4).

Though the text (Ukentv, 2016: text: 4) is straightforward, we consider unspoken nuances that identify Kenyan migrants as social actors, aware of the problem that; “Western ideological form of development has failed to afford Kenyans a decent life and thereby, push them to migrate”. Those who cannot afford to migrate and have no means of financial sustenance remain perpetually dependent on migrating members, or other working family members in Kenya. Here, dependency is (re)produced in hidden contexts as an obstacle to the social and economic participation of non-migrants. Hence, non-migrants are rendered helpless, almost as the dominant conceptualization of Africans as reliant on Western development aid, or migrants on Europe's economy to sustain their livelihoods'. According to this text, migrants as “social actors”, participate in development initiatives and contribute social and economic remittances to non-migrating family's household incomes. From the texts selected for analysis, I assume, these endeavours are aimed at transforming conditions of people in the migration-sending countries. Therefore, providing a solution to the problem. Texts for analysis further indicate that

Kenyan migrants see Eurocentric convention development in a framework of an unbalanced relationship between the West and the so-called third world countries. The texts accentuate hegemonic representations of development in terms of financial aid aimed to alleviate problems in less developed contexts. However, in my view, aid comes with strings attached in form of conditionalities and control of political and economic contexts of countries receiving aid. Yet, there are also contrasting Texts that suggest a growing rhetoric that discourages this form of development mind-set. In its place, development centered on the “interest of the African people in general and Kenyans in specific” is emphasized. For example, a text excerpt from Mkenya Ujerumani suggests:

“The development cooperation industry” has furthered the perception that Africans are “poor and needy”, while the continent is very rich with its wealth of natural resources and fertile land” (MU 2014, Text 3).

6.1.2. Text and Narrations of Who says What, When, Where and How?

News stories on migrant media in Germany and Britain follow the inverted pyramid format. In this arrangement, facts are not structured in a chronological order of events, but the story develops from the most important to the least important facts. The editors decide which details of the item are least important following an established criterion in journalistic writing. The criteria establish (who said what, when, where and how?) and most important with what effect? In answering these questions, journalists and editors shape the outcome of texts. In examples from migrant media under this study, the news articles contain approximately five paragraphs, supported by pictures, captions, catchy headlines and sometimes graphic illustrations and video. This is also repeated in feature stories and commentaries. Features are longer and take an opposite structure to the one for news - a pyramid style of approximately seven to ten paragraphs or more. In the feature stories, the headlines are descriptive, the texts utilize flowery wording, imagery, idioms and implied contexts throughout the text. The style uses headlines, words, phrases to convey hidden meanings as well as capture audience interest. An example from Ukentv is headlined:

“We are all not coming back home” (Ukentv, 2015: text, 14).

The headline excerpted above is an example of indirect reporting preferred in the genre of features. It immediately throws the reader into thinking of reasons not to leave Britain for Kenya. On the contrary, the story touches on the generational disconnection between Kenyan parents and children born in Europe. The relationship indicates a **semiosis** or a discourse explaining a network of problems that confront migrants in host-societies. The text suggests; migrants experience detachment, disillusion, social struggle in host-countries. The text reiterates, while older migrants are keen to maintain transnational connections with home or eventually return to Kenya, the younger generation is set on living full lives in the host nations as a paragraph from the story under the headline above illustrates:

“The need for a balanced lifestyle is one that we cannot ignore as we see a generation of lost youth, who are culture confused, because half their parents mind is in Kenya. While we have plans to go back home to settle down, we need to remember that our children are growing up and most will not consider going to Kenya as an option. Since, Kenya will be foreign to them. They have been brought up here and are conversant on this environment, hence not all can have the courage to uproot and return home with parents” (Ukentv 2015, text,14).

The interpretation of the text, if only looked at the internal level (meanings, grammatical, phrases, vocabulary) may generate unintended meanings. Thus, I concur with Fairclough (2012) suggestion for interdiscursive analysis, where the internal and external levels of discourse are integrated. In my view, interdiscursive analysis exposes certain hidden concepts like the economization, discrimination, and secularization of migration and development discourse prevalent in various media codes in mainstream media texts. To resist this framing, migrant media producers utilize the consciousness of Kenyan migrants of being foreign. The framing actualizes migrant’s imagination of alternatives of survival in host societies and possibilities of returning home. In doing so, migrants expose a discourse (**semiosis**) related to other elements (culture, belonging, identity) in the contexts in which they live, express and participate. For example, migrant media producers are aware of common codes of references of African migrants in dominant public discourse may include illegal, foreigners, Schwarz (black), but prefer more constructive forms e.g. Diasporas, Kenyans in Europe or Non-Resident Kenyans. We discussed in chapter four on possible stereotypes associated with migrants, in selected text analysis, we find that representations of migrants are also possible through physical features and language accents. To illustrate, in Germany migrant’s knowledge or lack of the German language is received with praise or disdain. Therefore, texts in migrant media transfer held social myths on life in Germany as the excerpt shows:

“Mark Twain wrote in “The Awful German Language” that a gifted person should be able to learn English in 30 hours, French in 30 days and German in 30 years. German’s long compound words, complex sentence structures and tricky grammar can be a big challenge for English-speakers, despite the languages’ common ancestry. While a new language can be an adventure, those shy of juggling datives and genitives or memorizing the genders of vegetables might want to steer clear” (MU 2014, text 6).

I argue, migrants have no power to over-represent themselves, but migrant media articulates likely alternatives of representations. The aspects echo the idea of a social order (**the network of practices**) as needing a problem. To elaborate, the need for self-representation is possible in migrant’s stories actualizing expressions of African-ness and negating Western ideals and models. Text selected for analysis reveals that essentialization of the African subject presents an opportunity to give voice to a group of people with similar historical contexts and experiences, who are otherwise stereotyped. The shared experiences of colonialism, migration, and development present possible similarities and discourses that migrant media produce resistance to objectification.

6.1.3. Speech use in Texts

The style of writing in migrant media online publications borders on both direct and indirect reporting. The direct reports adhere to what was originally said or written. For example, quoting word for word of what the source said. Whereas, in indirect speech, the writer paraphrases to give a different dimension in the text. We shall consider a direct quote from an article in Ukentv below:

“Ours has been an unusual story, an unconventional path. We have been praised and criticized in turn, depending on who was telling our story. Yet, while some watched the unfolding national events with scepticism, resigned to what they believed was the inevitability of chaos, others, the majority, looked upon our nation with a tempered hope; cheering us on not only because they believed in us because they knew that if Kenya succeeded they too would succeed” (Ukentv 2014, text 11).

The excerpt is from a 2014's Kenya's president Uhuru Kenyatta's speech to an audience of Kenyan migrants in Britain. The speech exemplifies the value of description indirect reporting and portrays levels of granularity (a photographic metaphor). The metaphor refers to a description of all situations, events, objects and people, perspectives, action and actors (Van Dijk, 1993: 596). Take for example phrases from the excerpt; **“An unusual story”** and **“Unconventional path”**, here, Uhuru Kenyatta is referring to the 2007-post-election crisis. Yet, the unexpressed meaning in the text is that during the turmoil, thousands of Kenyans were displaced and many others lost their property. Still, around 1500 others died, leading to an international criticism over Kenya's political leadership. At the end of the crisis, brokered by African eminent personalities and international actors, Uhuru Kenyatta and his deputy William Ruto were indicted at the International Criminal Court (ICC) for their alleged role in inciting violence through their political party. As a result, European countries issued travel advisories, which saw Kenya experience a decline in tourism as a significant sector in Kenya's economy. In the same period, many Kenyans migrated in search of economic and politically stable countries. Generally, Uhuru Kenyatta's words are described implicitly, without mentioning names, or disturbing the **social order**, but the actors know what is being conveyed. Thus, his speech is aimed at appealing to an audience critical of his political image and wary of their investments and interests in the country. Indirectly, the speech expresses the problem that needs a solution. Uhuru understands this attitude and uses words and phrases to wheel away from the uncertainties of the moment to a promise of stability, the **solution**. The texts do not explicitly talk about the conditions in Kenya at the time, but the framing of the speech benefits from the idea that Kenyans follow happenings in the home country from transnational media and active connections with significant others.

6.1.4. Phrases, Catch Words in Revealing Narratives

The phrase from the excerpt: “*Depending on who is telling the story*”, relates to the aspect of different interpretations of discourse from different standpoints, e.g. Kenyans citizens, the African Union, European Union or even the United States of America. These subjects are sources of criticism to leadership in African countries. African critics advocating for a self-determination in social, economic and political affairs of Africa, whereas their European counterparts suggest models of democratic leadership and economic sanctions to check on political leadership. Interestingly, Kenyans are critical of leadership in their own country and unfavourable economic systems. They utilize media platforms to voice their concerns. Moreover, as we have established in the previous section, it is during the post-election crisis that many Kenyan professionals migrated to European countries and other neighbouring African countries. Choosing this line of argument just after his election in 2013 as president, Uhuru Kenyatta utilizes semantic features first; to generate rhetoric functions that emphasize the relevance of events (*his election*) and desired actions (*changes in policy and public perceptions*). Secondly, to reassure Kenyan migrants of his deliberate efforts to harness issues at hand. Lastly, to show Kenyan migrants his commitment to affect economic stability at home, while convincing them to continue sending remittances and invest in the domestic economy. To illustrate, Kenyatta is reported in other contexts of migrant media as advancing a narrative on diaspora remittances in almost all his diplomatic visits to Europe and in meetings with Kenyan migrants. The reports take a direct reporting style, which employs the use of quotations and a journalistic practice that stresses on authors impartiality and the need to hear the story from the sources point of view. The excerpt (Ukentv,2014 text11) above portrays authors self-censorship in the (re)production of presidential information, assumed to be sensitive and subjective. In both direct and indirect reports, the inclusion of more sources aims to give different viewpoints and add credibility to and authenticity to the story. Direct reporting aims at giving a true of factual representation of the held views held by individuals concerned.

6.2. Social Practices: Narratives of Migrant Agency and Participation

Social practices are daily occurrences in each social context that shape public or media discourse. Text from the two migrant outlets identify the **social problem** as; lack of employment opportunities in the migration-sending country, as reason for Kenyans migration to Europe in search for prospects. Conversely, employment is the main socio-economic driver towards sustaining livelihoods. Although this factor has forced Kenyan migrants to look for alternatives in Germany and Britain, they maintain transnational connections with non-migrants and often experience a social exclusion in the new host locations. In confronting these problems, migrants attempt to keep their home experiences alive, through mental knowledge and cultural remembrance of communal sharing and interactions. These statements signal the assumption that; “the decision to migrate from Kenya to Europe affords migrants a better life”. Therefore, migrants will make the best of the experience through aspects of material and monetary acquisition, translated to elevation of social status and positions.

However, I found several statements suggesting alternative arguments among generations of migrants. For example, in an excerpt from an article on Ukentv, the authorial voice in the story argues that Kenya has more family and communal prospects compared to Europe:

“But even with all that, life in Kenya isn’t all doom and gloom. The weather is much better; you get to eat fresh fruits and vegetables. Simon Otieno also adds that in Kenya people live like one family. People do a lot more together. Evenings and weekends are easily spent with friends and family. Friends and family visit you at home or at work without calling, “we consider visitors to be blessings”. In Kenya, one can easily knock on the neighbour’s door at 10pm and borrow salt or sugar without anyone finding it weird. In Germany, Simon always calls before visiting people. On weekends after leaving work, he simply goes for shopping, runs a few errands and waits for the new week. “In Kenya people don’t have much but they are happy in the little they have” (MU 2014, text 1).

Comparatively, the text exposed obvious variables between cultural receptiveness in Kenyan and German or European societies. It emphasizes communal, social and cultural exchanges as positive attributes compared to individualism and capitalism. Social interactions with family and friends is preferred in African contexts and marks a sense of cultural mixing and sharing. Though there are economic challenges as the excerpt (MU 2014, text 1) indicates, life is portrayed as one of contentment, although with noticeable deprivations in comparison to one based on class stratification and conservatism in Europe. The memory of life at home keeps the transnational connection between migrant and non-migrant alive. Albeit, the psycho-social connections are relevant for migrant’s participation in the remittance economy in the migration-sending country. Yet, in the process, migrants are not keen on social-cultural development aspects among the younger migrant generation. In contrast, excerpts from selected texts for analysis suggest that migrant children experience an identity crisis, neither Kenyan nor German or British, but a mixture of one and the other:

“How can you be building in Runda⁷³, yet you cannot afford £10 for tuition”. Every time, when your child needs something the reply is “there is no money”, yet they hear conversations of thousands of pounds you are sending back home to family and projects. This young boy saved £12, the hourly rate his dad is paid and surprised his dad by paying him one hour of his time! Get the right balance, then your children will grow to be whom you want them to be, because you will be there to guide them every step of the way” (Ukentv 2015, text 14).

Contrary to the dominant discourse that categories of migrants are determined to stay in the host countries, the text (Ukentv, 2015, text 14) above indicates, the Kenyan migrant is not fixated on staying in Europe forever. Migrants are conscious of transnational, economic and psycho-social connection to Kenya. The text suggests, Kenyan migrants have an eventual plan to return to Kenya, after establishing businesses, completing education or even building residence using monetary remittances sent home.

⁷³ Runda is a high-end leafy suburb in Kenya’s capital Nairobi only accessed to elite professional, business tycoons and politicians and frequently migrants and returnees

6.2.1. Transnational Connections: “Home is where the hearth is”

Migrants are closely attached to the homeland, which gives them a feeling of familiarity, warmth (hearth) and belonging. The narrative representing the relationship between migrants and non-migrants is almost positioned in binary proportions of dependency. Migrants challenge their exclusion from political processes in the host and home states, as a form of differential treatment. Migrant media narratives use signifiers like legal obstacles in dual citizenship and voting rights as impediments to the participation of migrants in home affairs. Regardless, migrants are frequently constructed in transnational digital media texts as important socio-economic agents, whose negotiations with the executive and legislative arms of governments in migration-sending countries for social-political inclusion, are founded and legitimate.

“Several speakers expressed fears that while the government acknowledges the contributions the Diaspora make to the economy through remittances and investments, it is however totally oblivious of the Diaspora needs especially online voting” (Ukentv 2016, text 15).

The hegemonic relationship between the Global-North and South and existing social-economic disparities is cited in several articles as a basis for the migration and development discourse. For example, an article on banking and investment in Kenya on Ukentv reviews how the post-2007 election violence dwarfed the Kenyan economy leading to a wave of migration. As we established in literature in chapter four that migrants pay both positive and negative roles in migration-sending countries, the text excerpt (Ukentv 2015, text 13) below underscores the contribution of migrants in peacebuilding efforts as way to create an enabling business environment. The main argument of difference is, while European political climate is intertwined to its economic performance, the social structure does not disintegrate, but maintains a conducive economic stability. On the other hand, elections in migration-sending countries like Kenya, are viewed as potentials for economic failures as the excerpt below suggests:

“So even if you are planning to invest now and in future, preach peace to your people, your voice, accumulated, is very powerful. So now, what is left is for the Diaspora to open accounts with Kenya Commercial Bank, buy shares and take mortgages (Ukentv,2015, text 13).

Identifying Actions: As part of text production, we analyze migrants’ actions (re)produced in the text to affirm their role as agents of development. This dissertation establishes that despite biased mainstream western media portrayal of migrants, their untapped resources as an economic boost to migration-sending countries’ domestic budgets, is slowly emerging as a key aspect in migration and development research. Debates on migration and development in transnational digital migrant media for Kenyans in Europe, offer a platform for migrants to share, shape and talk about significant aspects of development. In some instances, migrant media itself becomes a social actor. An article on the Face of Kenya project illustrates that in 2012, Ukentv launched the socio-economic activity as a community forum for facilitating cohesive networks

among polarised Kenyan migrants. The aim was to promote cultural diplomacy, youth empowerment, community cohesion, charitable initiatives and branding Kenyan products abroad. The text excerpt (Ukentv, 2015, text 12) below suggests that the idea behind "Face of Kenya", is to see young Kenyans in Europe engaged in economic initiatives in Kenya at the same time, foster a cultural heritage. The project has established branches in the USA and Germany, these linkages and social networking's are platforms for mind-set change and initiating an alternative development discourse that utilizes migrant resources for growth in migration-sending countries.

"Our goal is to build, connect and enable the Diaspora and the community to prosper while creating Kenyan Ambassadors that positively portray Kenya in the UK. The programs will utilize their skills to their maximum diaspora potential" (Ukentv, 2015, text 12).

This research study is fixed within a social context that expose certain *social problems*, as well as highlight on material resources for *tackling the problems*. Overall, I think Kenyan migrants are convinced that eventually, they will leave Europe to settle in Kenya, where they consider as their actual home. Europe becomes a home in transition, without attachment, a location existing in static time, a constant struggle to nurse memories left behind.

6.2.2. Social Relations in Texts: "Shape, Talk and Share"

Basing on the social constructive perspective (Borah, 2011, Barnes, 2013) as discussed in chapter four, the general assumption in this present analysis is the emphasis on discourse, context, meaning creation and media production processes generate power and knowledge in the society. The concept of discourse (*semiosis*) takes a different interpretation, seeing discourse as [...] a certain way of saying things to understand the world around us. Discourses oversee the way a subject can fully and meaningfully be talked and reasoned about. It also influences how thoughts are put into practice and used to regulate the conduct of others. As I have established in chapter four, the dominant hegemonic discourse is generated by reigning societal institutions, education, politics, and the media. For migrant media, the discourse represents the ideas established in institutions at the national and local levels of society. Hence, migrant media producers seem to construct texts that reflect on hegemonic language found within a wider scope of media discourse. Consequently, transnational digital migrant media, must explain migrant's beliefs and justify claims of their legitimization. Furthermore, migrant media producers have strong relationships with migrants, whom they consider agents of development. They rely on them as opinion leaders in their stories. Migrants become credible sources of information that inspire a discourse of how migrant's activities initiate development in the host and homeland. Whereas journalists and producers are knowledgeable in framing discourses on migration and development, they require someone eliciting the opinion (migrant source or opinion leader) in order to have a social interaction with migrant life. An article on Mkenya Ujerumani critiquing the Kenya Diaspora

Policy highlights how migrants negotiate positions of knowledge and power to effect change. The text argues for the need to develop initiatives to promote migrant's participation in national development:

"The incentives are supposed to encourage Diasporas to invest in Kenya instead of elsewhere. I think the greatest incentive they can offer is to: 1) Secure our investments and 2) Strengthen the judicial system to make sure those that thieves and corrupt face the law. Create Database of Kenyans in the Diaspora, their skills and expertise with great coordination, this would be an amazing resource and not just for Diasporas, but for our country. Many Diasporas are experts in their fields but miss the platform to exchange that knowledge with people in the same field back home" (MU 2015, text 11).

I argue, a migration experience contributes to migrant existence and motivates their social agency. In this case, each actor (media producers and migrants as sources of information), is performing a significant action to enhance a social relationship. In my opinion, the relationships can take different dimensions and is not dependent on one factor. Migrant media producers are not spared from stereotypes in the mainstream media and social contexts, in which they exist. In addition, Kenyan migrants become associational subjects to negative reports from their home country. For instance, following the 2008 International Criminal Court (ICC) indictment of Kenyan political leaders for suspected involvement in the post-2007 election crisis, Kenyan migrants in Europe were at the receiving end of criticism. Sometimes, criticism was levelled on negative narratives surrounding the case. For example, Ukentv shares an article that first appeared in one of Kenya's mainstream daily.

"Western countries, while keen to back the ICC, are also anxious to maintain relations with Kenya, seen as a key ally in the battle against militant Islamism in neighbouring Somalia. ICC prosecutors say Kenyatta orchestrated the clashes, but their case has been weakened by the withdrawal of a string of witnesses since charges were first brought four years ago" (Ukentv 2014, text:7).

From images and interpretations from the media discourse, I conclude, transnational links between migrants and their distant significant others rely on the media to generate relevant discourses on migration and development. The discourse acts as a source of ideas utilized by migrants and non-migrants and continuously generate new networks and strength existing relationships through, shaping, talking about the ideas and sharing.

Interrelating Aspects of Discourse

In relation to this, Texts in transnational digital media inform migrants and their engagement in the public and media spheres as agents of development. Texts selected for analysis also emphasize the attachment of migrants to home as a moral obligation to instil a sense of duty in development processes in migration-sending countries. For instance, discourse in Texts framed on economic, development, investment and entrepreneurship on Mkenya Ujerumani and Ukentv emphasize the value of investing in migration sending-countries. To illustrate, the rhetoric on Ukentv portrays the Kenyan public and private

investment institutions, as encouraging potential migrant investors. The investors take advantage of the position of Kenya as a gateway to more than 600 million people in East and Central Africa. This is attributed to the signing of the COMESA-EAC-SADC Tripartite Agreement in June (2015). The discourse stresses on Kenya's endowed valuable human capital with government injected capital, making Kenya an emerging middle-class economy. In addition, Kenya boasts of good financial and legal systems and numerous investment opportunities. For example, the article notes the recent discovery of commercially viable hydrocarbons as indicators of the country's economic attractiveness and rewarding investment destination.

"Kenya remains a secure investment and tourism destination because of the Government's steady commitment to ensure security for its citizens, visitors, investors, and their property. The Government has undertaken deliberate measures to enhance security in the country and is working closely with international partners in augmenting its national security to combat terrorism in the sub-region" (Ukentv 2015, text 5).

The element of repetition in phrases such as (investment, investors, security) in the text above, is applied to accentuate government efforts to attract investors through describing Kenya as a safe investment location. At the same time, it could signal security as an existing problem to investment. The narrative explains why migrants may feel secure in host nations. Although migrants participate in remittances, the contribution is limited to small scale household incomes and seldom accounts for large scale investments. On another level, the discourse highlights high taxation and bureaucracy in German and British investment systems as deterrents to successful migrant business endeavours in Europe. Increasingly, investors from Kenya hold conferences in host location in cities like London, Berlin and Frankfurt to advise potential migrants on the investment climate and opportunities at home. This approach is aimed to avail sufficient financial resources that migrants continue to channel to Kenya. For instance, in a bid to sensitize migrants on the need to invest in Kenya, Ukentv emphasizes a lack of awareness of Kenyan products and the need to enhance investments in Britain:

"The primary focus of the forum was to strengthen bilateral trade and economic relations, to create awareness of the Kenyan goods and services for the UK consumers and investment opportunities available in the country. It also provided an opportunity for existing and potential investors in the UK to meet and network with senior government officials and leaders of business and industry from Kenya to exchange ideas aimed at enhancing British investments" (Ukentv 2016, text 4).

Increasingly, globalization and interests in international trade have enhanced a different approach to migration and development. Interestingly, migration is no longer a South to North continuum, as Europeans realize lucrative investment ventures in migration-sending countries. Migrant media reports presume long term migration and settlement as a preference for European investors, rather conventional mobility for tourism or as expatriates. In addition, Kenyans are opting for return-migration or circular movements, where they maintain financial linkages in migration-receiving countries but invest in

businesses at home. Further, migration is viewed not as a permanent venture, but temporary, if migrants make enough capital to invest, or build business and retire to migration-sending countries. The text excerpt below from Mkenya Ujerumani represents attitudes and perceptions of newly returned migrants:

“You have finally taken that step of courage and decided to return home. Back to the motherland full of opportunities and where you are determined to make a change. Armed with your degree, you are convinced that you will be able to introduce and implement more efficient working methods and ideas. Driven by your conviction, you will come back home to help fight the animal that is graft and hammer sense into the citizens who sit back and watch the looting of the country’s coffers. Inspired by the burgeoning number of young millionaires, you will return in the hopes of joining the circle of the young rich” (MU 2016, text 12).

In the text above, aspects of meaning and actions, representations, identifications are realized and exposed in various facets of text e.g. vocabulary, grammar. In this case, return migrants are assumed to take back skills and European values of hard work, diligence and integrity to change economic and social systems. In my opinion, while these aspirations seem to be well-meaning they also enhance the objectification of African contexts as wanting. Reading through the texts, it is easy to assume that sending-countries lack working systems, moral values, and ethics essential in ensuring economic institutions to flourish. While this may be the case in certain circumstances, there are occasions where returning migrants have been able to set up projects sustained with ethics and transparency, such as the idea behind flourishing biergartens (bars) and kindergartens in Kenya created on a European concept.

6.2.3. Meaning in Speech Relations

Narratives on migration and development has become prominent in transnational digital migrant media, through consistency in reporting and creating of frames that are familiar to readers. Migrant media producers are themselves migrants and endure myths on migration and development created and lived in the present culture. They embody stereotypes associated with migrants and encounter similar struggles as other migrants. Their practice and transnational activities with migration-sending countries reflect changes in the present societal cultures. Consequently, migrant media for Kenyans in Europe have established categories of frames, where stories on migration and development discourse take a precedence. The texts selected for analysis on these themes appear almost daily in the stories published. Migrant media does not have sufficient resources to compete with mainstream national media, but current discourses on migration and development justify new myths that challenge prevailing discourse in mainstream media.

“There has been (I got a major choke literally) a big concern on how we are bringing up children, or as Jane put it, how our money is bringing children up. The youth should be our priority instead of “projects back home” as the kids who are neglected by the overworked parents might never need or use our investments back home” (Ukentv 2015, text10).

The texts for analysis in this thesis create themes conforming to migrant needs, migrant specific migrant products and services, support in case of trouble, other relevant migrant community links and websites.

6.3. Discourse Practice: The Production Criteria

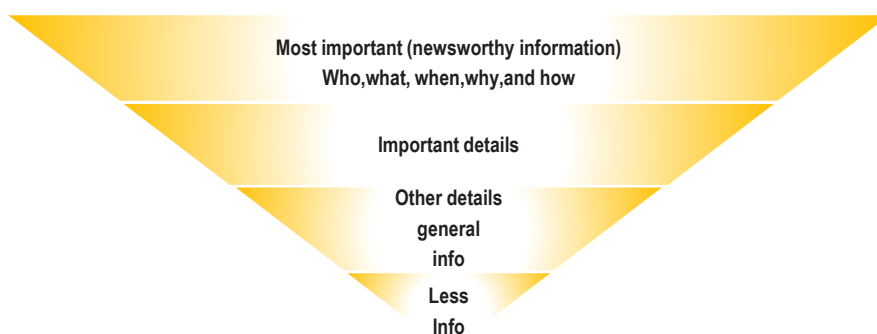
In the previous section, I have established the work of texts and the outcomes of social practice. In this section, I specifically tackle the question on the criteria of text production giving practical examples on the process from idea inception to text and discourse formation. To explain the outcomes, I focus on what I referred in the introduction part of this chapter as a network of interconnected texts, which manifests as “chains” of genre variables produced and interpreted from texts as part of internal text analysis (intertextuality, text integration, and speech acts). Now let us consider the variables:

Genres: Transnational digital migrant media discourses may result in the normalization of migration and development concepts and the transfer of ideas from other media outlets to migrants and non-migrants. In its discourse practice or the production process, migrant media employs the use of genre chains, text integration, intertextuality, speech acts, relating to sentences and clauses. Genres constitute texts or interactions not found in the categories of media formats and can also involve a combination of different types and styles or “genre hybridity” (Fairclough, 2013). Mkenya Ujerumani and Ukentv publish different genres including; news, commentaries, speeches, audio, video and features articles on their websites in Germany and Britain. To a certain significant degree, the language in the transnational digital migrant media follows dominant voices found in stories on migration and development. The genres use familiar themes as those in the mainstream media, more so when (re)producing migrant identities, occupation, and social status. However, migrant media outlets operate on a policy that seems to emphasize more on the positive representation of migrants their successes after struggles in migration-receiving countries. In the analysis of textual outcomes, I found that Mkenya Ujerumani adheres to a balanced news approach but also publishes stories on negative aspects of migrants e. g when they fail to conform to an established set of laws or cause social disturbances in the host country. On the other hand, Ukentv takes a more social development and entrepreneurial approach. In different texts analyzed in this thesis, the migrant’s personal experiences are brought to life. The narratives are accessible to both the European and African migrant publics. In addition, the language in the transnational digital media sometimes follows a dominant voice found in stories with similar themes in the mainstream media. The narrative is however translated to be relevant to migrant audiences. Migrant media also produces comparable stories of other migrants from states with a postcolonial history replicating a similar agency. Moreover, voices in stories are chosen for their support or difference to sustained themes on migration and development. This means, editorial and journalistic voices in the story, differ and agree with voices of sources, especially those from Kenyan migrants in Europe. To construct narratives on migration and development the text is developed, e.g. using different genres as mentioned. Mkenya Ujerumani and Ukentv use audio extracts and videos themed on story contexts from interviews, events recordings and

music performances to support features and documentaries. Migrants opinions are used to support believes and assumptions of the role of migrants in development. There are also critical voices on immigration policies that seem to give biased standpoints on the sustenance of migrant life. Editorial and journalistic voices in the story act as bridges to decontextualize the migration and development jargon. Consequently, editorial commentary depicts the author's ideologies and conviction based on knowledge and existing dominant discourses. Although the approach gives credence as a voice of the publication, it also reflects biases from affiliations to migration agencies or inherent prejudices from cultural, environmental and other social contexts. In the two case studies, journalists and editors follow a Western style of reporting and media production. Conversely, migrant media for Kenyans in Europe, tend to remain impartial in the quest of achieving objective reporting. However, the situation is made complex, given that Kenyan journalists working in Europe are also migrants. As we established in the aspect of migrant's identity creation in the chapter (four), analysis of text outcomes show that producers have a migration experience. As a result, they produce texts which may be subjective to migrant voices and risk crossing the thin line between objective and subjective reporting. As I have established, the objective in this section of the empirical chapter is to address the question on the criteria for production. In the analysis of texts, I introduced relevant questions to be covered in a news item (*Who, What, When, Where, Why, How*), in this section, I use the inverted pyramid to expound on these questions and as an example for migrant media criteria for production:

Inverted Pyramid Structure: In terms of the structure of texts, the discourse practice from migrant media draws from the traditional inverted pyramid style for news presentation. The term inverted pyramid was first used in (1903) in Edwin, L. Shulman book *Practical Journalism* to mean the sequence of writing news items in an efficient and concise manner. Here the intro answers the most important facts: the 5Ws+H (*who says, what, where, when, why and in which context or how?*), taking the broader part of the inverted pyramid. The body details the background of the story, drawing from a historical perspective. Finally, the story concludes with the least important facts. The format has been improved within recent media authorship (Canavilhas, 2005) and adopted in news production because of limited time and space and the need for simplification in media stories. As **figure 6**. Below illustrates:

Figure. 6 The inverted pyramid



Source: The inverted pyramid adapted from Canavilhas (2005:4)

Therefore, following the structure of texts analysed, this empirical chapter confirms that transnational migrant media applies classical news writing practice, where news order format progresses from the **Intro** → **Climax** → **Anti-Climax** → **Conclusion**. The first paragraph, the introduction or intro, in a news article aims to attract audience attention and keep them hooked throughout subsequent paragraphs and body of the text. The introduction attempts to answer the significant 5Ws+H as shown in the excerpt below:

“The Cabinet Secretary in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, Ambassador Amina Mohamed was in Munich last week for a security conference” (MU, 2015: text: 14).

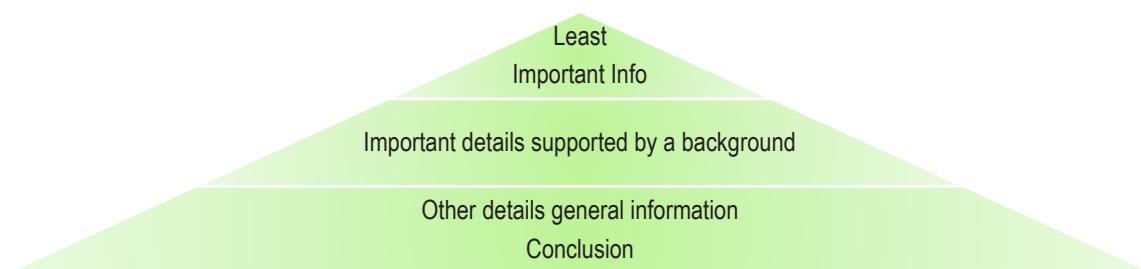
Now let us consider the meanings implied in the answers to the question, as an aspect that satisfies the production criteria and influences the producers’ choice of words to construct the text, the relevance of the story and desired effects.

- **Who:** The Cabinet Minister Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade Ambassador, Amina Mohamed.
- **What:** Security Conference
- **When:** Last Week
- **Where:** Munich
- **How:** Answers details on whether it was a diplomatic meeting and resolutions arrived.

We can conclude that the meeting of the foreign minister was important for migrants in terms of creating awareness about the event and location as well as details of the meeting. These facts are arranged in an inverted pyramid starting with the most important to the least important. As one goes down the text, concentration also lessens therefore, using the inverted pyramid producers ensure that readers can get the most out of the narrative from the first paragraphs of the story.

The Pyramid Structure: Now let us consider what happens in the opposite, the pyramid applied for feature articles written leisurely because of unspecific deadlines. Unlike the inverted pyramid, information in the pyramid structure does not have to be disseminated immediately. The story is timeless giving journalists more room to expand and develop. The feature story satisfies genre chains and covers most details that would not be addressed in an inverted pyramid structure. The conventional chronological order of details from the least to the most important. Features, editorials, and commentaries take a slow explanatory approach to the reverse of an inverted pyramid. The goal is to create a multi-faceted interpretation of facts, sometimes using imagery and metaphoric phrases.

Figure. 7 The Pyramid



Source: Authors own interpretation of the pyramid (2018)

I now analyze the pyramid style of the organization using a text excerpt negating Eurocentric development approach, starting with the **introduction**:

“He hit the headlines ten years ago with his demand to stop aid to Africa that was back then before Dambisa Moyo and others had taken over the anti-aid activism” (MU,2014:text.3).

The introduction sets the pace of the narrative and prepares the **climax**, where different points of view are correlated. **Conflict** depicting contrasting viewpoints of discourse is enhanced, before an **anti-thesis** presenting other authorial variations from the main theme and **synthesis** collating the main points and finally a **conclusion** is derived. The paragraphs following the introduction illustrate:

“Shikwati was recently in Germany where he shared his views on aid during a public lecture and in an interview with the KfW, the German development bank. Evidently, he hasn’t changed his opinion on aid ten years since his thesis. He mainly criticised the unequal relationship between Africa and the Europeans” (MU,2014:text:3).

Using the example in the commentary on development aid above, the journalist chooses a throwback in 2004, where James Shikwati a self-made economist authored a thesis that pioneered a discourse on *Why Africa should do away with Aid dependency*. The topic was later exposed in the Zambian author Dambisa Moyo’s book, *“Dead Aid”* (2009). The intention is to remind the reader of the existing narrative on aid dependency and counter reactions over the years. The author

capitalizes on fact that Shikwati came from humble beginnings in Kenya, to negate an assumption that he should be praising aid. The unsaid discourse is that aid in Africa is used to build educational infrastructure, where critics like Shikwati attain knowledge, but instead use it as a weapon to criticize aid and procure an anti-aid activism. Unlike intellectuals often criticized in their home countries as “Western compradors”, Shikwati creates a conflict by opposing his western knowledge of economic models. The final part tackles the least important facts, one can also add, but with phrases and words that linger in the reader’s mind.

“Although he remains anti-aid, Shikwati is quick to point out that he’s not calling for all aid workers to pack up and leave Africa ASAP, but instead that Africans and their leaders begin to take responsibility for their own destiny. He added that although most of us think that the world today is a “Global Village” where we’re all working together towards the same goals, the reality is that the world is actually a “Global Jungle” where it is mainly survival for the fittest” (MU 2014, text.3).

However, while the classic format emphasized on objectivity and a rigid formula that portrayed the audience as passive recipients of information, in new media which Mkenya Ujerumani and Ukentv adheres to, the audience talks back. The internet makes it possible for readers to express points of view through online comments. Therefore, it is not what is important in news, rather what is significant and more interesting to audiences. In other words, to address the questions (5W+H) and confirm assumptions in the work of texts in the creation of discourse one would add and “for what purpose or effect”. The inverted pyramid has been criticized as monotonous, limiting creativity possible in Web Journalism. The onset of Internet Journalism was marked with criticism on the inverted pyramid structure (Nielson and Rosenthal Alvez, 1996). Some critics acknowledged the relevance of the style to maintain a professional practice, others recognized the value of the structure in newsworthy reporting. The structure comes short of supporting the element of intertextuality (Salaverria, 2005). In line with achieving intertextuality as we established in the research methodology in the chapter (five) and as a component of analysis in this thesis, I argue, internet production needs to address emerging practical and creative elements of web writing, plus the possibility for readers to link to other publications to achieve factual reliability. In my opinion, while media practice demands the collation of different viewpoints in a story, some articles for this analysis presented one sided-single perspective. In the following section, I look at the emphasis that creates intertextual variations in texts as a unique criterion for production.

6.3.1. Intertextuality Assumptions

The combination of background information, sources, pictures, audio bring about the ordering of voices or intertextuality. It is easy to see that migrant media are not only limited to the pyramid and inverted pyramid structure but incorporate different genre styles. Articles are produced as news, features, speeches, press releases, tips, essays and commentaries that

conform to internet specifications for transnational digital media. The texts have simple short sentences and paragraphs. Texts are accompanied with sharp pictures, edited, and sometimes enhanced to desired textures with descriptive captions. From the number of pictures and placement around the text, I can suggest, they are used to attract visitors on the websites. The text is laid in paragraphs of mostly four lines, and has subtitles and prompts as text breakers. There is a consistent alteration between background information and quotation from sources. Different styles of texts allow us to see how the element of genre facilitate the creation of relationships between the media and migrants, the local and national, the regional and global. In addition, there is a mixture of journalistic reports such as feature articles, photographs, headlines, and captions, corporate advertisement in the two migrant media outlets as well as links to other websites. Remarkably, migrant media producers are not only limited to material sourced for the outlets but will share articles retrieved from national outlets and publications in Europe. The items may be selected for their relevance to Kenyan migrant audiences as the following texts excerpt shows. The combination of background information, sources, pictures, audio bring about the ordering of voices or intertextuality. It is easy to see that migrant media are not only limited to the pyramid and inverted pyramid structure but incorporate different genre styles. Articles are produced as news, features, speeches, press releases, tips, essays and commentaries that conform to internet specifications for transnational digital media. The texts have simple short sentences and paragraphs. Texts are accompanied with sharp pictures, edited, and sometimes enhanced to desired textures with descriptive captions. From the number of pictures and placement around the text, I can suggest, they are used to attract visitors on the websites. The text is laid in paragraphs of mostly four lines, and has subtitles and prompts as text breakers. There is a consistent alteration between background information and quotation from sources. Different styles of texts allow us to see how the element of genre facilitate the creation of relationships between the media and migrants, the local and national, the regional and global. In addition, there is a mixture of journalistic reports such as feature articles, photographs, headlines, and captions, corporate advertisement in the two migrant media outlets as well as links to other websites. Remarkably, migrant media producers are not only limited to material sourced for the outlets but will share articles retrieved from national outlets and publications in Europe. The items may be selected for their relevance to Kenyan migrant audiences as the following texts excerpt shows.

“The East African diaspora in the UK has a vital role to play, and indeed is already playing, in supporting development in their countries of origin, not least through commercial agriculture and the export of agricultural products from East Africa to the UK” (Ukentv 2018, text 3).

As we have considered in the criteria for production different frames are used to (re)produce the discourse on migration and development, from the texts, I sampled themes on integration, immigration laws, migrant's life in the communities, attitudes of migrant children and young migrants, the transnational connection of migrants to migration-sending country, business and

investment as practices that contribute to the development discourse. Consequently, dominant voices are evoked through fragmentary discourse in the text. The discourse sets the pace of argument throughout the text. Most stories, have one dominant voice, backed with background information. In the example below, texts extract from an article on Ukentv, represent the British dominant voice – as apologetic of colonialism, but at the same time reifying British economic interests in Kenya.

“Lord David Chidgey (Chairman All African Parliamentary Group) said Kenya and British relations are very special not because of British colonial past but being one of the largest trading partner. 'Kenya is a favourite destination for external investment and we in Britain should be part of it' (Ukentv2014, text:6).

The extract is followed by a quote from the Kenyan High Commissioner in the UK, who chooses to break to Swahili, according to the author of the article, reminding Kenyans of their roots:

[...] “Pongezi kwenu wananchi wa Kenya, Tushirikiane kama wandugu na wadada bila Kubagua rangi, dini, kabila na vyama vya kisiasa” (Ukentv,2014:text:6).

The Swahili words are loosely translated as: [...] *“I applaud you citizens of Kenya, let us continue relating as brothers and sisters and avoid racial, religious and political discrimination”* (author’s own translation). The two voices contrasted together acknowledge existing racial barriers at the same time, highlighting on social prejudices transferred from the migration-sending country, prevailing among Kenyans in Europe. The High Commissioner, is part of the social practice as a diplomat, and a Kenyan. He relays the initial part of the speech in English to signify his authority and acts as a relevant dominant voice to the British audience that confers a message of Kenya’s mutuality within the British context. Yet, he quickly switches to Swahili, to significantly exclude the British audience in narratives that evoke claims of discrimination and racial marginalization in the host and home contexts. Therefore, maintaining a status quo, but still passing the message across to Kenyan migrants’ present. The action is majorly face saving not to portray prejudices among Kenyans, as well as maintaining a diplomatic dialogue. Inadvertently, media texts indicate migrant’s voices as having both positive and negative influences within fragile democracies in migration-sending countries. For instance, Ukentv reports development activities in Edinburgh, Sheffield, Wolverhampton, Birmingham, London, Cardiff and Bristol themed under the acronym - BUILD (Building Understanding through International Links for Development). In the forum, African migrant groups across the United Kingdom initiate multiple partnerships to address economic and social affairs of migrant communities. The next text excerpt confirm prejudice as a common discriminative practice fostered against migrants.

“Arising from those meetings came the strong plea from the diaspora groups with whom BUILD engaged that they were facing increasing prejudice and difficulties in their communities here, and that their voice was largely unheard amongst policy makers in the UK despite the contribution that they were making to UK society” (Ukentv 2016, text3).

On the other hand, examples from other Africa countries and Asia indicate that migrants are sometimes purveyors of negative politics that escalate conflicts in migration sending-countries. In some instances, also discussed in literature reviewed for this dissertation, we find that migrants are blamed for fomenting ethnic hatred and providing financial and ideological support to warring political factions etc. In as much, the research attempts to establish answers to existing social problems generated within migrants' social contexts as change agents. Drawing from a media and sociological perspective, I assume, images of migration and development are results of activities and practices of migrant media, and perfect examples of stereotypes about migrants and the European other in the public domain. This thesis argues that apart from using similar categories, migrant media has tapped into gaps occurring in national media and offer alternative approaches to development. Indeed, in the following text excerpt development has come to refer to various dimensions of the western measure of economic growth and stability.

"Investors praised Kenya as an investment destination, saying its vastly improved infrastructure over the past four years, including investment in rail and road links, its technology and innovation, and the well-educated, largely English-fluent population were a major attraction for investors" (Ukentv 2016, text2).

As the text above indicates, the widely-debated notions of economic prosperity, political stability, and technological advancements have created a controversial discourse of what development in postmodern societies should look like. In the production of discourse, the pattern of alteration between authorial accounts and indirect report is backed by substantial direct quotations. The authorial voice contributes to the legitimacy of the discourse based on knowledge and experience of reporting on the subject matter, and personal practices of the producer as a migrant. These aspects support the migration and development discourse and at the same time, indicates the position of migrant media practice in European host lands. In my opinion, a discourse that emphasizes the pre-existing belief that aid is still necessary for development in Africa in general and Kenya specific is also prevalent in the texts.

"At the same event, Lord Pollock, another UK peer, said the consortium he represented was ready to move on its USD100 million Kipeto Energy Investment, and only a few details remained, including issuance of a standard letter of support from the government" (Ukentv 2016, text 2).

The articles (re) produce original texts (speeches) into reported contexts, sometimes, upholding a relationship and balance to the reported original. Reported texts and voices are decontextualized using emphasis and language to indicate the difference in perceptions of a target audience, and authorial interpretation of intended meanings. Still, the journalist manages to position two separate authorial voices, within the same frame of text in relation to each other and in relation to dominant and alternative thoughts. The event and location add to the discourse and outcomes of texts. To explain, the speeches were delivered at an official public event, during Kenya's 51st independence celebrations at the Kenyan High Commission in London. It was High Commissioner Lazarus Amayo's first official speech since his appointment to the United

Kingdom. His audience was made of Kenyans in the UK, Commissioners, Ambassadors from other countries and British dignitaries. Hence, the orientations of dialogue represent different authorial voices, their public image and expected formal behaviour. The relationship between different voices in the text signifies statements of facts about migration and development, grounded in the set of assumptions depending on the position of power of the speakers. The voices assert the speaker's integrity and knowledge value in negotiating the discourse and convincing the audience. The communicative event occurs in a public sphere, where the Kenyan High Commissioner representing state authority, tackles the discourse on migration and development. The speaker utilizes the agency of Kenyans in the UK and their important role towards social cohesion and development of the homeland. On the other hand, the British authorial voice represented in Lord Chidgey's speech gives the impression of looking at development as a product of human agency. Therefore, not as a strategy ingrained in British colonial history in Kenya, but an opportunity to foster long-lasting bilateral relationships. In sum, the text exemplifies that critical voices enact dialogue that appears as a sense of injunctions, grammatical imperatives and sentences (Fairclough, 2013).

Conclusion: I conclude, textual analysis helps to clarify an inter-relation between social and discourse practices. It resolves the identified problem at the start of the analysis. Specifically, the limitations in Eurocentric neo-liberal models of development. Henceforth, the analysis fill gaps in showing networks of problems where the practice is located within the semiosis-discourse; how media discourses support migrants' transnational activities, which include alternative development initiatives through investment and remittances. In this analysis, I have attempted to showcase how migrant media constantly (re)produces discourses, which construct migrant's participation in host societies. Rather than use a conventional view of development as a socio-economic progress, the textual analysis highlights other discursive narratives linked to migration and development. Hence, stressing the relationship of semiosis to other elements. The current analysis supports the theory that migration and development discourse realized through texts from transnational digital migrant media in Germany and Britain, informs aspects of migrant social practice. This analysis shows and discussed earlier in literature in chapter two, that attention is being paid on remittances as core contributors to development in migration- sending countries (Glick Schiller & Salazar, 2013). In sum, in the context of this thesis discourse as a social research dimension leans more on the relationship between migration and development but neglects a media discursive dimension between the two categories. In this analysis, I highlighted, an interdiscursive dimension in transnational digital migrant media's representation of migration as a dominant and alternative discourse, where migrants' agency remains at the center of development. The concept of migrant agency is identified in various discourse contexts as a solution to Eurocentric development models. In the previous chapters (three, four, and five) we see Escobar, Fairclough and Gramsci analysis providing ways in which hegemony is (re)produced in texts and contested in migrant media discourses. Notably, through text analysis, I show how media discourses are

creatively (re)produced from aspects of social research, education, and politics. Moreover, migrant voices go through different chains of production from; sources of stories, journalists and editor's appropriation of discourse and structural constraints that determine the frame. In addition, texts are shaped through the length and style of production and a criterion that conforms to prior established editorial norms. Furthermore, linguistic translations i.e. German to English, Swahili to English to fit within established contexts. The linguistic variations satisfy the needs of specific audiences and uphold or challenge existing structures of dominance. Migrant media performs both roles, resisting hegemonic dominance and opening a window through which, the alternative agency can be articulated. I also establish that lack of representation of migrants in mainstream public media discourse fosters the need among migrant media producers to own their narratives. I am convinced, narratives in migrant media exclude or sparsely use discourses that describe migrants as underdeveloped, unexposed and problematic. However, their positive attributes in the context of development roles are more emphasized. In my analysis, migrants may also articulate dominance from common discourses from migration-sending countries that frame Europe as a social evil and aspired good. These perceptions, I suggest, are obstacles that constantly frustrates local development, or stimulate a search for alternatives. I am of the view that this analysis may not be exhaustive in portraying a group of people that exist within cultural and historical experiences. Their memories traversing across transnational boundaries. I submit the current analysis is not conclusive in utilizing the production and consumption of discourse, and its effects on the migrant agency. However, it is the beginning of empowering subaltern or marginalized voices. I recommend further research in this area could focus on the discourse surrounding migrants' development initiatives, practice and implementation at the grassroots'. There should also be an analysis of migrant's own perceptions of migration and development and their use of media in affirming or contesting existing hegemony. In my opinion, the analysis determines that Eurocentric development has neglected potentials in the so-called developing countries and hence demands a search for viable economic models as a solution to endemic to avert a "development crisis". A possible way past established obstacles is through the promotion of dialogue among different actors in addressing social realities.

CHAPTER SEVEN

“LETTING THE VOICES SPEAK”

7.0. HEGEMONIC AND COUNTER HEGEMONIC NARRATIVES OF MIGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT

In this chapter, the second of three empirical chapters, I present meanings articulated through interviews on notions and perceptions of hegemonic and counter-hegemonic outcomes of Kenyan media producers and editors in Germany and United Kingdom. From the point of transnational digital migrant media community and perceptions from media experts' hegemonic discourses occur in narratives on migration and development from mainstream media and in some occasions replicated in migrant media. The outcomes give a variety of interpretations of the significance of discourses in influencing development thoughts. In this chapter, I present a logical sequence recognizing prior established themes in chapter four on framing migration and development discourses. I treat responses from the two locations as one data set and apply social practices of production in the media organization as my unit of analysis and interviews as my research strategy. I draw on the work of Norman Fairclough (2004) to address themes exposing five elements of discourse framing; representations, stereotypes, assumptions, identifications, social relations and actions. I am interested in how these elements provide frames for hegemonic and counter-hegemonic narratives. The elements as theorized in Fairclough (2004), stress on interpretative aspects of texts and as we established in the previous chapter six, I look at the criteria of production and how migrant voices become alive in texts. The interviews process portrays a specific methodological strategy “letting the voices speak” drawing from Spivak's notion of representation of marginalized groups.

In the strategy, voices of journalist, producers, and editors with an experience in writing stories on migration and development also expose a migration trait, having moved to Europe to improve their professional and financial status. In their roles as workers in international broadcast, they utilize a media platform to highlight issues about migrants. On the other hand, producers of migrant media highlight issues relevant to Kenyan migrants as a marginalized or minority group in the European media sphere. However, I must emphasize, producers experience of migration sometimes influences the outcomes in the production of migration and development narratives. Specifically, the level of knowledge, ethnicity, and criteria for selection may misrepresent migrant voices. To achieve overall results from the data set, I examine producer's perceptions of narratives on migration and development, from a tried and tested criterion of production. Specifically, producers use methods and structures that determine news values in journalism practice. On the other, I focus on how migrant media producers in Germany and Britain construct stories they deem relevant and interesting to Kenyans living in Europe and possible connections to Kenya.

The hierarchy of priority of elements that make news is limited to communicative messages assumed to be valuable to Kenyan migrants in the host society. In the present chapter, I also address the main sociological question on (re)production of migration and development discourse in transnational digital migrant media. First, I address perceptions of hegemony from an interpretation of expert media producers on discourse production. Next, I identify aspects that amount to counter-hegemonic narratives in migrant media. Then, I examine the criteria for production. Later, in chapter eight, I look at similarities and differences in the production of migration and development narratives in Britain and Germany. In this analysis, I quiz, do the criteria of production differ? do historical similarities of producers using a postcolonial context in Britain and Germany migrant media generate a similar discourse? What is the interpretation of media experts in the two different locations? In this empirical analysis, I compile data from interviews and use Norman Fairclough's (2004) concepts of analysis. This thesis recognizes migrant media as a source of information and news. I base my thesis on the assumption that migrant media constructs the social reality of the environment in which migrants live and act.

I have expounded in previous chapters that existing literature is limiting in discussing overlapping connections between media and migration. Although, a vast body of research has already explored the migration and development nexus, rarely, is the focus on the criteria of media production of hegemonic and counter-hegemonic discourses on migration and development addressed. Moreover, many migration scholars seldom engage in the role of media discourses in conceptualizing migration as a conduit of development. Yet, both migration and development are topical issues in media production. The concepts are interesting topics in social media and other online publications such as; migrant media under this study. I suggest, media and migration act as reflex mirrors of each other. Each concept expressing representation of the other i.e. In this study, I examine how migration is constructed in media frames and analyze media perceptions using concepts of migration and development. Therefore, an approach which focuses only on migration would neglect a viable role of the media in the production of migration and development discourses.

The current migration discourse in the mass media sphere is pegged on the South to North mobility, politics of integration, stereotypical representations, exclusion, and marginalization. The inter-relation between media, migration, and development has scarcely been studied under the context of migrant media production. In my opinion, any study which is focused on migrant communities must endeavour to find their social utilities. I am convinced that migrant media acts as a utility of connection and networking. The media determines how migrants interact with the host and sending countries. While mass media has dwelt on the representation of migrants, the produced narratives emphasize migrant's subjectivity and ignore their value or potentials. To overcome this narrowness, it is essential to take an all-inclusive approach. In the current study, I integrate media, migration, and development as a narrative in the context of migrant media production. Although I maintain the main argument on the (re)production of dominant hegemonic and alternative counter-hegemonic views, I am cognizant

of the fact that mass media narratives project dominant perceptions about migrants in their discourses. The narratives are derived from discursive power apparatus, enhanced through journalistic construction of social reality using generalization, dichotomization, trivialization and othering (Kamali, 2005). I acknowledge, perceptions from migrant media producers determine the selection criteria and normalize migration and development as a social reality. These perceptions as addressed in the theoretic chapter four on media, are inherent in mass media (minority, transnational, national and local) and (re)produced in migrant media. I have shown that migrants' local voices are (re)produced as representations of their development engagement in migration-sending countries. To do this, migrant media moves away from dominant discourses in the mainstream media, to conceptualize a viable representation of migrant issues. Studies indicate that mainstream Western media maintains exclusion and symbolic segregation that contributes to societal and cultural attitudes. This representation essentialises migrants within the European space, hence motivating them to look for alternative representations. To address research questions and contribute to research field, results from interviews for this thesis present multiple heterogeneous images, they also indicate counter forces. Using Fairclough (1995) guidelines, I now analyse interviews (spoken words), to expose meanings within contexts. I examine perceptions of how respondents interpret the criteria of framing migration and development in general media contexts and specific reference to migrant media. Fairclough's units of analysis are derived from media producer's appropriation of discourses (discourse practice) on migration and development. The objective is to cognize how items address readers in specific situational social contexts, and within the framework of social-cultural conventions (social practice).

7.1. PERCEPTIONS OF HEGEMONY IN DISCOURSES

First, I present a summary of the main inter-relations in hegemonic perceptions found between stereotypes, representations and assumptions. Respondents highlighted that themes in mainstream media are sometimes repeated in transnational digital migrant media, in overlapping contexts. In some occasions, representations were identified as stereotypes or stereotypical representations depending on who was producing the story. There was a heterogeneous interplay of themes, where some assumptions prompted actions of migrants as agents (re)producing narratives. Migrants agency formed the basis of news sources to contest hegemonic stances. Some discourses appearing as assumptions, were in fact, representing an existing perception within the public domain. Such assumptions were constructed through hegemonic interpretation and normalization of issues. On the question on narratives of migration and development in transnational migrant media, I found that common themes appeared to be focused on identity and culture, how migration is linked to terrorism, economic migration, and attributes of migration etc. In some instances, respondents argued that assumptions held in mass media sphere were evident in narratives in migrant media. Data reveals that non-migrant media producers seek for story angles from migrant media especially, when the subjects are Kenyan migrants. Since non-migrant media

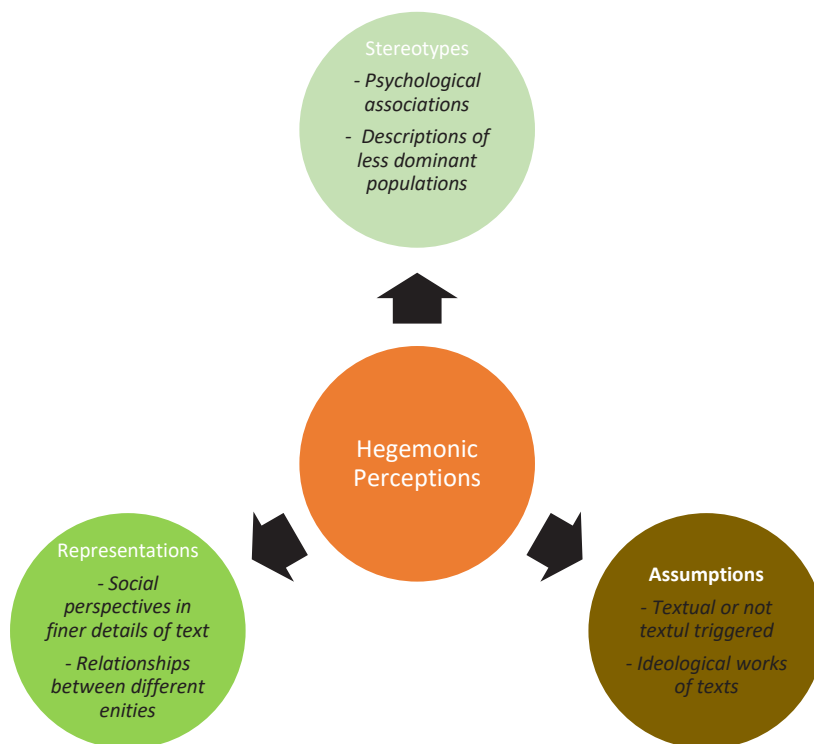
producers work with financial substantial organizations, they can develop stories only mentioned in brief in transnational media to full broadcasts or documentaries. The key findings are summarized in the table (Figure. 7) below.

Figure 7. Summary of Key Findings Exhibiting Hegemonic Perceptions

How the discourse on migration and development is (re)produced in transnational digital migrant media		
Representations	Assumptions	Stereotypes
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Legality and illegality of migrants is news - Europe is represented as lucrative 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Migration crisis influence selection criteria - Migration provides development opportunities - Kenyan Migrants remittances support economies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Migrants take advantage Europe's economic system - Essentialized negative stories on Africa (ns)
What narratives of migration and development do transnational migrant media produce?		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Migrants struggle living in Europe - Migrants social integration 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Migration crisis is a challenge - Migration provides opportunities for development - The effect of Brexit on migrants 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Terrorism and migration security
What images of migrants as development agents are produced?		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Editors determine images of migrants - Levels of integration is a measure of development - Migrants are regarded as potential investors 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Remittances and return migration enhances development - Migrants do not always engage in development - Kenyans in Germany are not very active in development initiatives. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Problems in home country affect migrants image in Europe
What are the main criteria used by media producers to generate the discourse on migration and development?		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Other news events in the menu determines selection of story - Powerful pictures enhance selection of story - Migrant stories take human interest angles - Topics on migration and development are prioritized - How current and trending the news is influence choice 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Editorial agenda influence selection criteria - Information on conditions in Europe discourage migration 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Migration is covered in terms of refugee crisis - Race and migration was an issue

The most feasible analysis of hegemony is in examining the representation of the economic change in specific social contexts. It entails a reduction in dialogical options. The said options of dialogue include relevant voices in the text, and those significantly excluded, yet, hegemony can be exposed through the analysis of discourse. Where texts are included, perceptions are derived from the specific attribution of texts. The hegemonic perceptions in this study are grouped under representations, assumptions, and stereotypes. These elements are highly descriptive of dominant expressions in discourses articulated on various social events. Thus, **figure 8** below utilizes Fairclough's (2004) definitions of the core elements of discourse. The elements help in the articulation and understanding of meanings from the respondent's interpretation of hegemony, in the production of migration and development discourse in media texts. In the context of hegemony, I analyze the relationship between the Global-North and South and how the social and economic disparities in the two locations offer a basis for the migration and development discourse.

Figure 8: The Hegemonic Spectrum on Migration and Development Discourse



Source: Authors own interpretation of concepts (2018)

We shall now break down the analysis of the three elements (representations, stereotypes, and assumptions) at the center of potential discourses on migration and development and articulating aspects of hegemonic power. I work on the knowledge that media discourse is structured based on aspects of ethics, characteristics of production, criteria, and systems of production. The discourse is influenced from environmental and social contexts under which producers' work. It underpins how respondents interpret the generation of hegemonic discourses.

A successful analysis of themes is in part, the way media producers perceive the authenticity and realistic aspects of communication and discourse. The work of discourse analysis is to examine the appeal and perceptions of producers, not to mask reality in the context of discourses. Therefore, let us consider Fairclough (2004) interpretation of the mentioned elements and my own application in provisions of this dissertation drawing on media theory of framing and discourse analytic aspects of explaining meanings from interview sources:

Representations: To represent something is to describe or portray it, to call it up within the mind by description or imagination. It also implies, to put a likeness of it before us in our mind or within the sense as for example, within the sentence; “*This picture represents the inflows of migrants to Europe*”⁷⁴. To represent also means to symbolize, stand for, a specimen for or to substitute for as in the example of the sentence above (Hall, 1997). Hence, media texts contain aspects of representation that bring out a social perspective into the finer details of the text. Building on Fairclough the task is to find what is represented in the text, i.e. the relationship between two different entities as subjects under the study, i.e. migrants and non-migrants. To do this, for instance, I examine how aspects of poverty in migration-sending countries are positioned as reasons why migrants have a role in the development of migrant-sending countries.

Stereotypes: *The concept of media stereotypes explains how people are influenced and make sense of the mediated message.* Stereotypes are held psychological perceptions which depend on attitudes or prejudices towards a certain group of people. Stereotypes flourish in certain cultures, where certain groups are described as possessing specific, often negative characteristics (Kidd, 2015:26). They may not be a true representation of attributes that define a group of people, but may over time, become normalized. In the analysis, I endeavour to split open common stereotypes associated with migrants. My objective is to understand how populations that remain out of the dominant power are (re)produced in migrant media. I examine how migrant media use their knowledge and production utilities, to capitalize on economic capabilities of migrants to resist domination and speak or act as agents of change. By doing so, migrants break away from the effects of power created and normalized through stereotypes and present different contexts of defining concepts such as migration and development.

Assumptions: They may or may not be textually triggered, they are relative to discourses and significance in terms of the ideological work of texts⁷⁵. In doing discourse analysis, I study if the environment in migration-receiving countries in Europe create new challenges for Kenyan migrants? How do Kenyan migrants and their participation in the social and economic contexts in Europe enhance their positions as agents for development, in their home country? Are there other frames of analysis on new media technology, migration trends, integration concepts in migration-receiving countries? I analyse how

⁷⁴ Stuart Hall (1997): *The Work of Representations*. Sage Publications.

⁷⁵ Norman Fairclough (2004): *Analysing discourses-textual analysis for social research*. Taylor and Francis Online Library

the concepts affect the involvement of Kenyan migrants' development affairs home. In the following discussion, responses from media experts are analysed to identify representations, stereotypes and assumptions as elements that articulate hegemony:

7.1.1. Hegemonic Representations: Articulating Migrant Voices

In confronting challenged truths about migrants, I deliberate on what migrant media producers consider as criteria for selection of stories on migration and development. How are migrant voices articulated in the discourse? Is what is selected as relevant and interesting to migrant's expectations, or modelled alongside existing traditional news values? To address this quest, I found out that the production of migrant voices starts with an idea pitched during editorial meetings sometimes hosted online between editors and reporters, using websites like Asana⁷⁶. Here, editors assign, shape story angles and give deadlines. The website also allows journalists to upload stories, pictures, audio and continue developing scripts in a back and forth conversations with the editor. Within constraints of time and space, journalists initiate contact with sources, set interviews slots and write scripts that meet parameters in the editorial meeting. In the selection criteria, migrant media producers are motivated to meet the publication agenda. They provide news and information to their audiences composed of migrants, non-migrants and return-migrants, all with a connection to Kenya. Producers endeavour to stay relevant given existing competition from other migrant media online publications in other European locations. In chapter four, I have discussed how the agenda setting and framing concepts influence the outcome of the story. The models are useful for understanding the reasons behind the production of stories. It allows us to see differences between possible genres of production and level of audience knowledge. What does this imply to the empirical perceptions of the production criteria? My conversation with Kenyan media experts working in Europe, and migrant producers' shades light on this issue. I use pseudonyms for ethical reasons, but narratives, descriptions, and observations are a true representation of the interview outcomes.

Caro Wakesho: Mother, Media Practitioner, Migrant

My first respondent Caro Wakesho comes from a minority Kuria ethnic community in Kenya. Wakesho is one of a few girls who escaped cultural practices such as Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) and prejudices against women in her community, in aspects of participation and engagement. As a broadcaster, her voice speaks for many marginalized women from her community. She is a perfect example of Spivak's description of "a representative of the subaltern who can speak on their behalf". She told me, her passion to become a journalist was derived from her fluency in the Swahili language. In 2000, she joined the prestigious Kenya Institute of Mass Communication (KIMC), a government media training college. She got stints

⁷⁶ According to Asana.com- Asana is a web and mobile application designed to help teams track their work. It was founded in 2008 by Facebook co-founder Dustin Moskovitz and ex-engineer Justin Rosenstein, who both worked on improving the productivity of employees at Facebook.

to produce radio dramas on various social and political issues pertinent to Kenya before she graduated from college. She later joined the national broadcaster, Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC) and become one of its leading female newscasters. She progressed quickly through the editorial ranks, accumulating 15 years of experience at the broadcaster. In 2014, she took on an assignment at an international media house in Germany, she left her husband and three children behind. They later joined her in 2016 and are resettling in Germany. Her articulate Swahili broadcast success saw her assigned on the Swahili desk. She specializes in writing and packaging stories on migration, integration and politics of development in Africa. I met Wakesho at her house in Bonn, she was available on a Saturday evening, after attending a Kenyan networking get-together. She alternated between cooking for her family, and narrating her experiences as a professional media practitioner, a mother and Kenyan migrant in Bonn. She revealed hurdles of getting used to the community in Germany. The financial cost implications, the frequently changing immigration laws, and the language which she is trying to grasp. She embodies a migrant life, the struggles to integrate within host societies and still maintain transnational connections to significant others in Kenya. She actively engages with Kenyan migrant communities in Germany, to establish a sense of belonging, network and create a familiar environment of home. In the migrant networks, members exercise an aspect of being Kenyan in the modes of dressing, food, culture through language and memories of Kenya. That evening Wakesho was making a favourite Kenyan staple, maize meal, kales and beef. She is an ardent follower of Kenyan migrant media in Germany and uses the platform to source story angles to expand in her practice in mainstream media. Part of these shared aspects are reflected in her private and professional life.

“Now that I have my kids with me, I have no choice, but learn the language. Initially, before my family joined me, I did not see the need since I use Swahili and English as my working languages. However, it is tricky, when you visit Ausländerbehörde (Immigration Office), schools or Jugendamt (Youth Services) and must always take a translator” (Wakesho, Interview Bonn, 10.10.2016).

She recognized that language was a form of exerting dominance on migrants within host societies. She noted, without understanding the language, one feels excluded and marginalized. Sometimes, lack of adequate knowledge of language becomes an obstacle in accessing services. However, at her workplace and in her assignments, social expressions of dominance and hegemony are (re)produced in narratives of representations based on stories that dwelt first on the legality, and illegality of migrants. Secondly, the portrayal of Europe as a lucrative economic destination for migrants from Africa. In this view, I argue, as a hegemonic power, mass media creates a selective view of the world based on Western cultural political and imperialistic aspirations in migration-receiving societies. Wakesho noted representation of migrants appears as labels circulating the media and public discourse. Elements of dominance are prevalent in the way texts are constructed, in the vocabulary and grammar. For example, in her opinion, the term migrant is pejorative in the representation of people with a migration background.

"I came to Germany as an expert media practitioner, but here, people do not consider the difference. To them, I am a migrant. Their concern is that, I moved here to take a well-paying job, to grow professionally, to better my life and that of my family. The German system rules out this category of migration. I am seen as an economic migrant, and I am grouped together with those, yet, to complete the legal process of claiming asylum or as refugees" (Wakesho, Interview Bonn, 10.10.2016).

In this case, she was referring to increasing contests and categorization of migrants in the wake of the influx of people fleeing war-torn countries such as we have seen in Syria, Afghanistan, and Yemen etc. Unlike Kenyan migrants who fall in the "economic bracket", as we established in the introduction chapter migrants from war-torn regions are likely to be granted refugee status. In other instances, the term "immigrant" is used expressively in migration documents to refer to a person who comes to live permanently in a foreign country (Osterban, 2010). It was interesting to see that the issue of identity and representation in the European society was a strategy to confine a group of people into categories that connote societal hegemony. For example, Kenyan migrants decide to settle either temporary until the end of the professional assignment or take permanent residence using legal or semi-legal routes. Furthermore, editorial styles and structures in mass media production stipulate codes of words and grammar acceptable in the description of migration and development contexts. The words are spread across dominant public spheres and can easily be picked up in migrant media production since they represent a language understandable and acceptable across diverse audiences. Yet, the words may represent hegemonic connotations. Instead of the term migrant, migrant media prefers Diaspora, a term still contested in recognizing migrants from Sub-Saharan Africa.

Alice Wangeci: Journalist, Student, Migrant

Wangeci works at an international broadcast in the United Kingdom. She migrated to Britain for a media assignment and apart from her journalist work, at the time of the interview she was also a scholar. Her research is focused on critical perceptions and images in the media. She is specialized in the production of English programmes, and a member of the editorial team. She reports on different themes on immigration and migrants. Her analysis of "Brexit" gives new knowledge on how migrants voted and the possible effects of article 50. The article set into motion the formal exit of Britain from the EU. She highlighted specific repercussions to migration and critical views of the status of Kenyan migrants and how the current discourse affects their development initiatives. Our conversation was on Skype. She was rushing from the library, where she goes on weekends. She worked part-time in the week and at the same time attends her classes at a London University. Wangeci like Wakesho, argued using the term "migrant" as in mass media narratives connoted an aspect of negative representation. In my view, in contextualizing how the mass media produces migrants as only interested in economic gains from host countries, exposes hegemonic perceptions. For example, Wangeci was of the opinion that migrants are represented in mass media narratives as 'parasites or burdens'. These labels represent aspects of dehumanization as we

described in chapter four. To this point, I conclude, sometimes people with a migration background exhibit prejudice on how the host society perceives them. They read into assumed representation and give room for host societies to dominate over them or exercise hegemony, through discrimination and essentialization. On the question of development and migrants as a source of agency, Wangeci pointed out, Western aid-led-development had not improved conditions of people in migration-sending countries and was to blame for the influx of migrants. She identified representations of development as a European concept, were derived from international political and economic systems. She argued, migrant media sometimes represents Europe as lucrative and attractive to migrants looking to improve their statuses of incomes and contribute to household economies in migration-sending countries. In other words, migration was directly connected to proportions of development in migration-sending countries. She gave an example that during the search for sources for media stories, she was faced with opinions in both European and non-European settings that were critical of development either defending or condemning the concept with equal measure. She posited, development discourse shaped and dominated most thinking of the so-called third world nations. She noted migrant media may distance itself from glorifying development aid, and use other frames to qualify development.

“Sometimes, it’s a battle with representations depicting the so-called developing world in images of malnourished and dying children. I am disturbed with the symbolism of Africa as “an impoverished defenceless child, in dire need of salvation from Western humanitarian aid”. This image has dominated mass media narratives. But, I am certain migrant media producers may not use similar frames” (Wangeci, Interview London, 26.03.2017).

The image Wangeci describes tells of deplorable conditions in the so-called third world countries, the portrayal is normalized and assumed to tap into audience empathy. In my opinion, through such normalizations, development becomes an instrument of constructing hegemony through negative representations. Wakesho and Wangeci concurred that the task for migrant media is to sift through generally held public dominant discourse and select what is relevant for migrant consumption. In most cases, using more applicable frames.

Musa Naftali: International Broadcaster, Producer and Editor

Naftali is an experienced Kenyan journalist working for the British international media in London. After training as a journalist, he worked for the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation’s Kiswahili department, before moving to London. He is specialized in Radio production but has over the past few years engaged in TV production and is a top anchor for the Swahili news. He alternates his assignments from London to Nairobi and is an experienced member of the Swahili editorial team. His experience puts him at the center of the African news, he sees how ideas are moulded during editorial story pitching, the production of stories and images that filter through the newsroom. He is also aware of Western media editorial perceptions in portraying developing countries, and the struggle of African journalists in international newsrooms to get the

right image of Africa out. He offers an analysis of emerging political trends and social prejudices that surround Kenyan migrants in the UK, in relation to their agency role in development. Naftali suggested that Eurocentric perceptions are normalized in populist ideologies, to infuse a perception that “things in Europe are better than the rest of the world”. He argues, the aim is to influence masses to accept things the way they are:

“Apparently, the audience might be tired, but if they stopped showing these images then we may not reach into our pockets to support the course. Suppose we tried a different narrative of a child who is going to school and eating just a meal a day will that work? Apparently not, we only capture when he has not eaten for weeks that’s powerful” (Naftali, London, 15.03.2017).

Naftali explained that on numerous occasions, he has differed with his Western colleagues when choosing themes, images, and frames representing Africans and migrants. While in the mainstream media, the decision to choose favourable themes does not depend on one person, or people from similar contexts, in migrant media, producers have the freedom to select angles that do not objectify migrant’s cultural and historical contexts. The text in migrant media discourses on migration and development will more likely focus on positive and successful achievements of migrants, rather than repeat common projections in mass media. However, stories of migrant’s challenges, crimes, and deviance may appear in migrant media publications as well. In the next sub-section, we look at stereotypes as appealing “moving pictures in media production”, but an expression of hegemonic narratives.

7.1.2. Identifying Migrant Stereotypes: “Moving Pictures”

In chapter (four) we established different ways in which migrants are stereotyped, particularly when (re)produced as taking advantage of Europe’s economic system. The analysis of interviews show that migrants are sometimes treated as if the stereotypes are a true reflection of their persona, in most cases, this is not true. Hence, media producers learn from the environment around them and societal perceptions that confront their everyday journalistic practice. Some of these perceptions are stereotyped and act as “moving pictures” to sell a migrant story. Wangeci was of the view that the stereotypical portrayal of migrants presents a problem in multi-cultural societies like Europe. She pointed out, while stereotypes exist within various categories of people in a community, migrants may be under-represented. Using her experience working in the mainstream media, she informed, media stereotypes are curved in images, choice of words and hidden meanings within texts. Naturally, media producers are trained to look for the most heart rendering images in migration stories in (re)producing stereotypes. She narrated. I argue, in this narrative, it is easy to see that stereotypes are a form of hegemonic connotation that creates labels, which hinder the expression of diversity within migration contexts. Wangeci noted stereotypes are projected on both levels from native societies towards migrants and vice versa.

Stereotypical images are assumed to attract audiences and sustain a dominant discourse and sometimes find their way in migrant media discourses.

"I cannot remember a time an editor said, "let's look for the most graphic image", if anything the opposite will be, "can we find a picture that tells the story without being too graphic", not so heart rendering as what comes out. We are shopping for images that are humane, and it's still a struggle to find that, but editors still want strong images" (Wangeci, London Interview, 26.03.2017).

From our conversation, I concluded, stereotypes are prevalent in journalistic discourse practice (the production and distribution of text), where images become prolific in creating symbolic meanings. More often, images used expose migrants to negative connotations that affect the way they are perceived. Stories that feed on existing stereotypes are "moving" and tend to draw attention and empathy among audiences. Wangeci further alluded to the idiom - "a picture is worth 1000 words"⁷⁷ used in journalistic communicative discourse. She suggested, the more graphic, the more intense the picture is, the more reader's interest is drawn. This assumption, she argued, was reason behind negative images of migrants streaming on media spheres. She concluded, human beings are conditioned as a society to look for and expect graphic images.

"If I took a positive picture and a horrible picture and placed them side by side, people will be looking at the horrible picture. I think the society is conditioned at seeing traumatic events. If editors stopped using those powerful pictures, I wonder what would happen" (Wangeci, London, 26.03.2017).

Producers from migrant media confirmed, they endeavour to resist stereotypical representations of people with a migration background. They do this either through ultimately giving a complete blackout on images that show stereotypes. Instead, migrant media producers publish stories that challenge stereotypes and demand equal representation and involvement of migrants.

"If migrants were working here and developing here, they were at the same time developing their mother country. So, it is very important to our media because we were the people who would share those stories of the happening development. We would focus on Kenya because that is where we come from, but we engage with other countries from Africa let's say Uganda, Rwanda, because we share the same approach to development. Because we realized that development is not being highlighted and if development is being highlighted good stories are not travelling very quickly, the focus is more on negative stories. The only engagement that we would have here is when you are calling a brother from home to buy a plot, or you want to do business. When we started doing this media we realized people can start working with corporates based in Kenya so that we can invest there" (Waitherero, Interview London, 02.04.2017).

⁷⁷ Associated with Fredrick. R. Barnard of the 20th Century - USA piece on the effectiveness of graphics in advertisement. The original context "One look is worth 1000 words". The expression is used in journalistic contexts to emphasize the effect of images on audiences.

The stories also give information on where migrants can get services, identifying organization that address issues of racial discrimination. In addition, migrant media further focuses on stories that tend to paint a different picture of migrants through their social and economic expressions.

Brian Odhiambo: Producer, Presenter, Expatriate/Migrant

Brian Odhiambo is an experienced Radio Journalist having worked at Kenya's Radio Jambo. He came to Germany as producer and presenter on the German broadcaster 's Kiswahili department. He has produced stories on migration, politics, social and economic issues affecting the African continent. He also reads the Swahili news bulletin, does field interviews and is a host on radio shows. His programmes are broadcast on partner stations in African Swahili speaking countries e.g. Tanzania, Rwanda, Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo and Kenya. His contribution to politics of migration enables him to understand the topic under study. Our conversation was recorded in the studio, and a copy of the recorded audio transcribed for analysis. Odhiambo argued that transnational digital migrant media attempts to give alternative voices and images of migrants. He noted, migrant media also (re)produce stories with elements purporting dominant assumptions held in other mainstream, nation, and international media. The general view is that negative images have severe psychological consequences for migrants. He agreed that in normalization of stereotypes, migrants hold preconceived assumptions and naturally, expect to be stereotyped. In social situations, migrants objectify stereotypes associated with Europeanism. In producing stories, Odhiambo argued, the intention of media practitioners is to communicate ideas in more implicit forms. According to his interpretation, images enhance this aspect and are conditioned to touch the audience's reasoning. From my observation, I assume that stereotypical images connote hegemonic discourse as they not only cause social exclusion but raise apprehension between migrants and European natives.

"People think and sometimes wish they could go back home. Because home is home and you would not be going through the many difficulties that we as migrants' face. In my view, I think the images in the media are very negative, because they talk about very bad things and very few are positive stories (Odhiambo, interview Bonn, 02.11.2017).

From the data, the concept of development is interpreted as a source of hegemonic discourse. Therefore, the construction of development sometimes enhances stereotypical representations of migrants from Africa, as poor, always in strife, and perennial eluders of the legal migration systems. As we discussed in the state of the art in chapter two, development paradigm comprises a pervasive and largely unquestioned set of interlocking ideological assumptions that must be exposed and questioned (Sylvester and Gordon, 2004:4). This thesis takes a similar stance to challenge and question; how development in the so-called third world countries is produced in dominant mass media, political and economic discourse. To do so, I take a critical view of how discourses in migrant media provide different perspectives.

Simon Mutegi: Migration Field Reporter, Producer, Presenter

Mutegi has worked for 12 years as a producer for Swahili programmes at the international media in London with a focus on Africa. Prior to his taking assignment in London, Mutegi worked at Baraka FM, for a local frequency modulated radio station based in the Kenyan coastal town, Mombasa. Baraka FM broadcasts majorly Swahili programmes. He is specialized in Radio and TV production and news presentation programme production, reporting, and editing. His experience as a field reporter on migration gives a general perspective on categories of migrants. Mutegi was frequently confronted with the plight of migrants, particularly, the racialization of African migrants. Through his eyewitness accounts, he embodies migration challenges, laws, and policies that determine migrant's occupation and presence in migration-receiving countries. He shares experiences in reporting "migration crisis" and refugees coming to Europe and the predicament they face on arrival on European coasts.

"There are times that when a migrant sees you, the first thing he asks is a phone to contact relatives left behind to inform them that he or she is safe. This person is traumatized, he may probably have lost friends or kin on the journey. I have met people who have been on the journey for days, hungry, thirsty, struggling to survive. Most times, their personal stories don't get to see the day in mainstream media coverage. They can only get a slot in publications like migrant media, which are focused on getting voices of the marginalized heard" (Mutegi, Interview London, 25.03.2017).

Mutegi noted that stereotypical perceptions have been amplified with the influx of refugees and migrants from war torn countries of Syria, Yemen, Afghanistan, and Iraq. In addition, there are also migrants from African countries experiencing civil strife for instance, Somalia, the Congo, Central African Republic, South Sudan and Eritrea, likely to be considered as refugees. On the other hand, those from relatively peaceful locations like Kenya, but with economic disparities are considered "economic migrants" - taking advantage of industrialized nations to improve their livelihoods.

"Even if you come here as a black doctor from Kenya, you are not recognized even though your performance could be better than that of an English doctor. It is difficult to portray a positive image of migrant professionals" (Mutegi, Interview London, 25.03.2017).

In our conversation, he revealed, during his field assignments, migrants were subjected to stereotypical connotations in the mainstream media. Mutegi attributed the attitude to migrant's historical background as coming from the so-called third world countries. He also emphasized as I have argued prior, that residents of host-societies perceived migrants coming from non-European countries as only interested in economic gains, rather than making a significant contribution in host societies. He suggested, these points of hegemonic confrontations must be challenged by African Journalists, and particularly highlighted the role of alternative media, like migrant media in telling their own stories. Now we look at assumptions as the third element of (re)producing hegemony.

7.1.3. Assumptions of Inequalities: “Voices from Distant Souls”

Respondents for this study experience a migration history and practice within European environments, and structures. Although they may want to remain neutral and produce alternative assumptions, their practice is informed through European systems of communication and journalistic practice. Those in the migrant media may resist dominant hegemonic assumptions, but to remain credible, they also produce stories of migrant’s social disorder reified in mainstream media as an archetype of migrants. The main assumptions interpreted from interview transcripts on the sociological question on the (re)production of migration and development discourse in transnational digital migrant media are: despite economic inequalities in host societies, Kenyan migrants contribute to homeland economies, migration crisis influenced marginalization of other categories of migrants and effects criteria for selection of migration and development themes. Lastly, migration provides opportunities for development of migration –sending countries.

Charles Lwanga: Psychologist, Journalist, Content Producer

Lwanga studied Psychology, Education, and German at Kenyatta University in Kenya. He later worked at Kenya Broadcasting Corporation, before his assignment in Europe as a Kiswahili Radio producer. His journalistic assignments include news, documentary, and features broadcasted at the station. He is part of the Learning by Ear program, which centers on telling African stories, through plays and narrations that are either transmitted on radio or through traveling caravans of performing artists. The venture includes journalists and playwrights from all over Africa. He is a content producer who informs on the criteria for generating stories in media production. A passionate person about storytelling, Lwanga concerns with getting the voiceless heard.

“These are people who rarely make headlines. Listening to them is like getting in touch with distant forgotten souls. Yet, they have touching stories that inspire, sometimes shock, other times they give hope to other people”
(Lwanga, Interview, 15.10.2016).

From the interview, I observed, while migration and development form a key segment in the media production, stories on migration became highly prioritized at the onset of the migration crisis in 2015. Previously, the focus was on immigration laws, policies and activities of migrants in host societies and their transnationality. Over time, stories on migration have a sustained audience interest and explain migrant’s representations and attitudes from host societies. Lwanga argued, narratives of Europe are exaggerated in national media in migration-sending countries and give false illusions of the economic value of Europe. He illustrated that images of the economic potential in the West push migrants to take hasty decisions to migrate only to be confronted by social and economic inequalities.

“But equally we have heard of people who come to Europe and especially trying to find a better life, and all they found is some sought of hell and they must hustle day in day out trying to make ends meet but it is never easy” (Lwanga, Interview Bonn, 02.11.2016).

Lwanga emphasized, migrants, crossing to Europe for economic reasons assume that life in Europe is easy and expect to promptly enhance their economic status, yet, the reality is different. In most cases, migrants endure untold challenges to survive in Europe. According to his accounts from stories he had done over the years, highly skilled migrants are interested in advancing their careers in Europe and are likely to return to their home countries. On the other hand, he confirms as we analyzed in chapter four, migrants from low-income households are among those likely to resort to unsafe, disorderly or irregular migration. In his storytelling context, Lwanga pointed out that migrant media production is a viable medium of telling African stories in Europe. Whereas this study is limited to Germany and Britain, there are replica Kenyan migrant media outlets with considerable populations of Kenyans in the United States, Canada, and Australia.

Peter Musau: Journalist, Media Analyst, Migrant/Expatriate

A graduate of the Kenya Institute of Mass Communication, Musau worked at the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation before taking his assignment at the London based international media. He has a depth of experience in reporting on African issues touching on migration and development. He has seen changes in migration policies and editorial receptiveness over the years he has worked as an international broadcaster. He links these debates to the current migration crisis in Europe. He believes that the influx of immigrants from Syria, South Sudan, Somalia, Ethiopia is related to political insecurities. He says the juxtaposition of the migration crisis to Kenyan migrants provides a viable discourse on categories of migrants and underlying issues. His insights reveal challenges on the migrant image in the UK, and how public perception and prejudices affect their economic production and development. Musau has vast experience in media production, he has trained journalist in shaping stories, sat on editorial boards and meetings that shape the day to day topics in media production. He argued, Kenyan migrants in and Britain are highly skilled, most of them migrated after attaining their academic and professional qualifications. However, structural challenges render their penetration in the economic system difficult.

“Kenyans in Europe and Britain are caught in an economic trap, and despite having qualifications sometime, end up settling for menial jobs to sustain their lives in Europe. They lack participation in the competitive sectors and are confronted with inequalities based on race, gender and migration history. The mainstream media has specific guidelines on how to portray this group of migrants. If they make it in Europe, they are used as positive examples, if they are caught in a web of struggle, crime, deportation, then the story is negative and sells.” (Musau, Interview London, 29.03,2017).

In this study building on postcolonial theory in chapter three, I have argued that the marginalization of categories of people in terms of race and historical differences leads to their essentialization. Thereby, ignoring variations, identities, contexts,

and cultures of migrants. The attitudes are based on biological behaviourist perspectives, rather than cultural perspectives. In the context, hegemonic perspectives of migrants are formed, where one group of people is seen to be above another. For example, in literature, Said (1977) has suggested that representations of categories of people as the “Other” reflect operations of power. Evidence from interview narratives confirms Said arguments on representations. From the European perspective, the migrant can easily be associated with the Orient as backward, mysterious and deviant. The imagery presupposes the superiority of the European, similar attitudes are found in mass media constructs and feed hegemonic contexts. In the next section, we discuss aspects of counter-hegemonic narratives from the notions and perceptions of interview partners.

7.2. COUNTER-HEGEMONY: ALTERNATIVE VOICES

To sum up the outcomes of findings on counter-hegemonic narratives we apply Fairclough’s elements of identifications, actions and social relations. It was evident from media expert’s perceptions that what was assumed to be a general identity about migrants could as well be interpreted in media discourses as a form of representation. In some instances, there were no visible interrelations between identifications, actions and social relations as forms of the counter-hegemonic framing of discourse themes. The analysis shows an overlapping and interrelation of these themes across a broad spectrum of mainstream and migrant media. The overall result indicates that stories in migrant media specifically generate counter-hegemonic views, those migrant producers working in international broadcasts sometimes adapt and broaden into hegemonic framing relevant in mainstream media. On narratives of migration and development in transnational migrant media, the analysis shows that migrant media represented Kenyan migrants as agents of development. This served as a counter-hegemonic perception that reduced negative stereotypes, however general hegemonic assumptions on the images of migrants were sustained. Generally, the table (Figure.9) on key findings on counter-hegemonic narratives indicate that migrant media (re)produce themes on the exclusion and marginalization of migrants in European locations.

Figure 9. Summary on Key Findings on Counter Hegemonic Perceptions on Migration and Development

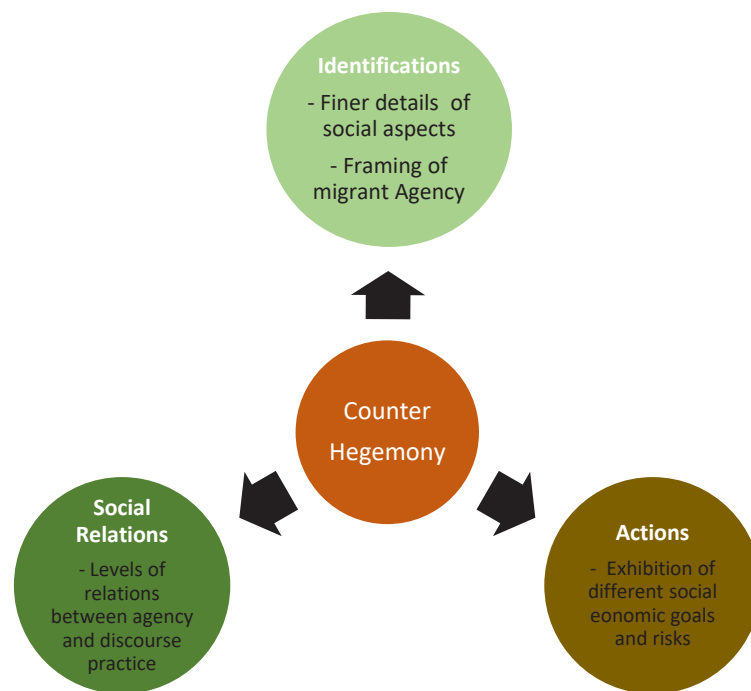
How the discourse on migration and development is (re)produced in transnational digital migrant media		
Identifications	Actions	Social Relations
- Categories of migrants are lumped together regardless of their differences	- Mass media production lean on political rhetoric on migration and development to engage in economic activities	- Personal experiences shape migrant stories
What narratives of migration and development do transnational migrant media produce?		

-Identity, culture and belonging	- Migrant investment signifies actions or migrant agency to encourage local development.	- Reasons for migration of Kenyans determine their connections in host lands
What images of migrants as development agents are produced?		
- Images considered unfavourable about migrants reduce development potential	- Kenyan migrants transfer skills and knowledge	- Migrants maintain transnational connections emphasized a viable to migration
What are the main criteria used by media producers to generate the discourse on migration and development?		
- Migrants connection to Kenya/Africa influence criteria for selection	- Kenyans in Europe act as sources of migration stories	- Migrants engagement in the community provides networks for social remittances as a frame for stories

In this section, I examine aspects of the counter-hegemony present in expressions of migrant identities and their actions as change agents and social relations. Counter-hegemonic approaches appear as contrasts to claim that visions and representations of the world have a universal status (Butler et al, 2000 in Fairclough, 2004: 45). Therefore, counter-hegemonic discourses are expressible in elements of identification, action and in social relations of media producers and their construction of texts that reveal migrant's agency or action. As we established in the empirical chapter on textual analysis (chapter six), the choice of production genre (features, news, commentary etc.) shapes and gives power to the discourse. Further, texts produce counter-hegemony or alternative voices and have effects on social relations shaped within sources of power, on one hand, social structures and social practices (Archer, 1995, Sayer, 2000). In counter-hegemonic discourses, migrants are (re) produced as social agents, their actions facilitate relations in texts. According to Fairclough (2004), social relations articulate a discourse, hence language. In the analysis of respondent's perceptions of counter-hegemonic discourse, I examine the interrelations between identifications and actions in part or whole texts. I analyze interview texts, to connect aspects of identification in aspects of meanings in discourse. I analyze counter-hegemonic perceptions in concepts of identifications, actions of migrants and their social relations. To this assumption, I argue, migrant media contest hegemonic discourses produced in mainstream media. In doing so, migrant media give alternatives voices to otherwise normalized ways of understanding migration and development. For instance, to sustain a hegemonic viewpoint, development is framed as an economic change possible with Western strategies in negotiating social capital inherent in trade agreements, and development projects. However, such Eurocentric economic strategies only benefit countries that are already economically endowed, excluding Africa and the so-called developing world. In addition, dominant narratives in the

media portray migration as a conduit of security threats and mass movement of humans, assumed to devalue social and economic systems in host destinations. It is in contesting dominant discourses that migrant media find creative ways of (re)producing migrants social and economic lives. I partially agree that modern migration and development has lasting effects on populations, but contend, there are other alternatives in representing views on these concepts. In my opinion, migration can effectively be framed as a global phenomenon that stimulates human agency and provides strategies to change economic situations in migration- sending countries.

Figure 10: The Counter Hegemonic Spectrum on Migration and Development Discourse



Source: Authors interpretation of concepts (2018).

In the next section, I will focus on the analysis of the three elements (identifications, actions, and social relations) that offer a possible look into narratives articulating counter-hegemonic power. In addressing the question on images of migrants (re)produced as agents of development, I realize that migrant's activities in social and economic remittances are a common representation of agency in migrant life in Europe and their transnational engagements. Therefore, in considering Fairclough (2004) analysis, the elements expressing counter-hegemony become the relevant frame of analysis:

Identifications: These are aspects of the text that bring out social perspectives into the finer details of the discourse. To identify elements of counter-hegemony, I seek to see how migrants are framed as actors in development activities, in transnational digital media. I examine if debates on migration and development in transnational digital media for Kenyans in

Europe, offer a platform for migrant's expressions of aspects of development. The research study is fixed within a social set up which expose certain social problems, as well as a highlight on material resources for tackling the problems.

Actions: Basing on the agency theory (Eisenhardt, 1989:59), migrants could be conceptualized in the problem-solving domain within transnational connections between migrants and non-migrants, with migrants acting as principals and non-migrants as agents. The principals and agents exhibit different social-economic goals and risks. They are engaged in a cooperative behaviour but display separate goals and attitudes (Eisenhardt, 1989:59). In response to this approach, transnational digital migrant media use frames that portray migrants as actors in development activities, a way to give voice to migrant issues. Consequently, representations of Europeans from a non-European perspective are present. Actions can also be related to relationships between journalists and agents of development e.g. migrants who act as sources of information for the digital media stories.

Social Relations: Media producers perform different roles as migrants and agents producing discourses on migration and development. The relationship between journalists and the migrants is characterized by someone who has knowledge and opinion in a specific subject (migration and development) and someone eliciting the opinion. I examine the interrelation of different aspects, in terms of aspects of meaning and actions, and how they are realized in various aspects of text e.g. vocabulary, grammar etc. In the analysis, I examine perceptions in transcript texts of interviews and see whether transnational links between migrants and their distant significant others rely on the media to generate relevant discourses on migration and development. How is the discourse on migration and development conceptualized as a narrative in transnational digital media? How does the element of home attachment for migrants framed as a moral obligation used to instil a sense of duty in development processes in migration-sending countries? Now let us consider how migrants negotiate identities to correct assumptions in the public discourse.

7.2.1: Correcting Assumptions: Negotiating Migrant Identities

In correcting assumptions already identified in hegemonic contexts in the previous section, empirical data for this study shows that migrants in host societies are aware of identities resulting from categories such as economic migrants, illegals or refugees. The constructs ignore personal and cultural histories of migrants. The status creates an imbalance in articulating migrant's economic value, as well as their mutual interactions within host societies. Migrants embody aspects of relations that enunciate hegemonic perceptions from host societies. I observe, through such experiences, migrants resist interactions with dominant ideological structures that emanate from public perceptions and social institutions and prefer creating their own identities and finding their comfort zones within migrant groups. They are forced to negotiate for recognition to foster their unique identities through socio-cultural and economic pursuits. Naftali shared that as a professional international

broadcaster in London, he may escape struggles migrants experience in Europe. Yet, his job presents a social risk, especially since he becomes a subject of xenophobic expressions from natives of the host society. Naftali concurs that natives in Britain assume that as a migrant, he is taking over jobs that are rightfully meant for British citizens, this aspect was also expressed in interviews in Germany (Wakesho, 10.10.2016). Naftali observed that migrants are frequently becoming targets for xenophobic and hate crimes because of their identities:

“There is that attitude that without us you would have failed. There are certain professions including my own office where we are advised all the time not to wear job cards outside the office, because it’s dangerous. A black person carrying such a badge invokes a lot of hate and you become a target of attack. In London, you can easily get stabbed on the train or in the subway or you become a target of someone who is very envious or xenophobic” (Naftali, Interview London, 15.03.2017).

The narrative from the interview reveals elements of discriminative and xenophobic attitudes towards migrants in British as elements of hegemony. Therefore, migrant media producers seek to find alternative imageries to these dominant narratives examining reasons for migration, how migrants sustain life in host countries and their integration. Alternative images are a sign of recognition and familiarity, considered to offer migrants a sense of belonging, and a connection in an otherwise hostile environment.

Jane Waitherero: Migrant Media Founder, Entrepreneur, Social Marketer

Waitherero is the founder and manager of the London based migrant media Ukentv, a case study for the thesis. She is also a public relations consultant, community media producer and social media marketer. She doubles as a producer and broadcaster at Ukentv and runs charitable and social events that bring together Kenyan migrants in the UK. She is also the president of the Face of Kenya (UK, USA, and Germany). An event that showcases Kenyan culture through fashion, music, cuisine and entrepreneurial ventures. Realizing that there was a gap in the number of community media that represented migrants in the UK, Waitherero launched Ukentv in 2007. The organization started publishing stories about what is affecting Kenyan migrants in the UK, and their relations to Kenya. When Ukentv became a platform for Kenyan voices, the gap in telling positive stories about migrants was evident. There was a call for more production to cover different subjects relevant to migrant lives. The organization engages with the UK and Kenyan governments, to understand migrant lives and ideas for developing the home and host states. The positive migrant engagement has seen the outlet expand and attract Kenyans from different parts of the UK. In a video recorded interview over Skype, Waitherero told me that her work involved the production of diverse narratives on migration and development, through reconstructing migrants’ social life and actions, sometimes resisting hegemonic ideas from the society and utilizing alternative migrant voices. However, as observed from interviews journalistic criteria of selection, media texts consist of themes that portray the heterogeneity in migration and

development discourse. Waitherero argued Kenyan migrant's social capital is identified in migrant media as people interested in a common goal, to develop their country, at the same time contribute to the good of their new host lands. Migrant media production is an essential part of a process of telling the migrant story. Through narratives, meanings are produced and exchanged between members of a specific culture. Talking to Waitherero as a migrant media producer, it was evident that historical and cultural background of contexts within stories is produced and influence the interpretation of meanings. Similarly, experiences and personal beliefs of media producers enhance the way a text is read and understood. Waitherero argues, migrant media sets the migration agenda in their focus on themes. The media constructs ways in which migrants talk about the issues and how it is shared among relevant publics.

"We looked at the information we get from the mainstream media and how it can be relevant to our community. So, migration was one of them and everything that was being shared about migration was negative. Yet, migrant communities were doing very well in terms of businesses, migrants are getting back to school, and a lot of them were doing very good work like doctors, nurses, teachers and all this work was not being shared. The second thing was their mother country, if migrants were working here and developing here, they were at the same time developing their mother country" (Waitherero, Interview London, 02.04.2017).

I observe that disparities in the professional representation of migrants are a common frame in media depictions and inspires alternative voices from migrant media. Frequently, professional migrants are excluded from leadership and decision-making positions within European institutions, because of their migration background. While some organizational policy explicitly acknowledges a non-biased procedure in hiring staff, this was rarely implemented in practice. In this regard, migrants hold secondary leadership positions, regardless of their competence. To contests, class stratification in employment cadres' migrant media (re)produce narratives of success among migrants.

Narratives of Identity: Migrant Culture

While the mass media projects a dominant identity as a holistic and essential quality of life, migrant media attempts to negotiate space for alternative thought. When migrants have been successful in the integration and are socially and economically active in host societies, they are considered progressive and therefore represent a desirable image. The level of integration as the ability to adapt to the migration-receiving society and its norms enhances mobility within private and public contexts. Members of the migrant community also enhance their integration using many cultural sources through the consumption of different media and communication systems. From Bonn, Wakesho noted that in Germany, the ability to learn and use the German language is considered on the aspect of integration.

"I do stories about migrants who moved from Kenya to Germany and they are doing a tremendous job. They have gone through an integration process and are now living and creating spaces for their peers back home to give

back to the society and encouraging other people to follow their dreams and work on things that can make their lives better” (Wakesho, Interview Bonn, 10.10.2016).

In this context, respondents suggested that stories on migration policies are prioritized, the criteria ensure that migrants are familiar with migration laws and procedures. A dismal comprehension of language is considered a challenge to integration and may be used discriminately to identify migrants. On the other hand, Musau exemplifies that migrants who attain language fluency easily access the job market, and educational opportunities. For example, in Britain, professional success is considered as a sign of successful integration. Musau argues.

“Someone like the athlete Mo Farrah is considered as successful in the UK and received the title of Sir. There is a joke, we usually make as far as Mo Farrah is concerned, when he is doing so well then, he is British and if he is not doing so well then we say he is Somalia” (Musau, Interview London, 29.03.2017).

I argue, inequalities in representations of groups of minorities in internet sources of information exacerbate marginalization, seldom talked about in the technology community. Conversely, images change depending on the context and situation, in findings for this thesis, migrants are viewed as villains when their actions do not represent European ideals. They are heroes when engaged in activities edifying Europeanism. In the migrant media production process, Waitherero acknowledges, stories resist such dominant perceptions and context that objectify migrants. Migrant media express resistance through highlights on success stories of Kenyan migrants in their occupations and way of life in Europe, opportunities and challenges. She argues.

“There was a lady from Kenya who was running for Council office in London. When we get such stories, we highlight them and when we get such respected people we highlight and say you know what a Kenyan in London has done. It may be something like a successful business employing natives. It is a great inspiration to non-migrants who will watch that story back home” (Waitherero, Interview London, 02.04.2017).

I argue, in mainstream media, it is not entirely a personal decision to structure story angles, rather, it is an editorial process derived from news policies and style books. Some social contexts which appeal to African journalists may derive little interest among European audience. For instance, challenges and struggles of migration are left out as unnecessary details within mainstream media contexts. This presents gaps quickly picked in migrant media angles as relevant to sustain migrant audiences. In mass media narratives the predominant angling of stories is dependent on the representation of migrants within policy provisions. For example, as the interview excerpt above shows, in search of positive representations transnational digital migrant media focuses on stories of African migrants in Britain, who have excelled academically, professionally and in sports. The analysis shows that migrant media represented Kenyan migrants as agents of development. This served as a counter-hegemonic perception that reduces negative stereotypes, however hegemonic

assumptions on the images of migrants is sustained. Generally, migrant media (re)produced themes on the exclusion and marginalization of migrants in European locations.

7.2.2. Deconstructing Development through Migrant Agency

Migrant media producers confirmed, they resist contexts that define development in Eurocentric models, explaining aid as a precursor of development. Western nations are quickly taking on this narrative exemplified in the Marshall Plan for Africa as identified in the chapter (three). The project's aim is to stimulate development using investment through a partnership with African countries. However, while this may take time to be realized, migrant media for Kenyans has focused in the production of stories on themes portraying Kenyan migrant's contribution to development through investment in the economic and social capital using remittances. Moreover, as we have analyzed previously, migrant media publish stories on personal experiences on successes in investment, and development ventures as a motivation to other potential migrants as social change agents. Financial remittances in Kenya surpass Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), yet, infrastructural challenges and a weak operational environment hinder their optimum value. For one thing, this thesis developed on the assumption that remittances injected into the economy of migration-sending countries enhance economic growth and development. To illustrate, ahead of Kenya's general elections in 2017, remittances stood at 432.6 million US dollars in the first three months of the year, while FDI was recorded at 394 million US dollars, but, inflation rates rose to a high of 11.7 percent. Financial imbalances were projected throughout the remaining half year (CBK, 2017; WB Doing Business Report, 2017). At the close of the year, remittances stood at 19.2 billion USD, indicating an accumulative trend despite economic upheavals experienced during the August to October 2017, electioneering period. The influxes were also attributed to mismanagement of public funds and a drought in 2016. Although, remittances are argued to have dismal impacts on migration receiving-countries, feeding on the assumption that migrants do not contribute optimally to development in Europe. While not evident in the Kenyan case, as we established in literature in chapter two, remittances may be used in money laundering schemes and to finance violent and terrorist activities. In another example, at the onset of Kenya's fight against Al-Shabaab, remittances services associated with Somali Islamic foundations were scrutinized, and shut down for being suspected of supporting the terror group. Mutege sees migration as an agency of development, he argued that in a sustained economic curve, remittances to migration-sending countries achieve Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).

"Kenyans in Europe, wherever they do not forget their home and always remember their families and wire financial support that people back home can invest, the money is the only way development can come" (Mutege, Interview, London, 29.03.2017).

In a country like Kenya, remittances play an attractive factor for migration to European destinations. In the realization of the value of remittances, the Kenyan government encourages migrants to remit and has enacted policies to structure systems of

investment that target migrants. Subsequently, respondents were wary that the politicization of remittances has pushed many Kenyans to settle abroad, leading to the brain drain of highly skilled professionals. In the literature in chapter two, I considered the downside of remittances, for example, increased capital could lead to the appreciation of the real currency exchange rates (Angman and Larson, 2014). Giving emphasis on the assumption of migrant's contribution to development constructed in form of economic and social remittances, Lwanga suggested that it was easy to construct stories to explain financial remittances as a form of development, because of available financial statistics from the central bank and global financial institutions. Rarely, are social remittances viewed as a concept of economic development, yet, they play a significant role among Kenyan migrants. He noted, migrants need to be on the ground to transfer skills and knowledge and not remotely. For social remittances to be effective, migrants must be engaged in social activities within their homeland, Lwanga insisted. For example, he emphasized on networks and connection in utilizing social remittances, highlighting that exchange of ideas on development occurred during meetings between Kenyan leaders on international trips to Europe.

"We have meetings and we can suggest through the person in charge of the migrants that these are our ideas, maybe if you do this then it is going to help, but, I ask myself what development that could be. Development can only be reflected if we send money for investment" (Lwanga, Interview Bonn, 15.10.2017).

I argue, Kenya has different indicators of migration and development, migrants are shifting their focus on South to North mobility and keen on reverse migration. The number of Kenyans migrating to Europe in search of jobs has reduced with more people arriving to advance their careers, or on international assignments finally returning to the sending country at the end of their engagements. This means that there is a likelihood to focus attention on social, rather than economic remittances or integrate both for better results. Naftali further confirms an increase in the coverage of themes about professionals abroad. Hence, their formal engagements and informal activities and how they support new migrant's inclusion in the society, as well as negotiating migrant networks. Stories on laws and immigration policies, cultures and culture shocks are (re)produced in transnational digital migrant media. He cited cultural integration as important in defining the process of integration, through learning a language and people's ways of life.

"Sometimes, it is not easy to adopt, other than religion, we also have strong cultural believes and practices, then you came here and realize that those things have no value at all to people abroad and you feel like your identity is being stolen. We highlight about how migrants lose their identities and struggle to keep up and get noticed in a place where they don't belong" (Naftali, Interview London, 15.03.2017).

Establishing a Nexus between Migration and Development

As I have analyzed from respondent's perceptions, the level of integration of migrants in the host society is considered as a measure of personal development. It also extends to migrant's role in the economic development of the migration-sending

country. While migrants were regarded as potential investors, they are also blamed for brain drain, thus losing potential resource people to migration receiving countries. Many Kenyans who have settled in Europe are considered to have invested in education, a resource lost with their migration, thus leaving the sending country with a professional deficit. For example, Odhiambo argued that productive and professionally equipped people are likely to migrate based on the cost implications of migration, draining their home states of knowledge, skills, and capacity for domestic growth.

“The best, the crème of the crème, the best doctors leave and go to the USA or they run to Germany or Europe, what’s going to happen to a health and education sectors in Kenya...we are not going to have any kind of medical or academic expertise, we lose knowledge and skills, therefore, at that sector we can forget about development completely” (Odhiambo, Interview Bonn, 15.10.2016).

This aspect is responsible for reverse development in migration-receiving countries and ignored in studies that focus on the gains migrants get from the host society. Migrants share experiences gathered in migration-sending countries with their significant non-migrating others. However, migrants’ families’ loose when highly skilled professionals migrate to Europe, given that investment in education is not directly harnessed in migration-sending countries. There was a consensus among media experts that reporting on migration and development exposes a discourse encouraging migration as a source of revenue. For instance, Wangeci noted a clear distinction on reasons for migration in Britain, with fewer migrants attributed to political asylum, particularly during the migration waves of the 80s and 90s, when Kenya as a one-party state suffered from state induced political and economic repressions. The most common categories of migrants were professionals in the academia. Category of professional migrants was constructed as contributing more to their country incomes.

“I don’t think Kenyans have come here to take away from the welfare, they contribute to it because they have come here as students which means they are paying a lot of money than anyone else. Professionally, they come to work they are contributing to the system through paying taxes, so we don’t have proper refugees” (Wangeci, Interview London, 26.03.2017).

Arguably, examining the interviews, I argue professional skills and knowledge form a larger part of social remittances transferred to the migration-sending country during circular and return migrations. Investment is measured in terms of acquiring property, construction of residential and business premises, entrepreneur ventures, stock markets and people-centered investment. Migrants are also involved in projects with partnerships between migration sending and receiving countries in skills and knowledge transfer. However, while such programmes are sought after, there are no adequate systems to track their sustainability, and impacts on migrants. For example, Wakesho, who has written features on such partnerships like the Afrika Kommt (Africa Comes) project explained that the idea behind the project is to revamp investment policies and that encouraged dialogue between entrepreneur’s investment organs.

“There is a programme called Africa Kommt, which I was going through and felt it was good. In the programme, young entrepreneurs come to Germany and learn how entrepreneurs here do their thing and when they go back home they are expected to put in what they learnt here” (Interview Bonn, 10.10.2016).

Experts shared their experiences in producing migration and development stories, where stories ranged across a diverse genre of opinion pieces, discussions with International Organization of Migration (IOM), and United Nations officials. Additionally, producers also generated interviews with expatriates on the significance of migration, and alternative debates calling for control on migration flows from countries in the South. Musau suggested, the angles and selection criteria fulfils the need to harmonize categories of migration as facilitating economic values to migration-sending and receiving countries. His argument supports evidence in changing patterns of migration from Kenya to Europe, frequently taking a return and circular migration as an alternative to settlement in migration-receiving countries.

“Countries which receive these people benefit a lot. In terms of labour, in terms of expertise, but the home countries are also at a loss, because they lose experts they lose well trained people. Development is there, but on a very small scale. It would probably be on a large scale, if all these people would remain in their country and can work earn their money there and put their skills to use in their own” (Interview London, 25.03.2016).

In literature in chapter two, transnational connection to migration-sending countries is a process in which migrants can forge sustained multi-stranded social relations that cross geographical, cultural and political boundaries (Portes,1997). Respondents argued transnationalism enhances circular migration ensuring that migrants stay in the migration receiving countries and sustain the linkages through communication systems and frequent international travels. Naftali shares this view on return migration and argues that it is enabled through channelling innovative ideas and skills over time, among non-migrants. The transnational interactions would facilitate the final relocation to migration-sending countries. He indicated that frequently, migrant media become a space to advocate for circular and return migration, as an alternative migration narrative, where migrants establish an exit plan.

“We see people who had migrated in Western countries years ago, are now going back. Whether is because life is becoming harder, policies are becoming tougher, or they simply feel life has turned out well for them, they have saved enough money and can go back home to invest and improve people lives” (Naftali, Interview London, 15.03.2017).

In the case of this thesis, Kenyan migrants are a representation of African Diasporas engaged in intercultural dialogue, through their practice and initiatives which facilitate common understanding, shared interests and values. Wakesho emphasized, it was also not enough for media portrayal of people who have left their native countries as migrants, but rather on circumstances telling them apart from other categories of migrants.

"I don't think that you can compare economic migrants to refugees running away from persecution or running from a place like Syria, or someone coming from Eritrea, or someone else coming from Nigeria. They are all migrants but see them differently. Students who come here are migrants for some time, but I think the way they tell their stories is different from migrants who have stayed here for 50 years. Personally, I am a migrant, but I categorize myself as a professional migrant" (Wakesho, Interview London, 26.03.2017).

Kenyan migrants are defined depending on the periods of migration. For instance, the pre-independent waves commencing the 50s and 60s tell a different narrative because of the context of the conditions under which Kenyans migrated. Furthermore, Kenyans who migrated following Brexit experience different conditions, their stories contribute to development differently. Muthoni, who has lived in Germany for 10 years argued that Kenyans in continental Europe were not as active players in development like those in the Britain and the USA.

"They might be so on a small scale; they might be helping their families; they might be helping their communities. I do not think they have reached that high level of scale. They are not so much engaged or influential as Kenyans in the UK and the USA are". As much as we want to talk about illegal migration and why it should be stopped, migration should be encouraged because it brings a lot of revenue. For instance, the amount of money that goes back to our countries from people who have migrated is significant" (Muthoni, Interview Frankfurt, 09.11.2016).

Despite a dominant perception that migrants were actively contributed to the development, empirical data indicate that migrants did not always engage in development, particularly Kenyans in Germany were not active in development initiatives compared to their counterparts in Britain. However, in both contexts, development was perceived in terms of remittances as enablers of return migration and sustainable incomes. In most cases, migrants who send money and stay in Europe are prone to unscrupulous agents and misappropriation by family members. Migrant media publish stories of migrant's lost investments or valuable goods through corrupt deals with dubious individuals. The challenges are a setback and therefore, in search for solutions migrants are starting to engage with formal channels in government to ensure financial security and guarantee of their investments. Naftali argued migration provides opportunities for development, while media acts as a conveyor of migration discourses and its connection to development. His views are like arguments in this thesis that migrant media discourse is derived from the dominant political discourse that touches on migration policies. Naftali further suggested recent political perspectives in Europe and America affect aspects such as housing, employment, and citizenship that determine migrant's participation in economic activities and their contribution to development. He recommended the need for journalists to question government inadequacies in planning for population growths, in a bid to challenge societal perceptions on migration. Naftali highlighted difficulties journalists face in balancing dominant narratives with migrant's social reality. He perceived that if migrant media journalists portray migration as a process to develop, it may encourage migrants to be professionally competent and shun the so-called 3D jobs (IOM, 2003).

“Even as an immigrant you don’t have to think of coming to Western countries or Europe to settle for low paying meagre salaried jobs. Sometimes, we also need to think that in Europe they are always advertising that we are looking for nurses, we are looking for teachers. We can highlight this and show people that you can migrate to Western countries as a white-collar professional and make good money or come here and study starting and investment or business or something like that, it is not always about something lower something cheaper” (Naftali, Interview London, 15.03.2017).

While in his argument, he exhibits a dominant narrative on professional preference in European middle-class, he reifies the perception that to be economically viable. In his argument, he emphasizes the need for Kenyan migrant to ascend class levels as a counter narrative contesting migrants professional downgrading on the labour market. On the other hand, Wangeci agrees with Naftali and suggests, this type of reportage is considered positive and encouraging to migrants. However, she contested a disparity in the identification of non-European professionals in the West as immigrants, while their European counterparts were considered expatriates. She assumed that migrant media can help bridge the gap between migration and development, through highlighting more on stories that aim to challenge dominant perceptions in the public sphere on economic positions of migrants in receiving countries.

“An average migrant will try to better themselves, it would be the kind of person working part time and going to school with an ambition to getting somewhere or getting some sort of qualification that will move him or her from point A to point B. Not just that they contribute in economic in the new homes, they also send money back home. You are lifting two places so to speak sending money to help non-migrants back home and contributing to the system” (Wangeci, Interview London, 26.03.2017).

From the excerpt, I argue that even though some of the migrants may be undocumented and might not have a regulated income tax, they contribute remittances informally through agencies or friends visiting Kenya, as well as in gifts and mobile transfers. As a result, migrant media can bridge the gap on migration and development through highlighting on stories that facilitate on migrants social and economic activities.

Counteracting Discrimination: “We” versus “Them” Narratives

Given that interviews for this study cut across migrant and mainstream media producers, it was possible to compare the production of stories in the two different media outlets. Narratives of discrimination were prevalent in both contexts, exemplified in stories of migrant’s struggles to acquire social mobility, cultural and economic integration. I argue, social exclusion of migrants from socio-economic aspects in European host locations generate narratives on discrimination and racial differences in transnational digital migrant media. In addition, policies in host countries are stringent in availing positions for the professional practice of migrants. This means that migrants who depend on jobs in the host society to contribute to development are forced to take any possible available economic opportunity. For example, the dispersion of

labour for migrants in Germany depends on sector and occupation and relies not only on the demand and possible labour market segmentation effects but also on the prior education and work experience of migrants in their nations of origin (Liebig, 2007). Furthermore, African or Kenyan migrants, in this case, would only be considered for hiring, if there is no native applicant or migrants from European zones. Wakesho observed, in her media research, she was confronted with cases of disillusioned migrants who resort to unregulated labour to survive. Like Wangeci, she also contested the identification of African high skilled migrants, as migrants and not as expatriates. She wondered why Europeans working in Africa were considered as expatriates, arguing that this categorization reflected racialized discriminative attitudes towards people perceived to be different from the norm.

“Migrants can also be expatriates in the West. It doesn’t mean that only Europeans can be expatriates in Africa, and African expatriates moving to the West become immigrants” (Wakesho, Interview Bonn, 10,10,2016).

Interviews reveal, migrants will likely network with other migrants with similar historical experiences than European community as a response of the marginalization they feel, in the host societies. While, agreeing with Wakesho, from experiences in London, Musau argued, stories on migration are themed on migrant's survival in Europe, their tragedies and past experiences. Although Kenyan migrants do not suffer within the modern migration trajectories of the Mediterranean crossing and the Libyan desserts, they feel connected to the suffering of conflict-based migrants, when grouped together in frames of migration or exclusion.

“We portray stories of migrants like the ones that have been drowning in Mediterranean Sea. What types of policies are there in Europe, in terms of accepting and receiving immigrants legally or illegally? If there are any changes to the law, we also highlight that” (Musau, Interview London, 29.03.2017).

I argue transnational digital migrant media (re)produce migrants as valuable subjects in host societies. Similarly, Kenyans in Europe sustain political and cultural connections across European boundaries through migrant media. The engagement is either positive or negative depending on the motivating factors. In retrospect, migrants are articulated in host societies in relation to issues associated to them, their identity, free expression, representation, and belonging. For instance, the Kenya post-2007 election violence, and also Al-Shabaab attacks in 2015 and 2016 resulted in a media framing of Kenya as volatile and insecure. To this view, Mutegi argued, Kenyans in Europe were confronted with questions pertaining to the vulnerability of the situation at home, and as a result, regarded differently. He illustrated, sometimes the victimization was replaced with alternative positive stories about Kenyans outstanding participation in sports and culture e.g. during the London marathon.

“I may be biased, but Kenyans are not like Nigerians with a negative image problem. It’s only in 2007 and 2008 during the post-election violence that everyone saw Kenyans and thought that this people are tribal they just want to tear each other over politics. But rather, it might be stories that are under-reported or over reported generally, Kenyans enjoy a positive image and narrative in the UK (Mutegi, Interview London, 29.03.2017).

In addition, the identity of Kenyans in Europe is perceived from the fact that they seldom claim asylum and or refugee status. This is because, Kenya is generally secure and those who resort to seeking asylum do so for political reasons, particularly, migrants that relocated in the 1980s and 1990s during Kenya's president Daniel Arap Moi's repressive regime. Though, it was agreed across respondents that Kenyans migrate in search of a better life and improving their standards of living. Naftali observed economic disparities and lack of employment in Kenya push high skilled professionals to migrate. Naftali noted, with increasing economic hardships, there was a slight change in traditional migration trend, as several Kenyans claim asylum on the grounds of sexual discrimination and intolerance to Lesbians, Gay Bisexual and Transgender (LGBT) community in Kenya.

"I met someone recently who said he is gay, but he didn't look that, I think he just used that as an excuse to get an asylum, arguing that Kenya was not friendly to gay people. Other than that, Kenyans are very business minded and professional minded, and they are very proud of their country. So, they wouldn't leave their country, because they hate it" (Naftali, Interview London, 15.03.2017).

I aver, European liberal society is attractive to groups of people that would otherwise be excluded, ostracized or criminalized for their social and sexual preferences. In 2017, Germany assented a law allowing same sex marriages, whereas, though less intolerant to people diverse sexual orientation and gender identities, Kenya does not condone same sex relationships⁷⁸.

De-secularization, De-economization of the Migration and Development Discourse

The influx in 2015 of refugees to Europe influenced the framing of stories in the mainstream media. Consequently, migrant media attempts to change the narrative of viewing all categories of migrants as criminals or terrorists. The Kenyan migrant is susceptible not only to the framing of migrants and refugees but also to the reality that every person with a migration background is regarded suspiciously as a potential criminal or even terrorist. I argue that migration has become a complex issue, without straightforward answers, and presents a political challenge, without sufficient legal and policy solutions due to changing dynamics. I provide that hegemonic narratives in the mainstream media on migration portraying elements of marginalization, discrimination associated with xenophobia, Islamophobia, racism and other forms of social exclusion resonate with Kenyan migrants. Therefore, in their quest to contribute to Kenyan migrant's survival, integration and economic viability, migrant media find frames to contest these hegemonic perspectives. As the next excerpt reveals.

⁷⁸ Article 45 of the Kenyan Constitution (2010) defines marriage as a union between persons of opposite sex. The penal code further in section 162-165 criminalizes homosexuality and attempted homosexual behaviour referred to as "canal knowledge against the order of nature". The Guardian 2017 reports that laws criminalizing LGBT identity are still in place in countries in Africa, Asia-Pacific, the Middle East and North Africa. It quotes research by the UN's refugee agency in 2015, which found that social exclusion and other forms of violence against LGBT were reported across the continents. The report highlights on increasing numbers of "gay refugees".

Virginia Muthoni: Engineer, Social Entrepreneur, Blogger

Muthoni, a professional mechanical engineer, and social entrepreneur is the founder of Mkenya Ujerumani, a migrant media under this study. Mkenya Ujerumani is a synonym for Kenyans in Germany. The digital media website was founded in 2008. It publishes news and information items on migration, development and migrant activities. Stories target Kenyans in Germany, they touch on social, economic and cultural issues affecting Kenyans living in Germany. Some of the themes are linked to crowdfunding, a celebration of national holidays, exhibition of culture in terms of local Kenyan foods and dress, scholarship, employment opportunities, promotion of Kenya's tourism sector and investments. Muthoni has managed the transnational digital migrant media for nearly a decade. She gives insights on the operation of digital media and how discourse on migration and development are shaped. She argues, stories on immigrant's death on the journey across the Mediterranean and in the Libyan dessert are significant and remain relevant to audience.

"Migration influx was a big story in 2016, and it could be replicated this summer (2017). When migrants cross from Libya to Italy, whether the migrants are from, Algeria, Eritrea, and Ethiopia, the story takes centre stage, because it's a big media story and everyone must have it. Until the weather changes and the seas are not conducive then the story dies until autumn" (Muthoni, Interview Frankfurt, 26.11.2016).

Experts from mainstream media indicated that stories on migration and development in transnational digital migrant media sometimes mirror those in the mainstream media. For example, in 2015, the Guardian newspaper printed an editorial comment on Europe's crisis and described refugees as "fearful dispossessed" who are rattling Europe's gates (The Guardian, 2015). The newspaper phrase is derived from a set in the historical moment of the barbarian invasion of Rome. This enunciation is like that used in President Trump's run to election campaign's xenophobic rhetoric's referring to migrants as "rapists and murders" (FoxNews.com, 2015) and in migrants coming from "Shitholes" (sic) countries (CNN,2017). Having said that, we learn that mass media and political discourse use imageries in framing refugees to Western destinations as an influx of dangerous waters in the forms of a 'flood', 'surge', 'tidal waves' or 'deluge' (Nail, 2014). In essence, the migration is unwanted yet, empirical findings on migrant media production indicate that a declining economy and harsh political conditions have facilitated migration as a form of upward social mobility. Wangeci recognizes the negative portrayal of migration in the mass media as a response to a rising discontent with the migration problem. Migration is further enabled by a reliance on social networks of friends and family, who had earlier migrated making it easier for generations of migrants to settle and form communities in European spaces. I argue the factors that drive people to migrate to Europe are often used as a frame to profile categories of migrants. Wangeci exemplified, Kenyans migration to Europe was heightened after the post-2007 elections violence, where political critics fearful of repercussions applied for refugee status in the UK. In addition, earlier from 1995 to 2005, many Kenyans settled in Britain on political grounds.

“It’s mainly economic and it’s not negative, it’s either people who have jobs here, or businesses here or the 4th and 5th generation Kenyans who came here during those early days after independence, we don’t have a special group like the Asian community who came from Uganda. The Kenyan migration stories are quite straight forward” (Wangechi, Interview London, 26.03.2017).

The composition of the current migration trend is of professionals’ students, sports talents and business people, with a considerable number investing in Kenya. Waitherero shares that banking institutions from Kenya also facilitate the economic production of Kenyans in Europe through making public financial packages on migrant media to encourage migrant’s investments.

“When I landed in the UK in 2002, I had nothing to give, but if you look at me the few years I have been here, I have been able to build and I am a good resource for Kenya. It is also about how migrants have settled in the UK and the possibility of giving back” (Waitherero, Interview London, 02.04.2017).

Resisting Otherness in a “Migration Crisis”

Migration is not only perceived as a conduit for development, but also as precarious and dangerous factor that continue to provoke negative perceptions towards migrants. Kenyans who migrated to Europe for various reasons are caught up in the melee of escalating number of conflict migrants. Kenyan migrants are forced to change their strategies in accessing economic opportunities to sustain their contribution to development. I found out that transnational digital migrant media (re)produce stories on the suffering of migrants, to negotiate their representation in an increasingly intolerant society. The stories include and not limited to migrant strategies to survive in host lands, their initiatives towards self-determinism. Moreover, migrant’s participation in socio-economic activities does not guarantee their inclusion and acceptance in migration-receiving countries. Consequently, perceptions of migrants in host societies are reinforced through narratives in the mainstream media. The combination between dominant public discourses and mainstream media narratives often embraces the hegemonic status quo and relations of power, which cannot, but reproduce exclusions. In this case, images of migrants from non-European locations portray migrants as coming from poverty and misery. Other significant attributes within migration-sending countries are seldom emphasized. For example, Kenya’s tourism, resource value, human capital, and infrastructure contribution to economy is dismally accentuated in mainstream media. Although mainstream media use uniform criteria for news selection, the choice depends on internal Eurocentric agendas that influence the outcome and angling of stories. For example, Odhiambo identifies a persistent (re)production of dominant narratives from the mainstream media. The narrative sometimes contributes to migrants “Othering” in defining the relationship between migrants and residents in the context of “us vs them”.

“We call ourselves migrants, because we have been outsourced to come here and give services to Germany institutions. There also migrants who come using boats fleeing through the Mediterranean Sea. We find ourselves all being pulled together as migrants” (Interview Bonn, 10.10.2016).

In the state of the art in chapter four, I argued, the attitude of depicting third world contexts in racialized, stratified and prejudiced expectations, amounts to hegemonic perspectives. While migrant media is viewed as a solution to the problem of hegemony, the cultural hybridization challenge the celebratory attitude towards new communication systems migrants use. Informing the discourse practice, Wakesho was concerned that media practitioners lack institutional and ideological capacity to handle modern migration stories. She added, migration issues require specific structures of production and dissemination. She concurred, journalists lack investigative approaches, relevant in unearthing migration and development contexts. This was problematic for migrant media producers working with limited resources, and personnel to produce stories that give an in-depth analysis into the migration issues. In other contexts, as Wakesho argues, the discourse on migration is simplified and leads to misrepresentation.

“You find that most media organizations use a generalized approach, for example,” [...] seven hundred people have sunk in a boat”, or today the EU parliament discussed issues on migration and suggested measures to curb and if your visa process...bla, bla” (Wakesho, Interview Bonn, 10.10.2016).

As per the excerpt, the mass media is involved in the day to day construction of images of “us and the other”, while fixing and (re)producing images to non-members of dominant groups. In my opinion, it is easy to generalize migration as a problem without critically looking at other underlying factors that could facilitate an effective way of producing migrants. Hence, migrant media platforms should not be used as spheres for (re)producing hegemony, but also investigate other creative ways of categorizing people with a migration background. In the next sub-section, we look at how social relations produce counter-hegemony.

7.2.3. Social Relations: Who Says What, with What Effect?

The purpose of this dissertation was to deconstruct development narratives through a study of migrant media, by doing so, contribute to social research and confront truths that shade light on possible alternatives. According to interviews for this study, mainstream media producers also search for angles from migrant media progressing the element of intertextuality. The mainstream media has sufficient financial and human resources and expands on migrant media stories, by interviewing more sources to get varying opinions from the British and German administration dealing with issues of migration and development. From Bonn, Lwanga noted, migration is believed to cause development when producers validate their credibility through interviewing experts on migration from organizations such as; the International Organization of Migration

(IOM) and the United Nations (UN). The narrative indicates that migration is an important growth factor in migration-sending and receiving countries. This is pegged on the fact that migration contributes to revenues through remittances and taxation.

“As much as we want to talk about illegal migration and why it should be stopped, migration should be encouraged because it brings a lot of revenue. For instance, it is a large amount of money goes back to our countries from people who have migrated. We have so much tried to bring in this type of stories, how much people bring in in terms of investments” (Interview Bonn, 13.10.2016).

Media experts also revealed an increased inward and outward mobility among categories of Kenyan migrants, in return migrations. The migrants are mainly people who migrated to Western countries to build their careers and were now taking an option to return to Kenya. Muthoni pointed out that tougher policies and challenges in migration-receiving countries forced people to migrate. However, she noted, justifying our previous argument that more emphasis is placed on economic remittances that in producing migrant stories on Mkenya Ujerumani, development was explained in the amount of monetary capital transferred to enhance the life of non-migrants and the migration-sending countries.

“You don’t send the money only to your relatives you also send money for developmental purposes, of a certain extent there are a lot of people who send money for school fees and that is also a form of development. Basically, also helping people to look at other forms of remitting e.g. investment rather than short term goals” (Muthoni, Interview Frankfurt, 29.11.2016).

As a diverse production of development narratives, transnational digital migrant media for Kenyans in Britain and Germany do not only (re)produce stories on migration and development about the Kenyan community alone. They also engage with other countries from Africa because, migrants of African origin share similar problems and approaches to development. The concept is to tailor comparative narratives on migration and development that can be replicated and in a diverse community of African migrants.

“The only engagement that we would here is when you are calling a brother from home to buy a plot, or you want to do business. When we started doing this media, we people realized why we can’t start working with corporates based in Kenya so that we can invest there. So, I know that the media we started – Ukentv, has helped people engaged with corporates to serve them better in terms of developing Kenya. Many of the people have managed to get loans to serve them through banking institutions. We organize events and invite migrants and companies that are already engaged in Kenya and want to buy products from them” (Waitherero, Interview London, 02.04.2017).

In terms of community engagement, Kenyan migrants engage in transnational connections with non-migrants. They follow events happening in Kenya and contribute in socio-economic debates fostered on their national media. Respondents noted that remittances could increase capital inflows and lead to the appreciation of the real exchange rate. Remittances are often informally send to families and therefore, not included in formal financial deficits. Migrant media producers revealed how Kenyan government taps in the potential of migrants specifically, encouraging migrant’s economic and social engagements

and inclusiveness in affairs at home. Some of the engagement initiatives are channelled through migrant media. For example, Ukentv and Mkenya Ujerumani take part in embassy activities to connect with migrants and facilitate their networking with other migrant categories.

“Through this initiative, it is realized that the Kenyan government recognizes the role of migrants as agents of development. This is something that other governments in the African countries have not done on a large scale. However, Ghana has not done so much. Uganda is now taking a similar trend to Kenya” (Waitherero, Interview London, 02.04.2017).

7.3. CRITERIA FOR SELECTION

To respond to the research question on the criteria for the production of migration and development narratives in transnational digital migrant media's criteria for selection, I provide the main criteria in the selection of media content in the migrant media studied. I do this through media experts interpretation of perceptions. As we see in the previous analysis and discussed in (chapter four) the selection criteria are based on news values that touch on relevance, human interest, proximity to home, timeliness among other factors. The selective coverage in mainstream media further provides a unique niche for migrant media to fill the gap left in the representation of migrants and particularly giving voices to the marginalized groups. Now let's look at aspects that inform the discourse practice, thus the selection criteria:

7.3.1. Niche for Migrant Media from Selective Coverage

Western European media sets the pace of what is discussed in other media spheres to achieve a level of relevance in the Europe media space. For example, negative images about migrants reduce their development potential as development agents. In addition, transnational digital migrant media must move away from perspectives in the mainstream media representation of migrants' issues but are not fully independent. In contrast, empirical data from media experts, expose challenges for African journalists in European newsrooms. Kenyan media practitioners found it difficult to detach social prejudices about Western views of Africa acquired from working in African environments.

“The west sets the pace and if you want to do anything then you will try as much as possible to emulate the big names so that also you stay in business and remain in competition” (Muthoni, Interview Frankfurt, 19.11.2017).

Overall, Western editorial policies go beyond angling of stories and transverse from the point a reporter does interviews with the source to selection criteria of what segments of the interview are considered relevant. In media practice, the currency of events shapes daily news priorities. For instance, at the onset of the “migration crisis” in 2015, the story took center stage in media narratives and interviews on migration. Journalists detailed personal experiences covering the influx of migrants in “imageries of “capsizing boats, trodden bodies on the Mediterranean Sea washed on the shores of Greece and Italy”. Journalists who reported on the refugee and migration crisis revealed that their practice is pre-determined and conforms to

established editorial and organizational policies. They illustrated how sensitive and telling details from narratives of migrant's personal experiences of death, devastation, and suffering at the hands of traffickers did not fit in the time allocated in broadcast style. In this case, the narratives could be used in migrant media as a platform that utilizes voices of marginalized communities. I found that migrant media producers build on existing editorial and journalistic guidelines in the production of stories. Themes are selected depending on the interest to the audience, the frequency of themes in other mass media and social media forums, the relevance of the stories to Kenya, and migrant audiences, the proximity of the issue to migrants in Germany and Britain and the availability of time and space. The main inter-relations exist between aspects of assumption on the human-interest angles within migration and development contexts and how they portray the social and economic pursuits of Kenyan migrants. I conclude, migrant media producers assume that stories on migrant's social capital including; economic investment, entrepreneurship or remittances would ensure migrants contribution to development in migration-sending countries. Largely, migrant media producers were influenced by their colonial contexts, environmental and social placement in setting the agenda in the discourse. In sum, the analysis predicts that in its production process, migrant media emphasizes more on the representation of migrants, but in so doing to a certain degree (re)produced hegemonic perceptions.

7.3.2 Editorial Agenda and News Values

The general perception of respondents on the criteria of selection of themes on migration and development is related to events happening at the time of production. Moreover, powerful pictures enhance production of migrant stories, giving them a human-interest angle. A story on migration with strong graphic images has a better chance to be (re)produced since media consumers are appealed by graphics, images, and illustrations. Topics on migration and development were salient, current and interesting and informed themes of stories produced on transnational digital migrant media. Prioritization of a news item depends on the nature of the story, how current and trending the news has influenced the selection. There is a general assumption that migrant media productions endeavours to blend ideas. However, dominant discourses are dictated within certain political rhetoric. Contexts and slants of stories are restricted in terms of constructing certain perceptions on migration and development. Data indicate, stories on integration are prioritized with an emphasis on education and language as a tool to facilitate upward mobility within the economic class. Journalistic practice, the use of news values to influence the selection of news items is based traditional ideas such as proximity, relevance, oddity, human interest, timeliness and prominence ideas derived from a dominant definition of newsworthiness (McQuail,2005:30). As discussed in literature chapter four, the conceptualization of news values in media possess factors of newsworthiness. The criteria for news production are a chain of communication that includes a process of selection, distortion, and replication. The more an event

fulfils the criteria for news choice, the more likely will it be prioritized as news (Galtung and Ruge, 1965:65; Bora,2011; Carvalho & Barrichello,2013).

Teresia Ratemo: Internet Radio Producer, Social Entrepreneur

Ratemo is the founder of the first Kenyan internet radio in Germany, she is a media producer and presenter. Before her migration, she started her journalistic practice as an intern at the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation and Kenya Television Network. She worked as a producer and presenter at Kenya's Royal Media Services, and later in a German-based Immigrant African Heritage Radio. Her internet radio combines audio and visual formats of production. It first went on air in June 2016. The internet radio produces programmes targeting Kenyan migrants in Europe and non-migrants in Kenya. Topics discussed touch on migration, resettlement, employment, foreign cultures, racism, discrimination, integration, immigration process and documentation, relationships. She offers a unique view on the trend in digital internet media to address migrant issues. In the interview, she informed that sometimes migrants are reproduced in transnational digital migrant media as criminals backed with evidence from illegal activities such as drug dealing, violent crimes, and public disorder. While these actions may indicate frames of generalizing migrants, they are derived from reported incidences. For example, Muthoni a Mkenya Ujerumani producer gave evidence of stories published about Kenyan migrants embroiled in domestic violence, public disorder, robbery and even murder. While Ratemo also mentioned that sexual exploitation is another theme frequently covered. She exemplified that young Kenyans are forced into prostitution as a means of economic survival.

“Some migrants have been arrested here because of crimes or drugs, and then we have issues of sexual exploitation in the sense that the young ladies who come as Au pairs are forced into prostitution either knowingly or unknowingly. The young men would find themselves in difficult situations of maybe being escort boys also either willingly or unwillingly. There is sexual exploitation and we try to highlight these problems in our media” (Ratemo, Interview Hamburg, 09.11.2016).

Images portrayed in news are selected, distorted and replicated through a discursive construction using different voices and situations in the event of (re)production. News values are related to each other production elements in different contexts (Capel and Bednarik, 2013:3). As such, Ratemo gave practical examples that showed that in media practice, the higher the news value, the more likely will it influence the choice of the story among many options in the running order of choices. Having this in mind, Muthoni of Mkenya Ujerumani said she selected values that help bridge the gap between migration and development through objective reporting of migration stories. However, Odhiambo, who works in the mainstream media agrees with Ratemo's approach. He recommended an in-depth analysis not only considering factors that cause migration but more of the human and personal stories of migrants and to expose migration challenges and find solutions.

“We try to find follow up on stories, not just reporting and leaving them there. You know trying to have some case studies of someone who moved from one place to another, giving stories so that people can make up their mind and understand how migration works” (Odhiambo, Interview Bonn, 02.11.2016).

7.3.3. Media Policies and Journalistic Ethics

Frequently, migration was related to stereotypes associated with the refugee crisis, because editors felt they had an obligation to expound on dominant narratives prevalent in the public domain. Media experts working in the mainstream European media argued, covering migration and development took a domestic angle influenced by local policies and attitudes towards migrants. The perceptions present a challenge to Kenyan journalists who have a migration background, yet, they are expected to shape stories that appeal to non-migrant audiences in East and Central Africa. Stories of African migrants were frequently generalized and represented dominant stereotypes. Producers identified a clash between editorial policies and moral ethics in selecting which images to show in a story. Kenyan journalists with a migration background said they found it challenging to be objective in stories that had graphic images of Africa. Musau explained that in the newsrooms, western counterparts are concerned with public interest and audience perceptions. There was an inclination towards separating images for the domestic production, and those in the international production.

“Let’s try to be humane and show some dignity. It’s more of just bringing the story out, tell the story as it is, it’s not about us guiding the story impact as it should be. But sometimes there are these arguments in the office about what type of pictures we should use and some of us take it personal, you know it is like who wants to lose the dignity of the people that we are portraying, there are pictures of people who have died, but do we want to show such pictures up close” (Musau, Interview London, 29.03.2017).

The use of internet in the editorial production borders on ethical issues in migrant media production. Migrant media producers work to foster what we considered in chapter four of Murdock’s (1998) “*cosmopolitan democracy*”- where the linking together of migrant communities on the Internet and other relevant new media productions takes interest in issues such as development, human rights, environment etc. Mutegi argued, in the end, editorial decisions are important in determining the criteria for news selection, and position of editors and producers on sensitive issues related to migration.

“It is for me to change that story and look at it with a neutral angle, what has the person done, why has he done that thing and to also look at the positive angle. In that way, can we change something that looked negative into positivity?” (Mutegi, Interview London, 25.03.2017).

Migrant media has dedicated significant space for coverage of stories on immigration laws and policies. Migrant’s identities are formed and transformed when stories on cultural expression and integration reveal challenges and successes in the integration of migrants in host societies. Moreover, migrants are expected to learn a new language and adapt to the way of

life in the host societies. For example, Naftali indicated that identity was a critical issue in migration stories. The stories highlight lost identities or migrants struggle to keep up new identities and get noticed in a place where they don't belong.

“As people coming from Africa, rather than religion, we also have strong cultural believes and practices, then you came here and realize that those things have no value at all to people abroad and you feel like your identity is being stolen” (Naftali, Interview, London, 15.03,2017).

Empirical findings for this study show that stories on migration and development are listed as top in priority and in-migrant media, they generate a discourse on the context of Africa in Europe. The idea is to shape stories to be interesting to audiences in migration-sending countries and migrants abroad. Furthermore, themes in the stories touch on how migrants survive in Europe, their economic occupations, their lives, as well as tragedies affecting migrants. In addition, immigration policies in Europe that determine the legality or illegality of migrant's act as a source of vital information. For instance, Mkenya Ujerumani runs a story on changes in laws every month. The articles are well sought after and create awareness for migrants on laws and regulations. In Kenya's migrant media in Britain, stories on migration are told in relation to contexts of current affairs in Kenya. The idea is that migrants can have a broader view of their new world at the same time maintaining a connection to the homeland. Waitherero of Ukentv suggested that the trans-connectivity shapes the articulation of migrants not only as takers from the economic systems in the host lands but also as contributors to economic activities.

“Kenya is relatively well-off country not as backward as people may imagine and reasons for migration are not like those of migrants from Nigeria. Perception is quite an important thing. People just see what they want to see and hear what they want to hear, but the media tries to correct such a narrative and put right the wrong information and contribute to help change the perception” (Waitherero, Interview London, 29.03.2017).

Media production has embraced communicative technologies allowing for the translation of stories to digital formats. The hybridity of relations within media spheres creates what Benedict Anderson (1993) termed as “imagined communities”. The communities are extra-national and somewhat imagined derived from negotiating real life in the new country of settlement, and interactions with other individuals and groups. In my opinion, migrant media takes a similar approach, stories about negotiating for individual and collective identities within host communities are packaged and shared on different platforms from web publication to mobile phone and social media sites. The formats enhance accessibility, reliability, and mixing of genres of production. Additionally, shared stories connect migrants and enhance friendships that may not have existed. Learning from data analyzed for this thesis, I argue that migration has stimulated efforts in host societies' national media production to encourage equal representations of diverse communities. For example, national broadcasters in Germany and Britain disseminate broadcasts in Kiswahili and other African languages attractive to migrants. For instance, in recognizing the need to reach out to audiences with a migration background, in the 1990s, Germany established public multi and intercultural broadcasting. As such, services like Radio Multi-Kulti, or Frank Haus Europa and TV programmes like Schwarz

Rot Bunt (black, red, multi-coloured), a wordplay drawing on the colours of the German national flag provided visibility and voice to German migrants and ethnic minorities.

7.3.4: Proximity to Home

Respondents showed that migrants rely on migrant media as a source of information about events in migration-sending countries and how they connect to their lives. The closer the events are to home, the more interesting and relevant are they to migrants. According to respondents, it was easy to access migrants as sources of information because of existing social networks. Musau argued, events are represented using repetitions, cultural symbols, choice of language and images. Further, the framing of news was viewed as having a significant effect on people's perceptions. In the case of Kenya, and its proximity to conflict regions, representations of wars and upheavals in countries like Somalia and South Sudan does not only act as a source of stories for migrant but perpetuate stereotypes held in dominant discourse.

“If you tell someone here that Somalia is safe they will say No, because of the Al-Shabaab, if you talk about Sudan they will tell you that Sudan is listed by the Americans in terms of terrorism. Sometimes it is very difficult to give those countries a positive image. When you talk about Kenyan having sufficient security operators, that things are Ok. They say no. They wouldn't believe because Somalia is very close to Kenya and for people, who have never travelled out of the country or Europe, it's very hard to differentiate, they see Kenya as Somalia” (Musau, Interview London, 25.03.2017).

The proliferation of security threats in the Horn of Africa was singled out as endangering the perception of Kenyans in Europe. Particularly, when governments issue travel advisories that prohibit inward mobility of people to Kenya and their transit to onward journeys. Given the intensity of negative news from home, Kenyan migrants increasingly turn to internet websites for alternative sources of information from the Horn of Africa. Migrant media becomes a platform to address their specific needs, to demonstrate creative use of technology, including what is excluded in other media, challenge views presented in other media and provide services for and work to organize and mobilize migrant communities.

Simon Katana: Broadcaster, Media Critic

A graduate of the Kenya Institute of Mass Communication (KIMC), Katana worked at the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation before joining the international media scene. He has the depth of experience in reporting on African issues touching on migration and development. He has seen changes in migration policies and editorial receptiveness over the years. He links these debates to the current migration crisis in Europe. While the influx of immigrants from Syria, South Sudan, Somalia, Ethiopia is related to political insecurities, the juxtaposition to Kenyan migrants provides a viable discourse on categories of migrants and underlying issues. His insights reveal challenges on the migrant image in the UK, and how public perception and prejudices affect their economic production and development. He argues, when stories on the conflict in regions closer

to Kenya are reported in the mainstream media, the interpretation and attitudes fostered on migrants from Kenya depict a distorted representation.

“Even though Kenya is generally safe and it’s just something that happened along the coastline, they tend to think that the whole country is insecure and issue travel advisories because there was an Al-Shabaab attack in a location in Kenya” (Katana, Interview London, 29.03.2017).

According to views from respondents, migrants who work in Europe as professionals are willing to participate in media discourses compared to those who arrived through irregular channels or hold lower economic status. On the other hand, migrants who are deemed to have arrived in Europe irregularly or overstayed their visas or those in low economic cadres were apprehensive to share their experiences with media producers because of the fear to expose their identities to presumed security apparatus, or the risk of being misquoted. Wangeci emphasized that Kenya’s colonial history and connection to Britain plays a significant role in telling apart Kenyans, from other categories of contemporary migrants. Migrants from Kenyan are associated with culture, sports, tourism and interestingly, to the former US President Barack Obama.

“Even the most English village I have been to, but sometimes I change tact and say I am from Rwanda then they recall the narrative of the genocide and it takes time before they do that, so Kenya has a recognition factor. The sources of stories are the immigration, the Kenya High Commission” (Wangeci, Interview London, 26.03.2017).

Consequently, migrant media plays into these cultural and social associations to Kenyan migrants to replay themes that they consider stimulating in generating and sustaining a narrative that touches on the life of migrants, the social and economic engagements and transnational connections to migration-sending countries. More so, migrant media producers keep tabs with return migrants and activities they engage in after relocation, as an alternative to encourage migrants to participate in affairs of home. On the question of the main criteria for selection of migration and development discourse, I found that migrant media producers build on existing editorial and journalistic guidelines in the production of stories. Themes were selected depending on the interest to the audience, the frequency of themes in other mass media and social media forums, the relevance of the stories to Kenya, and migrant audiences, the proximity of the issue to migrants in Germany and Britain and the availability of time and space. The main inter-relations were found between the aspect of assumption on the human-interest angles within migration and development contexts and how they portray the social and economic pursuits of Kenyan migrants. Generally, I presume, producers assumed that stories on economic investment, entrepreneurship or remittances would ensure migrants act in contributing to development in migration-sending countries. Largely, migrant media producers were influenced by their colonial contexts, environmental and social placement in setting the agenda in the discourse.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have analyzed perceptions of media experts in Britain and Germany, drawn from mainstream and migrant media contexts, of what they perceive as the criteria for production comparatively to migrant media practice. I discussed findings under the theme “Letting the Voices Speak” to cover three basic interpretive aspects; hegemony, counter-hegemony, and criteria for selection. In the case of Germany, where most social resources are translated from German to English, as its consumption language, I found out that owing to production constraints “meanings are lost in translations”, thus diluting or exaggerating aspects of hegemony or counter-hegemony. In addition, migrant media producers may also decontextualize source material to fit within production requirements, to define their understanding of discourse at hand. On the other hand, migrant media producers in the United Kingdom have an advantage of directly disseminating their stories in a language the audience understands. Although, like their counterparts in Germany, they also face constraints in forms of social prejudices carried from the homeland to the host country. Data from interviews for this analysis illustrate that transnational digital migrant media tries to apply a basic media practice that conforms to underlying social realities. At the same time, it acts as a platform for social interactions. To this point, (re)produced discourses on migration and development activities as a source of influence and social cognition, a form of mind control. As evidenced in this study, transnational digital migrant media generates a discourse derived from an event witnessed or perceived, migrants read about it, and participate by talking about it in other discursive forums (social media, or private interactions). I conclude, in the (re)production of a heterogeneous discourse, transnational digital migrant media use dominant arguments and frames associated with Western mass media approaches. At other times, the discourse is homogeneous in the interpretation and representation of hegemony like that prevalent in mainstream media. Still, migrant media (re)produces alternative views on migration and development debate. Further, migrant media acts as a space to generate a social discourse and connects actors in shaping a debate that builds to pre-conceived perceptions and knowledge that create determining social effects. I observed in this empirical chapter that transnational digital migrant media producers confirmed that they adopt traditional journalistic models of news packaging. The genres produced e.g. features, interviews, news or commentary based on news values fulfil the element of intertextuality discussed in chapter five and are considered relevant to audiences. Generally, migrant media (re)produce stories that help readers to form a model that is at least familiar to their own understanding of events. Unlike electronic media (including television, radio, and internet) which project hegemonic images of migrants as the “other”, migrant media articulates favourable attributes associated with migrants. In general, migrant media reflects the sense of how other people think and their actions and influences on narratives. Lastly, the understanding of media narratives functions as a knowledge sharing the social process, which indirectly controls interpretations. Migrant media attitudes can be reflected through media discourses, as well as in topics, meanings, styles, and rhetoric. The social reality in

media discourse is formed through patterns of knowledge, attitudes, and ideologies shaped in repeated news reporting. The patterns sustain dominant discourse that informs producers selection criteria.

CHAPTER EIGHT

8.0. A TRANSNATIONAL COMPARISON OF MIGRANT MEDIA NARRATIVES IN GERMANY AND BRITAIN

In this chapter, I make a comparative analysis of migration and development discourses in transnational digital migrant media in Britain and Germany, as well as the analysis of their production. I use media discourses as they appear in texts and social practices of their production as my unit of analysis. The integration of discourse analysis and expert interviews results, act as my research strategy. As in the previous empirical chapters, the main purpose of the analysis is to emphasize how theory and methodological approaches speak to each other. To do this, I address data with theoretical concepts established in the conceptual framework on media production, and analysis using postcolonial and discourse-theoretic approach. To present the comparative schemas, I assume, media expert's perceptions and texts, expose ideological distinctions. Firstly, data from texts and interviews fulfilled the prior established assumption, that dominant hegemonic discourses originate from mainstream media and public discourses including, but not limited to politics, economics, and social research. In my opinion, migrant media producers draw their ideas and story angles from existing dominant hegemonic discourses, using a traditional journalistic criterion for selection. Stories conform to themes on politics, migration law, integration process, and economic reports on remittances etc. Secondly, migrant media may (re)produce dissimilar dominant assumptions or articulate counter-hegemony, what I call "alternative migrant voices". I assume this is an endeavour to remain relevant to migrant audiences. Besides, migrant media discourse also produces stories in contexts that compete with other migrant media outlets and social media platforms. I found inter-relations between hegemonic elements of representations, assumptions, and stereotypes. For instance, in chapter six some narratives were assumed to be stereotypes depending on the producer's interpretations, of what they considered to be stereotypical in their migration experiences. In the analysis in **chapter seven**, the hegemonic elements overlap with those exhibiting counter-hegemony or alternative views as such; identifications related to migrant's social relations and their development agency in migration – sending and receiving countries. The elements outline Fairclough's (1995) discourse practice and form core frames of understanding media expert's perceptions of discourse (re)production. I assume perceptions are conceived from media expert's professional experiences and practice in the appropriation of discourse. Generally, differences in the production criteria of migrant media in Germany and Britain were prevalent in two-story subjects, first, on "migration crisis" expressed more in media narratives in Germany. The subject was frequently, emphasized in migrant media texts and perceptions among media experts in Germany. Second, the "Brexit" subject was pronounced in interpretations from migrant media texts and expert views in Britain. In addition, migrant media in Germany seemed to project more social change actions. This is despite the perception analyzed in the previous chapter (seven), that Kenyans in Germany were not actively engaged in development. However, texts excerpts confirm, Mkenya Ujerumani in Germany produced stories that inspired development,

compared to Britain's UkenTV which was more focused on migrant's social activities. The analysis predicts, in its production process, transnational digital migrant media stress more on the representation of migrants through their development role. In so doing, to a certain degree, migrant media (re)produces hegemonic and counter-hegemonic perceptions. I will now highlight on prevalent similarities in the production criteria in migrant media in Germany and Britain, from results from texts and media expert's interviews as summarized in **Figure.11** below.

Figure 11. Key Findings on Main Comparative Variables in Narratives on Migration and Development

What differences exist between discourses on migration and development in transnational migrant media in Germany and United Kingdom		
Hegemonic Narratives		
Fairclough's (2004) Elements of Analysis	Similarities	Differences
Representations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Economic challenges in sending countries are blamed on colonialism - Migration crisis (Germany) and Brexit (Britain) influenced media narratives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Narratives of German improving conditions in migration sending countries through economic partnerships - United Kingdom policies concerned with curbing migration
Assumptions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Migrants in Europe compete for economic resources with natives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Migration transports terrorism, UK migrants face xenophobia -Germany enhances migrants integration and controlled economic participation
Stereotypes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Politics plays a role in how migrants are perceived - There is persistent stereotypical representations on migrants in the public sphere. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - UK political narratives focused on excluding migrants in the wake of "Brexit" - Germany opened door policy to migration in 2015 is changing with anti-migrant backlash
Counter-Hegemonic Narratives		
Fairclough's(2004) Elements of Analysis	Similarities	Differences
Identifications	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Kenyan migrants are not categorized as expatriates, their migration is likened to economization and secularization concepts 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Migrants in Germany seldom contribute to economic development compared to those in the United Kingdom
Actions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Policies in sending and host country determine stories angles - Host countries support improving conditions in Africa to curb migration -Sending countries promote remittances 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Germany migrant media produce development oriented stories, in the UK stories highlight more on migrant agency
Social Relations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Return (migrants) share information on conditions in Europe dissuade migration -Transnational connection makes migration experience vibrant 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Brexit introduced deep seated discriminative attitudes towards economic migrants. - language barrier excludes migrants in Germany

8.1. SIMILARITIES IN NARRATIVES ON MIGRATION & DEVELOPMENT IN UK and GERMANY

In this section of the comparative analysis, I focus on similarities in narratives on migration and development discourse in migrant media in Germany and Britain. The most striking findings are that in both settings migrants with a postcolonial history were considered as a relevant source of information with practical examples deemed to be useful to Kenyan migrants. It was surprising that Kenyan migrant media producers assumed that migrants specifically from West Africa were more likely to enter Europe through illegal means compared to Kenyans, in so doing producers unintentionally essentialized their African counterparts as “others” associated to criminality. Yet, West Africans were more organized and networked in creating linkages for economic development and integration in Europe and contributions to sending countries. Kenyans were more segregated and divided along ethnic lines and political affiliation, a factor that was more pronounced during elections in Kenya and affected their collective productive outcomes. As this dissertation establishes although the topic was timely and interesting owing to ongoing migration trends from the so-called developing countries to Europe, there was still limited research done in the area. While postcolonial concepts exist in studies that focused on imperialism, colonialism, neo-liberalism they are rarely discussed in the context of migrant media production of discourses on migration and development. Seldom is a postcolonial and discourse theoretic approach applied in examining the representation of migrants with an African descent in the media. The comparison results in this chapter show that postcolonial migration narratives in contexts of “Brexit” were not considered as an important topic for coverage in migrant media in Germany because it refers to European contexts. Although media experts in Britain extensively discussed the topic on “Brexit”, it was more in relation to coverage in international broadcasts and almost emphasized with perceived threats to welfare and employment opportunities. In Germany, “migration crisis” was more pronounced both from interviews and coverage since it highlighted on the struggle in the categorization of Kenyan migrants as economic oriented. Now we shall consider key themes depicting similarities between Germany and Britain.

8.1.1. Representation of Postcolonial Migrants

Results from data show, migration and development are important themes produced in media and political discourse in migration sending and receiving countries. Hence, politics influence how migrants are perceived and often shapes images of migrants in Europe. In the context of migrant media production, migrants with a postcolonial history are portrayed as sharing similar economic challenges. Contexts from data support the theory that the mentioned economic challenges have pushed migrants to look for alternatives in Europe as economic migrants. For example, respondents highlighted that migrants from West Africa, specifically, Nigeria, Ghana, and Senegal were drawn together because of common historical experience. This

includes their regional placement in the continent as West Africans. On arrival in Europe, West African migrants quickly form networks with other West Africans in Europe. At the same time, maintaining transnational connections to sending-countries. Unlike their East African counterparts from Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Rwanda etc. West African migrant's connection was attributed to common cultural expressions and experiences. Moreover, migrants from West Africa were perceived to resort to irregular migration procedures to arrive in Europe, especially, those from Nigeria. However, it cannot be ignored as data shows, that West African migrants especially those from Ghana, were well integrated into European host locations. For example, in Britain, Ghanaian migrants held influential positions in politics, public health, and academia. Data also shows, as the space to negotiate migrant connections expand in Europe, more migrants with a postcolonial history focus to return to sending-countries, rather than settle in migration-receiving countries. This change is interpreted as a response to strict migration policies and growing political stability in migration-sending countries. In both locations, media experts suggested, migrants, transfer ideas, values, and cultures to receiving- countries, once they leave their Western metropolis. Ratemo exemplifies these views:

“As we hear stories of people trying to sneak in Europe, there is this massive number of people who are heading back home to invest or for other reasons. Yes, I would say the Nigerians and the Ghanaians are keen to go and develop back home” (Ratemo, Interview Hamburg, 09.11.2016).

To emphasize the point in the excerpt, migrant media producers were constantly bombarded with negative images of migrants in host societies. This factor presented challenges, and opportunities and thus, inspired migrant media search for alternative representations of African migrants. As Musau suggested, challenges in media production can be understood in terms reifying hegemonic images that essentialized Africans with a postcolonial experience, while opportunities come in the form of (re)producing migrant voices on how they want to be represented.

“Should we not be showing positive stories, for example, there are NGO's in Africa which have succeeded in eliminating malnutrition from certain areas. So, why are we not producing such positive stories. We should ask ourselves why it is necessary to use a picture of a child in a story about raising money. We should question how Africa should be portrayed” (Katana, Interview London, 29.03.2017).

Furthermore, Naftali illustrates that migrants with a postcolonial history working in mainstream professions in Europe face xenophobic and racist attitudes. He confirms, migrants are perceived as taking jobs and infringing on economic opportunities of Europeans natives. Thus, attracting racist attacks.

“It is always why you are in my country having a better job like me, they are always talking about. The media is talking about xenophobic attacks in South Africa, saying that Africans do not want people in their countries. Yet, no one is talking about foreigners in Europe, where you must be very cautious looking behind your back because the natives don't like you having a better job than them” (Naftali, Interview London, 15.03.2017).

He further argues, migrants who have integrated, acquired jobs and participated in social activities with natives, were readily accepted and considered to have made it in Europe. Although not many, Naftali indicated that these kinds of stories were encouraged as they represented an alternative way of viewing migrants, not only as takers from the economy, but as givers.

"We go into the streets of London and even beyond and try to find out like, what a Kenyan or even Tanzania is doing, what life is like for them the opportunities and challenges they face. To them, it's an amazing thing that someone came from Kenya and they are doing well. It may be something like a successful business that employs white people. They cover it that way, but for us it is a great inspiration to the people who will watch that story back home" (Naftali, Interview London, 15.03.2017).

I argue, the image of Kenyan migrants in Europe represented as agents of development is replicated among migrants from other states with a postcolonial history. For example, migrants from West Africa; Ghana, Senegal, and Nigerian depict similar traits to those of Kenyans. However, while Kenyan migrants are disintegrated based on historical ethnic prejudices transferred to migration-receiving countries, their West African counterparts have stronger ethnic and social networks. It is through these networks that West African migrants engage in development initiatives. The migrants have founded businesses selling merchandise from Africa, they support each other through cultural linkages and traditional communal heritage. Empirical data from interviews and texts indicate African migrants use migrant media platforms reach out to migrants from other African nationalities. To illustrate there are several media outlets that reach out to migrants, in Hamburg, Proud Chocolate internet radio founded by a Kenyan migrant adapts digital media formats and produces programmes based on current social issues. The virtual radio does not only target Kenyans in Germany but also reaches out to non-migrants with information of what is trending in Germany. There is also Afro news Germany, a community radio that covers wider issues on Africa. The media outlet is run by West Africans and like the Kenyan migrant media, the outlet targets communities with narratives emphasizing the need to contribute to affairs in migration-sending countries. In the UK, we have examples like Africa news and Africans in Europe internet radio. Apart from producing news and information on migrants, the media links are used to encourage return-migration. This migration trend is viable in developing sending countries. Waitherero argues.

"There has been an exodus of people from West Africa, specifically Nigeria and Ghana, returning home. In fact, one of the stories that we carried recently is why people are heading back home in massive numbers. As we hear stories of people trying to sneak in Europe, there is this massive number of people who are heading back home to invest or for other reasons" (Waitherero, Interview London, 02.04.2017).

While there are significant similarities in the portrayal of migrants with a colonial experience, Ratemo argues, West African migrants like Nigerians were riddled with negative representation because of their large numbers within European host spaces.

“If you compare negative to positive representations of migrants in the case of Nigeria it is 80 negatives to 20 positives, in the case of Kenya where 80 positive and 20 negatives. A story like Zimbabwe is different because after the economic collapse, there were a lot of Zimbabweans who came to Europe and again they are all professionals working in the health sector. It depends from one country to the other. It is not a big narrative; it depends on the context of migrating and transnational connection with migration-sending countries. For example, Libyans are not coming out, you see Syrians going through Libya to come out” (Ratemo, Interview Hamburg, 26.03.2017).

Reports reviewed on the dispersal of African migrants for this dissertation indicates, for example, Nigeria is ahead of three countries from Sub Saharan Africa that registered increased migration to EU member states between 2011 to 2015. In Germany, Nigeria came second, after Ghana and was followed by Cameroon. In Britain, Nigeria topped the list of three, followed by Kenya in the second position and Zimbabwe in the third. The report discusses issues faced by African migrants in Europe such as education, health, housing, employment, criminal justice and public life (ENAR Report, 2015). While the dispersion of African migrants to EU generates controversial views, migrants still consider migration as a necessary development strategy as we consider in the next section.

8.1.2. Migrant Media as a Source of Development Ideas

Narratives from media texts and interviews suggest transnational digital migrant media space creates linkages to migrant development initiatives. To this view, migrant media acts as an interlocutor for transnational connections between migrants and to non-migrants. In both cases, Germany and Britain, migrant media producer's postcolonial history was described as a precursor for negotiating migrants' space negating Eurocentric development concepts. This aspect suggests migrant media is a source of feasible development ideas in migration-receiving countries. In the criteria for selection, transnational digital migrant media may sometimes become subjective in framing stories that seem to encourage migration, as a facilitator of development. Furthermore, migrant media may use ideological contexts from other mediatized tools; internet, weblogs and social media to explain migrant social agency. The contexts rely on ethnicity, knowledge levels, and migration status to shape the image of migrants in Europe. Respondents argued, the level of connections between migrants in Europe and non-migrants, did not only rely on tools of interaction, but also, on personal connections traced to locations, ethnicity, and professional attachments in the homeland. Consequently, media experts perceived that the success of migration is possible with available information from migrants on conditions in Europe. They argued, migrants support non-migrants in the organization of the journey, offering both financial and social support. Conversely, in search for development narratives, migrant media constantly produce stories that suggest a willingness of European organizations in alleviating situations in migration-sending countries. In my opinion, in (re)production of such themes, migrant media reifies Europe's economic superiority to that of receiving- countries. For example, migrant media amplifies Eurocentric discourses suggesting, Western

aid as necessary in mitigating difficult economic situations in migration-sending countries, whose causes are not limited to escalating costs of living and widening economic disparities. I will use an excerpt from Mkenya Ujerumani to illustrate.

“We see you as our natural allies in fostering and developing ever closer relations between our two countries, the Federal Republic of Germany and the Republic of Kenya. We would like to continue to cooperate with you quite closely. And we see ourselves as your logical service partners when it comes to provide you with assistance or support in areas where you might need it. That is our offer. It is my firm intention to forge a close relationship between you and the Embassy. Mr Dresbach our economic councillor is here. Many of you know him. Whenever you feel the need, feel free to contact us” (MU 2014, Text 2).

The excerpt taken from a speech published on Mkenya Ujerumani on 1st February 2014, details a meeting of the Germany Ambassador to Kenya Andreas Peschke, with German Business Community in Kenya. His statement themed on fostering closer relations between the Republic of Kenya and the Federal Republic of Germany touches on cooperation. On the contrary, the statement reifies the idea that Germany is a logical partner in aiding or supporting in areas that might be needed (investments, trade, economies). The emphasis is on the “offer” rather than partnership. In my opinion, the text portrays Kenyan players as having no choice, but to accept the offer, to remain in a close business partnership with the Germany counterparts. The speech puts the Kenyan partners on a receiving end, or more of beneficiaries of the relationship, cordially offered. The assistance depicts an asymmetrical relationship in development narratives, where the less developed are always represented as requiring support, assistance or aid to develop. Neither is it symbiotic, as one would imagine, rather it encourages dependency. In the speech, Ambassador Peschke expresses satisfaction on the dynamic growth in membership of the German Business Association which has existed for 26 years and comprises of 96 firms. The German Industry Consortium in Kenya is engaged in fields of renewable energies. The sector has a significant economic resource potential, with expected levels of sustainability. Moreover, although Kenya’s economic potential is highlighted, there is no indication of how the local industry supports Kenyan citizens. Rather, the economic benefits to the German business community in Kenya are highlighted.

“Nowadays, Kenya produces almost half of the Gross Domestic Product in the East African Community. The country has an emerging middle class, ambitious plans for the modernisation of its infrastructure and a dynamic IT-sector which brought about M-Pesa. [...] Consequently, Ambassador Peschke highlighted Kenya’s economic potential and business prospects for German companies. Today, about 3.800 people in Kenya work for German firms” (MU, 2014, text 2).

8.1.3. Challenges of Modern Migration to Kenyans in Europe

In both countries, stories on migration and development were considered to have a major impact on Kenyans in Europe, compared to other categories of items on the menu. Recent events such as “migration crisis” and Britain’s exit from the European Union the so-called “Brexit” were singled out as prevalent in the coverage of the migration topics in Europe.

Either, the viable impact on Brexit in migration narratives was on themes reflecting public perception of the influx of migrants or challenges of integration. Respondents believed, the mass media reported migrants as taking advantage of certain economic benefits in host countries. Experts indicated that during the activation of Article 50, leading to a referendum for “Brexit”, the British citizenry was silent on critical issues bordering on migration and integration. However, politicians who raised these issues were thought to be racists. Though the media narratives maintained the politically correct stance, media experts were convinced that this was only because the negative construction of migrants could create problems in the rest of the world. Media experts also suggested feedback streaming from interactive programmes in mainstream media was sufficient to conclude that the migration debate was critical. They proposed a need for a mind-set change in relation to certain misrepresentations and perceptions about migrants. Musau from London notes, before the “migration crisis” and “Brexit”, Kenyan non-migrants considered sending their children to study in Europe as an investment. The students would find jobs alongside their studies to support family incomes. However, with stories published in mainstream and migrant media highlighting the changing migration landscape, non-migrants have begun to understand the financial challenges of working students. He argues. Hence expectations for financial remittances are reducing.

“They are shocked and realize that they cannot afford to support families left financially, until they get settled. If you get this type of feedback, you feel like you are really touching on people’s life because they start questioning whether it was worth it to send the children abroad, and instead of taking advantage of Universities back home. Sending students to Germany or UK, means they are literally struggling to make it through, yet the whole village thinks that they are making a lot of money” (Musau, Interview London, 29.03.2017).

According to respondents, such stories elicit feedback that inspires non-migrants to begin to understand life in Europe and limit the amount of income invested in uncertain journeys to Europe. In addition, feedback also acts as a guideline for producers on the type of stories migrants are interested in. With Brexit and the crisis, migration has become a significant story. Moreover, respondents were of the view, the affairs of African migrant are not prioritized as much as migrants from Europe, because of the different rights approach for migrants from Europe. Respondents concluded it will take years to get the same rights in terms of access to health facilities, education, and housing for African (Kenyan) migrants. For example, immigration policies specify that potential migrant must show proof of their financial means, before being admitted to Europe. To further illustrate, unlike migrants from Sub-Saharan Africa, Asia, Middle East, those from the European Union and other European non-EU member states, can easily access national health insurance, housing entitlements rights like natives in Britain or Germany. Wangeci argues, during the Brexit referendum Africans aware of such preference exhibited reservations towards other EU migrants in Europe.

“I was speaking to some African who voted for the Brexit, I was surprised to learn that they had the same complains and concerns like the British counterpart, which I had never considered was the case, to a point where

a Zimbabwean and a Kenyan had the same thoughts as Britons against an economic migrant from Europe. It was quite revealing” (Wangechi, Interview London, 26.03. 2017).

Therefore, the story of migration in Britain is told in the context of the rest of Europe. Media narratives claim that Africans coming to Europe are controlled, compared to entrants from European locations. There were expectations that dynamics on the migration story will change, with the invocation of article 50 for the official exit of Britain from the European Union. Overall, the dichotomization of migrants was perceived to be discriminatory. Media texts indicate a growing problem in Europe of addressing the migration question in terms of family and welfare, employment, education etc. There were also efforts to address the problem as an excerpt from Mkenya Ujerumani indicates:

“The Bundesministeriums für Familie, Senioren, Frauen und Jugend (BMFSFJ) this month launched a new program under the motto: “Stark im Beruf – Mütter mit Migrationshintergrund steigen ein”, translated: “strong at work - mothers with a migration background are rising”. The programs aim at increasing opportunities for migrant mothers in Germany who would like to get back to work or who would like to start a career in Germany. According to a study run, only 53% of migrant mothers get to go back to work, unlike 73% of German mothers. This despite most migrant mothers in Germany would like to start or get back to their career after having children. About a million mothers with a migration background do not engage in gainful employment. This is not because they lack qualifications. The enormous potential that lies dormant in this target group has not been recognized despite the discussion on the shortage of skills. It is time to change this state and that is where this program comes in,” Manuela Schwesig, Minister of Family stated at the launch of the program” (MU, 2015, text 9).

Here, the migrant producer chooses a statement to emphasize differences in postpartum attitudes to work of German mothers and mothers with a migration background. The theme, "strong at work - mothers with a migration background are rising", represents a racial stereotype of strong black women who give birth and continue working, even though in this case, opportunities for migrant women are limited. In my view, it is a way of resisting or objectifying challenging stereotypes associated with migrants and natives in Europe. While it was interesting to see how texts connected with interview outcome in addressing the question on the criteria for production, in the next section, I find similarities between Germany and Britain Kenyan migrant media production.

8.1.4. Criteria for Migrant Media Production in Britain and Germany

In journalistic practice, the criteria for production depends on the news for the day. On some days, there are stories that require attention and will develop progressively for several days. On other days, the production is slow. As we discussed news values in chapter four, we see that like mainstream media production, migrant media producers adopt criteria based on the human-interest angle to the story, newsworthiness, the proximity to the audience and producer's interpretations. However, production in migrant media is on a smaller scale, and there is less competition. Therefore, producers rely on a criterion that is relevant to Kenyan migrants. Muthoni who produces stories for Mkenya Ujerumani notes, production

depends on migrant media agenda, what the publication sets to accomplish, and the stand migrant media takes on any issue.

“If we have very interesting stories we may not use a story on migration. But we take migration stories also with a lot of weight and we always create space for them. So, assuming we have five stories and there is a story on migration we must weigh out of these five stories which one has more prominence than the other. So, the prominent stories will always take place number one and then in that order of prominence. Depending on what has happened on that day, then we will decide which one comes first and which one last. We will also decide which one we are taking and which one we are not. Yes, we put emphasis on stories on migration and development. It depends, do the stories affect Kenyans in Germany, and that remains our niche” (Interview, Muthoni, Frankfurt, 11.2016).

Generally, stories on migrant media have a connection to Africans in Europe (Kenyans) or the home country. Essentially, experts perceived that producers determine the type of stories and the final outcomes. A story suffers fatigue if it is told repeatedly. Consequently, producers are inspired to add something new, a new angle, or a completely different subject to stimulate readers. Wangeci notes, with any story that goes beyond a week, in the second week of coverage, producers are challenged to justify the place of the story on the ranking. This is unfortunate, she adds, because in the business of news it's a struggle to get positive stories.

“If you consider, without knowing the people behind the production, you can guess how a story is perceived because many times, we look at the world from an angle of where we come from. Sometimes, migration becomes a story for the day, especially in the month of July, when the temperatures are warm, and many people are making crossings to Europe. It cannot be ignored, it almost dictates its position, so these are the kinds of scenarios that we look at when the migration story is demanding to be told, you cannot ignore it. Whereas, in months of September and it is not high on the agenda then it gets relegated and you consider other stories of the day, what happens is the reverse when the migration story is high on the agenda it continues” (Wangeci, Interview London, 26.03.2017).

As I established in chapter six, texts suggest the outcome of the slant – the direction of the narrative, is achieved from the reality on the ground, or predefined contexts depending on editorial choices and stiff competition from a variety of interesting news from other migrant outlets. Furthermore, themes and events in mass media samples are also considered and help support editorial choices in migrant media. For example, the global outlook on the 2017 elections in Kenya and realities on the ground informed the choice of angles taken in transnational digital migrant media on election outcomes. Given that elections in Kenya are connected to levels of social, political and economic engagements, the criterion for selection of migration and development stories relied on what producers viewed as important, salient or immediate. In the mass media context, chances of a story on migration and development making it on the day's menu in relation to other competitive stories are slim. On the other hand, if there are no sufficient stories to fill the required slots, then chances of getting the story

published are high. However, migrant media will most likely use stories touching on migration and development, if the themes are connected to Kenya. Generally, the criteria for the production of migrant media depends on perceptions of what is considered a positive representation of migrants. To illustrate, to a native audience, what migrants consider negative can seem positive, a story like a drought in Somalia - East Africa showing gruesome images of starving children, may be used to motivate native European audience to contribute and raise money to help perceived "suffering people in Africa". At the same time as we analyzed in postcolonial concepts (chapter three) and media representations (chapter four), the portrayal of poverty through starving children confirms a hegemonic representation of Africans as "in constant need of Western salvation". Such images are not (re)produced in migrant media, as they are considered dehumanizing to Africans. As such, negative representation prevalent in television images of suffering children and women, sustain a narrative that implores to Europe's humanitarian assistance. On the other hand, in reporting war on the conflict in Africa, rather than taking an angle of violence using images of, example, Al-Shabaab terrorists wielding machine guns, migrant media producers may prefer a human angle that does not highlight violence. I argue, while journalistic practice calls for telling the story the way it is, migrant media is subjective and accomplishes its own agenda or that of the migrant, and not the dominant public's agenda. Furthermore, migrant media creates a space that moves away from the gloom and despair in the African narratives, through criteria of selection. Stories portray alternative forms of representation of migrants, expressions and challenges and achievements in Europe. This argument is exemplified in the excerpt from Mkenya Ujerumani below:

[...] "Coming from a developing country, you have to show what your capabilities are" ... Dr. Mary Asiyo-Vogel went back to school and got a German doctorate that she completed, "summa cum laude". Until 1st March 2012, the German law didn't allow foreigners to set up private clinics (niederlassen), even Dr. Mary. "As a foreigner that would have been impossible", the now niedergelassene doctor commented. "Discrimination is normal here, I've encountered it both as a wife to a German and as a foreign doctor working in Germany. But the advantages of living in Germany: great medical options and an intact health system, override the disadvantages", Dr. Mary said (MU, 2015, Text 11).

8.1.5. Confronting Common Stereotypes About Migrants

In both cases, respondents agreed that migrants were understood within stereotypical frames in the mainstream media, which migrant media attempted to resist in their discourses. Moreover, they claimed that the media plays a role in shaping public discourse, frequently portraying foreigners as refugees who sought asylum under false pretences. These representations, according to respondents caused an unprecedented wave of anti-immigrant sentiments, sometimes culminating in violent attacks. In this thesis, in addressing the question on the (re)production of discourses on migration and development I argued, representations create gaps in the identification and articulation of migrants, therefore, giving transnational digital migrant media an opportunity to deconstruct the migration and development discourse. In some cases, migrants are only viewed as "people in need" and not "capable players in social-economic affairs" within migration-sending

and receiving countries. For instance, as we have seen in previous examples, media experts noted, it was common for UN-chartered development and concepts of global responsibility such as humanitarian aid that portrays Africa as poor, diseased, or starving using images of “children with flies swarming on their noses”. These metaphors challenge migrant’s quest for alternative images, given they form part of the reality in some African countries. Therefore, to confront the stereotypes migrant media may highlight parts but not whole aspects of related contexts. In my opinion, in ignoring these realities, migrant media (re)produce one-sided narratives of images of migrants as; “capable and self-reliant actors”, concerned with the personal and home country development. Moreover, it is a form of self-censorship as the images foster inherent negative attitudes towards migrants. Nevertheless, to cope with common stereotypes migrant media struggle to explain that what is portrayed in the media may not necessarily be a true representation of Africa. Generally, the migration question was important and generated other viable social contexts that form significant topics for migrant media discourse. Waitherero of Ukentv emphasized the need to investigate reverse migration trends and other shifts in the migration of Kenyans to Europe, to challenge the assumption that conventional migration occurs in a South to North continuum.

“People don’t talk about locals travelling and going to settle in other countries. We have English people going to settle in Africa, others going to Australia and Canada, people don’t talk about the reverse migration from Europe, but they talk about people coming from Syria, coming from Turkey and other European countries” (Waitherero, Interview London, 02.04.2017).

On the other hand, Mkenya Ujerumani (re)produces stories on migration framed with a Kenyan angle and how migration effect and influence Kenyans as agents of development. The idea is to remain objective, at the same time, represent migrants in different dimensions than those produced in the mainstream media. Respondents pointed out, lumping all migrants together as “refugees” or “economic migrants”, emphasizes their migration context more than their human attributes and social-cultural identities. Building on postcolonial concepts, I argue, the media production of certain representations of minorities and immigrants, including negative depictions, projects stereotypical attitudes that if not confronted, victimize subjects. Ideally, migrants can also be perceived as resources in both sending and receiving countries. Hence, migrant media spheres become a place where migrants and minorities in a utilize their voices to advance their interests and identities. It is in this space, migrants are articulated, and ideas on the alternative representation of migrants generated. To do this, Muthoni argues, migrant media must move away from chronological hard news formats within traditional media practice and rather produce information that clarifies how migrants want to be identified.

“I think what the mainstream media in Germany looks at is how does that influence the western world and how does that affect them. Sharing of news on Mkenya Ujerumani came later, as an essential part of other items. We try to focus on sharing information and we do not consider ourselves a news website and that’s a major difference and, so we don’t want to be the ones breaking news” (Muthoni, Interview Frankfurt, 09.11.2017).

8.1.6. Narratives of the Feasibility of Migration and Development

Empirical data for this dissertation confirms migration is an important facilitator of development in migration-sending countries that cannot be ignored. While respondents agree to this point, migration remains perpetual if humanity exists. Media experts point out, if conflicts arise in Africa and other third world countries, there will always be people seeking refuge beyond their national borders. From the discourse theoretic perspective, we can establish that the future of migration and development debate is also the result of discursive practice. Therefore, we may not sustain questions on outcomes of discourse in the future because, with discourse, everything is socially constructed. Thus, future projections are a result of discursive utterances. Further, in examining discourse theoretic approach we can conclude that alterations in the discourse on migration and development will not be realized in the future, but the contexts present perceptions and define our understanding of the extent to which narratives of migration and development are possible/realistic. To this point, we can assume that communication produces narratives as discourses and not as a social reality in communication utterances. Therefore, the point to make is the way we see our world is nothing natural but constructed discursive utterances and so is the visible projection of migration and development. As this dissertation establishes, for instance, we can speak on concepts like “migration crisis” and “Brexit” as an institution of normalized discourses. Drawing from Foucault’s (1980) arguments on power within discourses, we realize that institutions have the power to define our understanding of migration and development, as well as construct migrant’s agency as a boost to economic growth. Hence, in the empirical chapters, the data reveals how narratives create our reality, as people in institutions (media, politics, academia) continually produce, revamp and replicate narratives and processes. Conversely, using a discourse-theoretic perspective we see the explosion of migration to European locations viewed as challenging for categories of migrants constructed as “refugees or economic migrants” in the mainstream media and public spheres. In both cases, respondents recognized a claim advanced among migrants, particularly, those from West African countries (Nigeria, Senegal, Cameroon, and DRC) that migration was a result of colonialization. In this case, migrants articulate right-based claims envisioning migration as a way of paying themselves for what “colonialism took from Africa”. In this thesis, interviews with media experts confirmed that recurrent conflicts in migration-sending countries were often attributed to colonialism. Furthermore, increased migration from the so-called third world countries to Western locations poses a challenge in defining categories of migrants.

“There is always a joke that people are paying themselves for what the colonialist took from Africa, so there is always, a tendency to prevent people from coming to Europe from West Africa. Migrants from their regions tend to think that it is their right, since they believe that their economic lives were messed up during colonialism and that’s why they are travelling to Europe” (Odhiambo, Interview Bonn, 15.10.2017).

Respondents acknowledged the tendency within European immigration policies and stances, to prevent people from West Africa coming to Europe, because migrants from these regions were perceived to assume it was within their right to migrate to Europe in search for better livelihoods. I argue, such notions fuel a belief that economic activities in the so-called third world countries are interfered with remnants of colonial stratifications and marginalization, encouraging people to migrate to Europe either legally, or even illegally.

8.2. DIFFERENCES OF MIGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT NARRATIVES IN GERMANY AND UK

Notably, differences in the framing of migration and development discourses in Germany and Britain were affected by two historical media events the “refugee crisis” and “Brexit”. The differences were visible in the change of slant and focus in reporting migration. The story angles and frames changed immediately with the increase in the number of migrants coming to Europe from war-torn regions. Additionally, migration inflows and related political challenges stances in European Union have continued to fuel the focus on migration. Predominantly, Britain’s activation of article 50 of the EU to exit modern heralded challenges in framing and shaping migration in news agenda. However, in migrant media production, there were distinctions in environments and contexts produced. In both cases, respondents noted, the coverage of the migration story evolved over time, with changes in modern migration trends affecting each European country differently.

8.2.1. Narratives on the Viability of Migration to Europe

The narrative in migrant Britain slightly differed from that in Germany. Whereas Germany public discourse is concerned with improving conditions in Africa to curb migration, Britain was focused on stopping the entry of new migrants. This representation influenced the migration and development discourse as a critical topic for coverage in the media in Germany and Britain, especially, following the so-called “migrant crisis”. Stories on the crisis have broken headlines in the media in Europe and the world. Odhiambo notes, the discourse comes at the time the world is facing conflicts in the Middle East and parts of Africa. Hence, people coming to Europe as migrants are assumed to pose threat to the society especially, in lieu of religious radicalization. He adds.

“The narrative is geared towards a certain religious community, therefore, if you have a certain character trait, a physical feature that seems to less convince them then they might look at you as the usual suspect” (Odhiambo, Interview Bonn, 15.10.2016).

There is also a counter-narrative from European government adoption of an open-door policy to migrants if they obtain legal paperwork and licenses to stay. However, integration in the society is perceived as necessary for migrants to be part and parcel of the receiving society. Respondent for this analysis was aware of changes in Europe’s political climate. They pointed to the emergence of far-right populist movements in countries like the Netherlands, previously receptive to migrants. To illustrate, recent political discourse encompasses far-right politics and “Trumpism” (Norris and Inglehart, 2015). As such,

populistic narratives engulf countries formerly neutral to migrants e.g. France, Germany, Hungary, and Bulgaria to take divergent positions based on the EU quota proposals on handling the migration crisis. Moreover, public support for populism is pegged on the economic insecurities perspective that emphasize, consequences of profound changes transforming the workforce and society in post-industrial economies (ibid). I argue, the media is consistent in the coverage of changing political and cultural face of Europe, with migration perceived as threatening once-predominant sectors of the populations. Responding to these perceptions, Naftali revealed that discussions among media pundits on migration panels in Britain detail an anti-migration narrative empowered through successes of other far-right politicians.

“The far right is getting ground and saying you know we can also do it. They feel that they can be the Trump of France, Germany, Netherland and it is spreading they used to be quiet about their politics and policies and toe the line, like wild fire” (Naftali, Interview London, 15.03.2017).

However, similar views were seldom articulated among media producers in Germany. Hence, taking these points into consideration, the respondents agreed that migration and development will continue to be a prioritized theme in the migrant media production if there are people migrating. In many ways, cosmopolitan towns like London, Greater London in Britain, Frankfurt, and Berlin in Germany are home to migrants from all over the world. In this context, aggression towards migrants in their quest to settle in European locations presents a challenge for migrant media producers. In contrast, migrant media was torn between constructing a balanced story on migration and fulfilling its agenda. Whether to present migrant voices or follow dominant public discourse. Similar crossroads were experienced among respondents in Britain, whereas migrants, they came face to face with racist aggression. Yet as producers, they did not use their personal stories, because themes emphasizing on more peaceful co-existence are considered amiable. Media experts explained, in search for solutions, producers were engaging in-depth research to establish identity and cultural expressions of migrants.

“Even the British person may not be pure; they may have had roots from Germany. Race and migration is an issue, in those English rural towns where you have few migrants, I even fear going there because migrants tend to huddle together. All Kenyans know their districts, there are enclaves for America and pockets for Irish people, we have everyone moving close to their very own” (Wangechi, Interview London, 26.03.2017).

In terms of the future of migration for the African migrants, respondents believed it may or may not get worse than it is. However, there was a consensus that the impact of migration will be felt in the rest of Europe. Media experts in Britain illustrated cases of people who migrated and married, only to realize that with Brexit, they risk losing their rights of residence. At the time of this analysis, the legal and technical structures of Brexit were still unclear, as the British government was in the process of negotiating a deal with the EU. However, empirical findings for this study indicate, migrant media producers are too aware of challenges of populism and anti-migration utterances within European spaces and are keen to find alternative roots for economic independence. Muthoni who is keen on the outcomes of Brexit and the migration

crisis is optimistic. She argued, with an increase in return migration, particularly among African migrants, migration to Europe (Germany and Britain) will be limited to exposure to knowledge opportunities. Yet, with a final goal to return to migration-sending countries. In addition, she viewed the re-election of Germany's Chancellor Angela Merkel in 2017 and her stance on migration, as an indicator of prioritized themes in Germany migrant media production.

"Yes, I think if she is going to run then that is going to be a huge topic in the election. I don't think they care a lot about migrants, especially on the influence itself, I do not think it will remain a huge topic, the thing is the issue on refugees has always been a big topic in Germany and no one has ever talked about it until the influx of refugees. And so, if the increase continues or increases higher than last year then the topic will continue, but if it drops to how they were two to three years ago, then everything will be back to normal. With the influx of refugees what emphasis is placed on reporting migration in the media" (Muthoni, Interview Frankfurt, 10.11.2016).

Overall, the findings for this dissertation ascertains that discourses on migration and development can be shaped to either discourage or inspire audiences. In addition, themes of migration crisis could be turned into opportunities for other categories of migrants. Further, migrant media could use the themes to reshape narratives or articulate the marginalization of migrants. To show the significance of migration and development discourse in media spheres, respondents illustrated that the story on modern migration and refugee crisis in Britain and Germany was initially reported as a distance problem in Greece or Italy, Egypt, Libya, and Turkey. Primarily, the problem was dealt with at the national level. However, in assuming the discourse power in the media interest changed with migrants arriving in Calais with a proximity to Europe (Britain and France). The similar proximity of Germany border to Turkey fuelled speedy action. As such, experts viewed, the extent to which the story was produced in the mainstream media at that moment, changed with a more personalized touch, than other stories on the menu. In Germany, supporting observations in the introductory chapter of this dissertation, producers believed political decisions affected migrants from Kenya. On the one hand, in Britain, experts suggested, migration crisis pushed Western countries on the brink, forcing a serious consideration on the effect of migration on the security and stability of Europe. For instance, although there is criticism on associating migrants to terrorism, threats, and attacks linked to migrants are prevalent. To illustrate, media reports associated terror attacks in September 2016 in Turkey and France to migration. According to Odhiambo, in producing stories on migration and development, these themes cannot be ignored. The themes influence the entry, settlement and participation of Kenyan migrants in economic activities. He argues. While the mainstream media uses stories representing migrants as threats to the European cohesion, migrant media looks for angles that give hope.

"If you want to sell, "bad news sells", people click on alarming news. The paper sells, people listen in more when you hear". [...coming up Syrian man attempted to bomb Berlin Airport...]. We are no longer reporting a 22-year-old man, you must put that Syrian identity for people to say look and they are just a bunch of problems" (Odhiambo, Interview Bonn, 15.10.2016).

Generally, media experts argued, mass media coverage changed themes from terrorism, migration crisis, economic crisis and leading political rhetoric in the West. In Germany, the emphasis was initially on reducing the number of migrants coming into the country but shifted to a more “a receptive attitude towards migrants”. The results are public anger towards migrants or migration issues and the frustration that they must put up with scores of migrants. In Britain, migration was viewed as a threat not only to the European natives but to other categories of migrants like Kenyans. Media experts suggested, with Brexit, immigration laws will tighten to discourage people from moving across the British border, at the same time, make conditions for settlement migrants tough. Overall, migration and development as a media story are dynamic, always changing depending on current happenings. Hence, transnational digital migrant media adapts this approach to stay relevant and prepare its audience of probable dynamics and the option of returning to develop the homeland. For example, realizing the migrant voices were unheard among policymakers in the UK, despite their contribution to the British society in Ukentv partnered with a civic engagement project, Building Understanding through International Links for Development (BUILD). The purpose was to engage with migrant groups to fight increasing prejudice and difficulties in migrant communities in Europe. They target schools, hospitals, local authorities, faith-based organizations etc. in Edinburgh, Sheffield, Wolverhampton, Birmingham, London, Cardiff, and Bristol. BUILD also cemented commercial ties with countries and communities of origin in Africa.

“The East African diaspora in the UK has a vital role to play and indeed is already playing, in supporting development in their countries of origin, not least through commercial agriculture and the export of agricultural products from East Africa to the UK. At the same time, there is a problem of unemployment in many African countries, not least amongst young men – a problem that is shared globally. A part of that contribution has been the positive links that the diaspora has brought to the UK not least through commercial ties with their countries and communities of origin” (Ukentv, 2016, Text 3).

Narratives on the Migration of Terrorism

Respondents argued, before the refugee crisis, migrants were more open and willing to talk to media producers. However, this had changed, and migrants avoided divulging information to public organs for the fear of victimization. Migration is framed as facilitating terrorism, in Germany for example, respondents argued the crisis caused a blanket view of migrants, “where everybody was a ‘refugee’ or ‘suspect terrorist’, regardless of the period they had stayed in the country or reason for migration. The tone of the media had also changed to conform to the political rhetoric.

“The editorial structures take a stance more like “we can do this, we can be sympathetic, we can open our arms, and we should be warmer and tolerant of migrants and refugees”. However, the tone has changed the media is trying to remain the voice of the voiceless, but if you read between the lines, it’s like we have left you to make the choice. What comes to your mind is that the migrants have changed the norm of life the migrants have brought

problems; the migrants have brought fear and angst. We are not living at peace anymore, there is this threat of having more attacks and it is always attached to migrants” (Lwanga, Interview Bonn, 26.11.2016).

We see that since 9/11 a media framing that constructed migrants in Islamophobia and Xenophobic connotations took momentum making the life of migrants within a European space a challenge. Naturally, migration is loosely connected to terrorism in the European context. The media highlights on terrorism incidents as a developing story with hourly updates in images, captions and reporters voice to piece. The terrorism theme is catchy, and a lot of resources are invested in gathering and packaging the story since “bad news sells” and people are likely to click on alarming news.

“There are many stories, I think it depends where. In some parts of the country, things are not very good. We have had cases where migrants have been attacked, refugees have been attacked. But migrants in areas where we live like here in Bonn things are positive people take us as part of society and you know they have gotten used to us and everything is just usual, normal, when we go to the shops we are treated well. I have never heard any bad experience myself. Maybe it’s because Bonn is relatively calm, is not like Dresden or parts of Berlin. Here everything is quite OK. But I know in the news the stories; there are parts of the country like Dresden where migrants have been attacked” (Odhiambo, Interview Bonn, 16.10, 2016).

8.2.2. Narratives of Migration and Development in Transnational Digital Migrant Media

It is possible to conclude, the impact of stories on migration and development on the audience depends on the criteria for selection and the currency of issues. First, transnational digital migrant media in Germany maintains a focus on Kenyan migrants and seldom generates a discourse on modern changes in migration trends. However, interviews with media producers informed that in Britain, the general view was that Brexit created a challenge to socio-economic aspects of British natives and migrants. This includes challenges in accessing certain rights, such as housing, health, and equal employment opportunities. Secondly, Brexit unearthed deep-seated issues and attitudes, rarely expressed in the public, but soon became triggers for xenophobic expressions. The migration story in Britain is told in the context of the rest of Europe. It is considered an important story and expected to expand with the invocation of article 10 which sets the ball rolling for Brexit.

“There is lot more about migrants that we meet got to say, migrants are not just a problem, migrants can contribute a lot. In the UK and I am sure in Germany there some menial jobs that the natives cannot do and there is going to be a problem if Brexit goes through there are jobs that natives got to do (Interview London, 10, 03, 2017).

Interview experts argued, the migration discourse in Britain’s mass media is politicized and migrant’s development role was slowly being threatened as they struggle to access economical gainful activities. Respondents believed, if migrants don’t access jobs, they cannot contribute to economic sectors of their countries of origin. For instance, the struggle comes from a public perception critical of migrant’s economic pursuits, as well as specific metaphors associated with migrants like Kenyans, who are sometimes seen as “unwanted invaders”. Nevertheless, migrant media moves away from traditional

selection criteria and interpretation of migrants in the mainstream media, to show migrants as agents of development. Consequently, data illustrates variations in the portrayal of migrants in Germany and those in Britain. Migrants in Britain are seen to be more active in development initiatives than their counterparts in Germany. One respondent observed that Kenyans in Germany were disconnected. The lack of meaningful connections among Kenyans in Germany was seen to influence their participation in development activities, compared to their counterparts in Britain.

“I do not know Kenyans in continental Europe as players on the development of the country on a large scale compared to those in the UK and the USA. They might be so on a small scale; they might be helping their families; they might be helping their communities. I do not think they have reached that high level of scale. They are not so much engaged or influential as Kenyans in the UK and the USA is” (Muthoni, Interview Frankfurt: 10.10. 2016).

Building on postcolonial and discourse theoretic perspectives, I argue, Kenyan migrants are essentialized and marginalized in identities that touch on societal and cultural emblems, of what being black in the European space means. In Britain, race and migration are conjoined topics used in the media, sometimes, with other related but interchangeable themes. While Britain had a wider mix of migrants spread across its cities, migrants from Africa and Kenya were confined in enclaves or communes of them of people from their homeland.

“Britain in many ways and especially cosmopolitan towns like London and greater London are mixed up with people from all over the world, it becomes very difficult for us to look at migration and start thinking they have come to take away our jobs , because even the British person may not be pure, they may have had roots from Germany. Race and migration is an issue, in those English rural towns where you have few migrants , I even fear going there because migrants tend to huddle together, because all Kenyans know their districts , there are enclaves for America and pockets for Irish people, we have everyone moving close to their very own” (Wangechi, Interview London, 26.03.2017).

Sometimes transnational digital migrant media producers prioritized stories on migration and development depending on the agenda of the day, but other times, the story could be an update to a developing angle from discussions with policymakers and relevance to potential future migration. Migration and development emerged as critical subjects of discussion in official functions, as well as, sources of news on policies frameworks between migration-sending and receiving countries. The findings reflect on the media effort to shape their production policies to consign with a growing reality that migrants make part of the general European society. Conversely, transnational migrant media do not generally cover stories on the wider Germany or Britain society, unless they have a connection to Kenyan migrants. However, interviews with media experts revealed, migrant media producers were keen on socio-political contexts that affect the perception of migrants in European spaces. For example, in Germany, the re-election bid for Chancellor Angela Merkel fourth term in September 2017 was deemed to set migration as a significant topic in the election coverage.

“I don’t think they care a lot about migrants, especially on the influence itself, I do not think it will remain a huge topic, the thing is the issue on refugees has always been a big topic in Germany and no one has ever talked about it until the influx of refugees. And so, if the increase continues or increases higher than last year then the topic will continue, but if it drops to how they were two to three years ago, then everything will be back to normal” (Muthoni, Interview Frankfurt, 10.10, 2016).

In Britain, migration was framed as a political issue and highlighted in parliamentary debates and media reportage. Respondents observed, although the numbers of Africans coming to Europe through the Mediterranean channel were limited, those who arrived were grouped as refugees, therefore, escalating the nature and reality of the crisis.

“Most they do not come from Africa. Even if the policy was to be changes and the decision was for all African refugees to be taken back home, then it’s OK they will be sending about only 10 percent of 50,000 of them back to Africa. The ones remaining here would be a bigger problem than those being send away” (Mutegi, Interview London).

Conclusion

In this empirical chapter addressing the question on existing differences between migration and development discourse in Germany and Britain migrant media, I found heterogeneous perceptions from media experts and text production. The idea was to combine summaries in data constituting similarities and differences from texts and interviews. The key findings indicate that migrant media producers developed their stories from existing dominant hegemonic themes from other sources for instance; politics, migration law, integration process, and economic reports on remittances. Then, migrant media would (re)produce similar dominant assumptions in these contexts leading to a general understanding of migration and development issues in a broader spectrum of public discourse. I interpret this perspective as an endeavour of digital migrant media to remain relevant within its audience and production contexts, as well as to compete with other new media outlets e.g. social media. The main inter-relations were found between contexts of representations, assumptions and stereotypes explained in chapter seven. The elements provided a possible interpretation hegemonic context of migration and development discourse. Mainly, the analysis of hegemony through representations, assumptions, and stereotypes aided in conceptualizing development as a Eurocentric model of power relations, subjective to the very people development was aimed at. Secondly, we see the representations of migrant images in the mainstream media and their reification in migrant media as continuous sources of hegemonic discourses. Thirdly, data for this thesis indicate that prevalent stereotypical associations to migrant created psychological and social challenges in the expression and existence of migrants within European locations. On the other hand, in the quest for counter-hegemonic views, migrant cultural and economic activities enabled their (re)production as agents of development, in migrant media’s articulation of alternative migrant voices. Aspects of identification, actions, and social relations seemed to overlap in data from Britain and Germany. Overall, differences were

prevalent in themes on “migration crisis” in Germany and “Brexit” in Britain. In the two countries, assumptions of how migration and development discourse is (re)produced in migrant media were similar, given, that media production follows traditional journalistic criteria of production. However, each migrant media concluded on possible themes that reflected on its agenda and audience preferences. Elements of identifications projected in Britain, were half of those projected in Germany since migrant media in Germany seemed to project more social change actions, half of Britain’s projections, whose focus was enhancing migrant activities through partnerships and initiatives. The dominant assumption that Kenyans in Germany were not actively engaged, could be attributed to the quest to produce more stories that inspire development in German, yet limited sources to produce the narrative. Therefore, explaining networks and associations as sources of development could be part of the Social Network Analysis (SNA), a focus not addressed in this study, but a possible analytical method for further research. In sum, the analysis predicts that in its production process, migrant media emphasizes more on the representation of migrant’s agency, but in so doing, to a certain degree (re)produces both hegemonic and counter-hegemonic perceptions. The two-migrant media projected more similarities than difference. In my view, this is because of having similar production process and coming from similar migration contexts.

CHAPTER NINE

CONCLUSION

9.0. FROM MIGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT NARRATIVES TO INFORMING MEDIA PRACTICE

The main objective of this study was; a) to explore the role of the media in the production of migration and development discourses; b) To identify gaps in literature and contribute to social research through a comparative analysis of migrant media production in the UK and in Germany; c) To contribute to the research in the area of culture and technology, postcolonialism, migration, and development through a study of transnational digital migrant media. To this end, the dissertation set to achieve these goals in addressing specific questions on how images of migrants as development agents are (re)produced in migrant media, the criteria for migrant media production of discourse and differences and similarities of migrant media practice in the UK and in Germany. To derive answers to the main sociological question the thesis examined comparative inter-relations of heterogeneous discourses in migrant media exhibiting hegemonic and counter-hegemonic contexts through the production criteria of media items, as well as interviews revealing perceptions of expert Kenya media producers. In this conclusion I highlight the units of analysis, the **text**, the **discourse practice** and the **social practice** used in analysing empirical data. The unit of analysis were key in identifying narratives on migration and development in transnational digital migrant media. In addition, Fairclough's elements analysing hegemonic narratives: *stereotypes, representations, assumptions* and counter-hegemonic narratives: *actions, identifications and social relations* express aspects in the unit of analysis. The results help us draw conclusions on discourse-theoretic and postcolonial concepts that inform the thesis contribution to knowledge and research.

Text: As the written or spoken word in a discursive event, this dissertation established that transnational digital migrant media narratives (re) produced hegemonic and counter-hegemonic contexts in seemingly straightforward texts. However, Texts determined the level of focus and qualify theoretic assumptions in this thesis. Producers presented alternative views to conventional aid centered development, (re)produced in texts as limiting in the attainment of economic independence of Kenyans. While migration was represented as a panacea for development, the perspectives determined the nature of discourses continuously produced in contexts assumed to be relevant to Kenyan migrants. In this dissertation, I established that in fact, narratives in the Texts are, produced and (re)produced through institutions of power included dominant media, politics and social research acting as sources of information for migrant media and shaping the social reality. From success stories of migrants, Texts indicate viable development outcomes both in migration-sending and receiving countries. What was unique in this dissertation is that Texts in migrant media expressed evidence of migrants' transnational connections and their development targets. From a development point of view, we can conclude that transnational digital migrant media

narratives shape and support significant development initiatives in migration-sending countries and possible cooperation with host countries.

Discourse Practice: As the production, distribution and consumption of Texts and their interpretations, we see that the criteria for migrant media production is built from existing journalistic perspectives and practices based on Western models of news sourcing, gathering, production and dissemination. Migrant media producers are also influenced by their historical, postcolonial and personal experiences of migrant life in host societies. Their cultural contexts are related to identity, heritage and transnational connection to Kenya. We see challenges in transnational digital migrant media production owing to a widening free internet space. Media experts interviewed, revealed that Text production is not just a preserve within the media criteria for selection, but Texts can be sourced from websites and information on similar themes, therefore expanding the element of genre mixing and intertextuality. This raises ethical questions on the credibility of information published on transnational digital migrant media. As criteria for production, we found that news values like objectivity, factuality and verifiability of Texts produced are highly considered, however frequently transnational digital migrant media rely on their own agenda and motivation. Considering, migrant media websites start as personal hobbies to address and respond to individual interests and experiences in the host lands. It is easy to assume that once these websites get significant attention, producers may resort to making financial gains. This is because migrant media production is voluntary and rarely attracts advertisements, the main financial source to sustain news production. Transnational digital migrant media in Germany and Britain partially operate within existing frameworks of media policy guidelines and practice. Stories follow shifts in national policies on migration and development at local and national levels in countries of origin and destination. Therefore, to respond to gaps in development trajectories this study on transnational digital migrant media provide information on the portrayal of development as a migration phenomenon relevant to host societies, return migrants and non-migrants communities.

Social practice: As the acting of power and dominance existing in the social sphere, the research established that Texts exposed assumptions that mobility for Kenyans to Europe is motivated by the need to improve living conditions and contribute to personal and other development initiatives in sending countries. An examination of migrant media for Kenyans in Britain and Germany revealed a diversity of themes in stories (re)produced that indicate an existing engagement of migrants with networks and initiatives in host and sending-countries. Texts construct the social practice that migrants are re-inventing the development discourse. The two migrant media websites studied are prominent among Kenyans in Europe (Germany and UK) and have legal status, structures, capacities and a high degree of interconnectedness with migrant communities. This positioning ensures production of multiple contexts on themes that sustain relevant discourses on migration and development. The analysis of empirical data from interviews established that diversity of Kenyan communities

in Britain and Germany display a variety of possible motivations for being at the center of migration and development discourses. Their practices are manifested in Texts linking migrants to non-migrants and operations within host countries the "here and there". Migrant media also sourced information from sending-countries framing stories from development initiatives such as; social and economic remittances, youth empowerment and activities of migrant alliances operating in the sending and receiving countries. The social practice as a unit for analysis for this dissertation established that development narratives in migrant media focus on the economic capabilities and stability in host countries as important pre-requisites for transnational initiatives targeting migration - sending country. In the unit of analysis, we find that stories produced on activities of Kenyan migrants are equated to development practices. Therefore, in the data sets from interviews and Texts we could see that narratives on migration and development, emphasize on the space for migrant's contribution to development. There were stories that highlighted on the migrant's transnational links with non-migrants in the sending-country and development initiatives. Further, migrant narratives exposed points and gaps relevant to host and sending countries in terms of interests and motivation for migration. Empirical data from Germany and Britain derived from texts confirmed, migrant's involvement with foreign missions and embassies in Europe. I established that transnational digital migrant media produce information and news on Kenyan diplomatic and state activities in Europe and make it accessible to migrants through (re)producing speeches, directives, and stories. I conclude that the discourse practice facilitates Texts production which expose power in form of hegemonic and counter hegemonic view that sustain the migration and development as a social practice.

Further, data informing the social practice from Germany and Britain confirm, although most initiatives are in the informal, increasingly, restrictive policies on migration and development cooperation aimed at minority groups, serve as setbacks for migrant's participation in development. In addition, policies on migration and development cooperation such as; work and resident permits shape the discourse generated in migrant media. In this sense, from the social practice we see migrant agency through stories on resource mobilization in transnational activities and motivation for return migration. Such stories suggest migrant's freedom or opportunities in terms of work and affordable living areas, as critical for migrant's contribution to host societies as we found in arguments in Flanaux (2014) and evident in empirical data. Specifically, this dissertation found that the production of stories on migrant media depends on prevalent migrant activities related to Kenya. As a social practice, Texts analyzed for this study indicate that social and financial remittances are mobilized through migrant groups and with networks with institutions in host countries at national levels in migration-sending countries. Thus, from the three units of analysis (*text, social practice and discourse practice*) I conclude that migration and development are two intertwined social phenomena's significant in the age of globalization with both challenges and opportunities. Through a study of transnational digital migrant media, we see migrants' contribution to development in sending-countries perceived as

a beneficial outcome of migration. Migrants are constructed as addressing challenges in host societies related to aging populations, migrant labour, effects of migration flows. Migrants are re(produced) as enhancing the realization of these goals, at the same time, using creative resource outcomes to develop home countries. Migrant media narratives portray migrants as supporting the transition from conventional aid centered development to a more neo-liberal development, achieved through domestic economic initiatives. Texts indicate that migrants create a social cohesion through trans-cultural expressions and practices that connect natives and migrants and their contribution to socio-economic and development activities. These cultural diversities embody themes that sustain discourses on migration and development (re)produced on migrant media for Kenyans in Europe. Having established core general conclusive points in the findings, let us now look at how specific outcomes from this study contribute to critical development studies, Post-colonial studies, media, culture, and technology as well as migration studies.

9.1. Adding to Critical Development Studies

In this thesis, using a study of transnational digital migrant media we established that Kenyan migrants are a representative group of individuals keen on initiating a social-economic movement aimed to change development narratives and situations in the homeland. As social actors, migrants are aware of the “development crisis” (Escobar, 1995), where conventional aid centered development constructed from Western ideological perceptions is limited to addressing sustainable economic pursuits for citizens. Therefore, the thesis provided an argument that factors such as unemployment, political conflicts, scarce resources, and weak institutions have hindered the much-prized development and caused migration of Kenyans to Europe. Therefore, critics of migration and development as we explored in literature pointed to failures of African governments to secure livelihoods for citizens as precursors to migration. However, results for this thesis show that narratives in transnational digital migrant media for Kenyans in Europe, support this view. As well, they highlight on migrant’s efforts to integrate in host societies and contribute solutions to endemic lapses in economic systems of sending-countries. In response to economic and political failures, Kenyan citizens especially high skilled professionals, see migration as an alternative to improve their living conditions, as well as support domestic incomes of significant others. In their integration and economic process in Europe, transnational digital migrant media frame Kenyans as “social actors”, participating in development through social and economic remittances. Empirical data evidence that through these endeavours, transformations in conditions of Kenyans in Europe, as well as that of their dependents left behind can be achieved. While we considered Escobar’s (1995) elucidation of development in a different worldview, we see that his work recognizes what many researchers are proposing, a radical interpretation of social and political reality based on a new set of categories such as alternative development, new identities, radical pluralism, historicity and hegemony (Escobar, 1995:20). However, this dissertation does not strictly propose similar paradigms but contributes creative forms of alternative development giving

pointers on contesting hegemonic narratives and an emphasis on counter-hegemony as a strategy digital migrant media applies in changing perceptions and constructing migration, as a vehicle for alternative development thought. The findings in this study act as a litmus test for development agents not to be quick to climb the bandwagon of “alternatives to development”, but to critically review their origins and intentions. This thesis shows that narratives on migration in transnational digital migrant media suggest, development concepts contain hegemonic approaches linked to Western ideological models and could limit initiatives tailored to unique national and cultural capabilities of people it targets. Thus, alternative development could be a controversial untimely celebration of an ideology, but if creatively designed could effectively function as a complimentary to existing development initiatives. This thesis proposes a focus on practical cultural and economic contexts of people development is aimed at. Learning from these critical viewpoints, results from Texts in the empirical data indicate that Kenyan migrants see Eurocentric conventional development in a framework of an unbalanced relationship between the West and the so-called third world countries. This dissertation questions the interpretation of development in terms of financial aid aimed at alleviating problems of developing nations. To this end, I conclude that a biased representation of migrants in transnational digital migrant media as remitters of financial resources could also contribute to a dependency syndrome, a social process contested in Western development trajectories. As development aid comes with strings attached in the form of conditionalities and control of political and economic contexts of receiving countries, over reliance on remittances render non-migrants inactive. Texts analyzed for this study suggests some new narratives that discourage this form of development mind-set and in its place, argues for development centered on “interests of the African people in general and Kenyans in specific”. I found that migrant media producers emphasize the need for Kenyan migrants to take part in the development of their country through highlighting stories that exemplify success in transnational networks. Success is also (re)produced as functioning entrepreneurial and development projects in the home country. The connection between migrants and non-migrants is enhanced through transnational linkages, made possible with the expansion of media platforms that generate information material for migrant consumption.

Therefore, Texts indicates that through transnationalism, migrants engage in development activities designed to challenge conventional trajectories. Empirical evidence from counter-hegemonic narratives suggests alternatives development concepts are already being implemented in migration-sending countries. As reviewed in literature in chapter two, if the trend is sustained, development will not only be viewed as a Western model for economic growth, but rather, a partnership of alternatives from existing models. The approaches emphasize participation between developed and developing countries. The perspectives challenge the conventional development and contribute to what Escobar (2007) suggested as hallmarks of the first wave of post-development theory i.e.: i) not only limited to interests in development narratives, but an avenue to introduce alternatives to development and a rejection of the entire conventional development

paradigm: ii) an interest in local indigenous knowledge: iii) and a critical stance towards established scientific discourses. These hallmarks suggest a possible path produced in narratives on migration and development in transnational digital migrant media as an alternative to development centered on Western modernity and history. I concur that despite the proliferation of many forms of media and communication, including the new media, local knowledge remains a vital resource in improving livelihoods in developing countries at the local level. The World Bank 1998 -1999 Development Report already signalled that knowledge and not financial capital forms the most significant aspect of sustainable economic and social development. In deconstructing development, we see that Escobar (1995:26) cautions, care must be taken to safeguard this new discourse from the endeavour by dominant forces to salvage development through fashionable ideas such as “sustainable development”, “market-friendly development”, or to restructure social realities within the less developed countries. As development institutions articulate new contexts of viewing development, Escobar (1995) further reminds us that hegemonic forces are aligned to the symbolic and material requirements of a new international division of labour based on high technology. Therefore, this thesis provides an impetus in securing development contexts that are solely dependent on Kenyan migrants. Although their economic viability relies on migration, there is evidence that development initiatives established in the sending country act as motivation for return. It is fair to assume that post-migration development is a creative way of producing economic activities that not only relies on migration but builds on capital once reproduced in migration -receiving country. So then how can these findings contribute to migration studies?

9.2. Contribution to Migration Studies

As we established in the literature, human beings have migrated from one place to another as far as their existence goes. The urge to migrate is inherent in human nature, as is the urge to progress and develop their human faculties and the social aspects that support survival. The roving instinct is inbuilt in human nature and arises from the need to search for food, pasture, and resources, the desire to travel, explore and adventure, but also to conquer and possess (King, 2012). Populations movement from one central location to the next destination has led to the transference of ideas, cultural practices as well as adapting those found in a new destination if only to make the new environment hospitable and easy to cope with. However, in this thesis, empirical data provides that human movement offer a new production of agency and mobility, as well as challenges for new arrivals. Further, migration and settlement of African migrant’s present complex social and economic facets that need to be navigated. A new migrant will have to deal with harsh climatic conditions, language, social structures alien from the migrant’s place of origin. It is in view of such complexities that Stephen Castells and Mark Miller describe the contemporary world as living in the Age of Migration (Castells and Miller 1993, 2009). This thesis accounts, the diversification of recent migration trends and intensive politicization. According to figures from the United Nations Population Division as of 2010, there were 214 million international migrants in the world. These are people residing

in countries other than their origin, the population makes up to 3 percent of the Global population. While such statistical figures quantify estimates important in planning and analyzing migration impacts, they do not detail the intricate human attributes of migration. In this thesis, I exemplified migrant activities through the production of migration and development narratives on transnational digital migrant media and how the narratives inform perceptions about migrants and their social agency. I further exemplified challenges to categories of migrants like Kenyans in the era of the so-called “migration crisis”. It was stimulating to see migrant media problematizing the “crisis” not only as a challenge to migrants but a potential for Kenyans to maximize their migration statuses through integration and economizing activities useful in the imminent return migration. This dissertation further challenges the assumption that migrants from African and so-called third world countries are economically motivated to migrate. While this may initially be the reason for migration, Texts and interviews analysed for this thesis shows that with changing geopolitical factors in European countries, migrants are more prone to “return and circular migration”, thereby solving the question of “brain drain” and linking migration to more constructive strategies - “brain gain and co-development”.

9.3. Informing Media Culture and Technology Studies

Transnational digital migrant media provides space where migrants talk about relevant topics that add to the migration and development debate. This thesis has demonstrated the possibility of migrant’s contribution to development knowledge, through projecting perceptions (re)produced in migrant media narratives. These forms of transnationalism utilize available fast and efficient communication networks connecting people, cultures, ideas, and practice. Digitized forms of communication are more synchronous, less expensive, more frequent and have a more media reach (Dekker & Engbersen, 2012). Data from texts and interviews for this thesis indicate migrant media producers are aware of socio-economic and political conditions in migration-sending countries. Through elements of *identifications, actions and social relations* as counter-hegemonic repertoires and the social practice as acting of power and dominance transnational digital migrant media contest development aid aimed to ameliorate such conditions, which in most cases end in coffers of corrupt leaders and other economic malpractices. Narratives in transnational digital migrant media indicate that in search for solutions to this state of affairs migrants foster tangible initiatives towards alternatives i.e. investing in e-commerce, tapping into migrant’s contribution of financial resources, transferring of skills and technology to boost agricultural practices for equitable nutrition. The data further Texts analysed from (Mkenya Ujerumani and Ukentv) shows that migrants contribute to the social capital of families and communities. The stories are framed as addressing problems identified as needing development or transformation; supporting education, facilitating better health and investing in real estate. I conclude that transnational digital migrant media constructs development using the category of migration. Further, migrant media producers keep tabs with other discourses that deconstruct development in the mainstream media or political spheres. Similar discourses are

(re)produced on migrant websites with alternative development perspectives for migrant's consumption. In addition, Texts from migrant media showed that development cooperation is taking a new shift that emphasizes more on economic partnerships and less on aid. Therefore, communication becomes more widespread and less one to one. It ensures a wider access to different individuals to whom otherwise migrants are weakly tied to, if at all (Haythornthwaite, 2005). Learning from established nuances in new media and migration, this thesis shows that migrant media position migrants' untapped resources as an economic boost to migration-sending countries' domestic budgets. Empirical data has also shown that transnational links between migrants and their distant significant others rely on the media to generate narratives on migration and development that surrounds their migrant life. The thesis ascertains the assumption that debates on migration and development in transnational digital media for Kenyans in Europe, create a platform to share, shape and (re)produce narratives on migration and development. The relevance in the application and use of media theories in the production of hegemonic and counter-hegemonic discourses in migrant media fills the gap in articulating the role of technology in the reincarnation of the cultural heritage of migrant populations. From the point of transnational digital migrant media community and perceptions from media experts', I conclude that the creation and sharing of narratives shape and essentially influenced development thinking. As a contribution to the field of culture and technology, the focus on migrant media as an aspect of new media is timely, as it offers African migrants a chance to use skills and knowledge acquired in European host lands in recreating communication communities abroad and home.

9.4. Building on Postcolonial Studies

As we established in theoretic chapters, existing conventional development thesis relates to postcolonial perspectives of Edward Said (1977), Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (1986) and Homi Bhabha (1983). Significantly, data analyzed for this thesis especially in the context of hegemonic narratives (chapter seven) in stereotypes, representations and assumptions as units of analysis of interviews expose ideological construction of development that create specific power effects like those highlighted in postcolonial studies. The dissertation examined debates surrounding postcolonial and discourse-theoretic approaches in narratives of migration and development from texts and interviews. The outcomes inform the historical knowledge that post-independence mass nationalist movements in Africa, emphasized on development concepts as tools for Africans to yank their countries from grips of colonialism and journey towards freedom. In this thesis, I argued that the stereotypical representation of migrants limits their full participation in development activities, at the same time contributes to their exclusion as active socio-economic actors in host societies. The postcolonial and discourse theoretic perspectives in this thesis build on the work of African authors like V.Y. Mudimbe (1988) work on Africanism suggesting that the third world reality is constructed with precision and persistence of discourses. He argues the practices of economists, planners, nutritionists, demographers, makes it difficult for people to define their own interests in their own terms and most of the time,

disabling them to do so. In this thesis, empirical data indicates a presence of media discourses challenging the concept of development as part of a Western political and cultural (re)presentation, despite its idealistic standpoints. Economic analysts and authors from Africa have argued that an alternative development thought is key to unchain Africa's overdependence on aid. They see aid as a form of neo-colonialism and blame it for the economic failure in Africa (Mudimbe, 1988; Zeleza, 2005; Gilroy, 2007). Similar arguments are enunciated in postcolonial and critical development studies. It is in the same vein, Escobar further exemplifies that development preceded by creating abnormalities "the poor", "the malnourished", the "literate", "pregnant women", "landless" which it would then treat or reform (Escobar, 1995:25). Conversely, in this dissertation found out that factors that have pushed Kenyans to migrate are singled out in Eurocentric development theory as requiring intervention from the developed world. The assumption seems to be that Kenyan migrants like other categories of migrants in Europe are sometimes generalized as economic migrants, illegals, or foreigners. In this context, their seclusion from the dominant society may reify sentiments like those found in postcolonial categories, such as "Otherness", 'Orientals' and 'Subalterns'. The representation may limit their full integration or recognition as important players in the social and economic aspects of migration-sending and receiving countries. Following scholars like (Said, 1977; Bhabha, 1983; Spivak, 1986), I stress the importance of postcolonial perspective to examine representations found in colonial discourse. In general support for alternatives, postcolonial concepts respond to Eurocentric approaches that undermine development contexts of Africans, comparatively Michel Foucault (1980) sees Postcolonial perspectives as a system of language that enforces conditions and regulate discourses in Eurocentric debates. Thus, discourse for analysis in this study included hegemonic Eurocentric views on the migration and development nexus but also counter-hegemonic alternative views of migrants' local voices (re)produced in transnational digital migrant media. As a contribution to research, the findings reflect on the 2017 German Federal Ministry for Economic Development's Marshall plan with Africa - Eckpunkte für einen Marshall Plan mit Afrika⁷⁹. The plan deviates from the ideological aid engineered development in the Marshall plan of 1947 highlighted in chapter two and emphasizes on good business and political practices in third world countries.

The proposal is that African nations can reverse the downward economic trend through enhancing elitist liberal ideals such as good governance, intolerance to corruption, observing the rule of law, ethical business practices etc. In European media and political narratives, the plan is echoed as a better option for Africa, but its ideas emanate from Western ideological points of view, without as much as tangible contributions from African actors. Although the proposal is seen in the West a welcome step towards eliminating dependency on aid, transnational digital migrant media are critical of its execution. Empirical data for this thesis evidences that narratives in transnational digital migrant media suggest that

⁷⁹ The Marshal Plan with Africa (2017). Africa and Europe- A new partnership for development, peace and better future. Onlineat:https://www.bmz.de/en/publications/type_of_publication/information_flyer/information_brochures/Materialie270_africa_marshallplan.pdf. Accessed on 17.07.2018.

development in Africa should depart from Western-led approaches to one that encourages authentic African ideas, and trade partnerships. In a similar way, we saw that stories on development in both media case studies for this thesis: Mkenya Ujerumani and Ukentv advocate for development initiatives fronted by Kenyan people e.g. migrants in European locations. Migrant media remain critical of Euro-centred approaches, like the Germany-EU Marshall plan for Africa, assumed to be much friendlier to Africa, with a bottom-up development approach hinged in the workmanship of Western development experts. For example, Mkenya Ujerumani uses texts that confront Eurocentric perceptions elucidated in critiques of postcolonial theories like those of Anthony Appiah's (1993) - "Comprador Intelligentsia's". As I discussed in the theoretical chapter three, Appiah is critical of academics and authors from Africa who gain knowledge in the West or equipped with a Western-style education to exploit their own (Africans). Unlike Appiah's "Comprador Intelligentsia", for example, Mkenya Ujerumani constructs Shikwati as an economic entrepreneur, a resource material for economic alternatives in Africa. Shikwati, a founder of the Inter-Regional Economic Network (IREN) in Kenya progresses an economic awareness among development agents and provides analysis on current economic trends in Africa. The network also trains economic journalists to shape relevant development discourse for African audiences. In another example, Ukentv does not only serve as a media outlet but a link between migrants and Kenyan development agents. It is in the analysis of such approaches that the primary focus of this dissertation is to fill the void in specifically on postcolonial studies done in Africa. In using such examples, I conclude that transnational digital migrant media producers portray narratives convincing their readers that: "to unshackle the burden of conventional development and dependency on aid, migrants must take an active role in the affairs of their home country to invest, create transnational links, support the education of non-migrants, transfer knowledge and give power for future economic independence". Data for analysis shows that transnational digital migrant media has tapped into gaps occurring in mainstream media and offer alternative approaches to development. In summary, a study on how editorial decisions (re)produce and related categories of migration and development help epitomize how media narratives are the next source of social reality. To understand such processes, as suggested in Bhabha (1983), texts indicate that stereotypical signifiers of development – for example, poverty, hunger, malnutrition, and illiteracy – are still ideal categories for development discourse in the mass media. Whereas these categories satisfy a dominant capitalistic view of problems that justify the rationale for development assistance, they don't explain how Western-initiated development strategies sometimes negatively affect the livelihoods of people in developing countries.

However, novel in this study is that those who migrate, like Kenyans in Europe, are addressed in transnational digital migrant media as 'effective change agents for development'. I argue that migration-sending countries like Kenya rely on media discourses to define development, as well as to re-inscribe the development discourse through the context of migration in the policy framework. As humans thrive in relationships with each other, so does migrants use the media as a

bridge between home and abroad. Migrants are constructed in transnational digital migrant media as adopting new technologies as spaces to share cultural values and knowledge, to experience a home away from home, but also give voice to discern their positions in the society. Migrants have the strong resilience to transport a culture through transforming social experiences, European new, and non-European other. This kaleidoscope of cultures is shared (re)produced in stories that highlight migrants' modes of dressing, cuisine, music, and art and increasingly in creative new media forms, blogs, social media and migrant media. The experience is a sentimental journey of pronouncing special attachment to home, at the same time, a potent for survival in the new homeland. To add to trajectories in postcolonial studies, therefore, empirical data from transnational digital migrant media and interviews with experts showed that migrants are not only concerned with economic pursuits in the host countries but are also represented as actors in development activities. I conclude and determine that throughout the journey for this dissertation, I got a chance to view how stories of Kenyan migrants are highlighted through a tale of migrant media and its criteria of production and selection. Here, discourses were creatively constructed in some occasions dodging hegemonic perspectives in the mainstream media in Europe, at other times, replicating similar narratives as well as counter-hegemonic views. This dissertation is a story of "voices from distant souls", of Kenyans separated from their homeland by distance and economic pursuits, lumped together in stereotypical categories in European locations, but raising above their "muffled voices" to be heard in their own contexts: "to tell their own story". It was a window to see through migrant media to confront dominant corridors of powerful discourse and creatively use of the internet as a communication-free zone for self-expression, identity creation, and social interactions. While considering ethical implications in the new media production, this dissertation explored concepts such as media theory, postcolonialism and discourse-theoretic approaches that provide a rich impetus in media, migration and development studies. The endeavour to topicalize the dissertation on these broad concepts was a but a curious inquisition to understand the life, experiences, and (re)production of Kenyan migrants social practice home and abroad. It was an interesting recount of media and communication interests to give "voice to the voiceless". Indeed, building on Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (1986) elocution "Can the Subaltern Speak"? I conclude that transnational digital migrant media could be the next sphere for representation of the marginalized group and migrants' voices for non-migrant subalterns caught between choices of increasing politically insatiable leaders and deteriorating economic situations at home. The thesis gives a possible view that indeed the subaltern can gain social mobility, through migration and acquire social and economic empowerment through narratives on migrant media. Furthermore, Gramsci (1930) enunciation that the subalterns need a person is addressed, in this thesis, where migrant media producers act as intellectuals, or knowledgeable subjects, "the person", representatives of subalterns. In this thesis exemplified in the biographies of media producers, editors, and journalist all acting as "voices of the voiceless" and facilitating a transnational connection in narratives of migration and development.

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APPENDIXES

1) Interview Guide

“Narratives of Migration and Development as Discourse in Transnational Digital Media”

The case of Kenyan Migration to Europe

The media can be a powerful tool of influence. The way in which subjects are (re)produced in the media, determine how people view the world around them. The media produces diverse narratives of migration and development by providing dominant hegemonic ideas on development as well as alternative voices. Migrants' local voices on development may be used to champion initiatives aimed at improving livelihoods in migration-sending countries. In the same breadth, Kenyans who have migrated to Europe (Germany and Britain) are increasingly turning to transnational digital migrant media - as media produced in a European space for migrants (Kosnick, 2007), to get informed or contribute to contemporary discourses. For this study, (Mkenya Ujerumani and Ukentv)⁸⁰ will serve as examples of transnational digital media. The aim of this research study is to identify if migration and development concepts produced in transnational media for Kenyans in Europe contribute to development. Please use the interview guide to respond to questions.

Interview Guide for Media Experts

General Information

Researcher: Lydia Ouma Radoli (Ph.D. Candidate Goethe University Frankfurt am Main, 2015-2017 (transferred to Brandenburg University of Technology - Cottbus in October, 2017)

Date of Data Collection: (September 2016 - April 2017)

Place: Hamburg, Bonn, Frankfurt (Germany) and London, United Kingdom

Profiles of Interviewees (Media Experts – Kenyan Media Producers, Editors, Journalists working in Europe, Germany and United Kingdom)

Name of the media organization:

Professional Biography of the Media Expert:

Specific Issues under inquiry for media experts from transnational digital media

History of the organization:

Which year was it created, by whom?

How long has it been in operation?

What are the main areas of coverage?

How does the context of the mainstream western (European) media reflect in the migrant digital media?

General Questions

1. How the discourse on migration and development is (re)produced in transnational digital media

- i. How does your organization (yourself) consider the relevance of stories on migration and development?
- ii. In which forms are stories on migration and development reproduced in the media organization?
- iii. Do you believe that migration can contribute to development in Kenya?
- iv. Do you think the media can help bridge the gap between migration and development? In what ways?

Specific sub-questions:

a) Narratives of migration and development produced in transnational digital media

- i. Using your personal experience what themes of stories on migration and development are covered in the organization or and department?
- ii. What issues frequently emerge from the stories?
- iii. Who are the sources of the stories? do they have a connection to Kenya?
- iv. Are there positive or negative images in the media that are associated with migrants?

b) Images of migrants as development agents produced

- i. What do you think are reasons for the migration of Kenyans to Europe (Germany, Britain)?
- ii. Do you consider Kenyans in Europe as important players in the development of Kenya? In which ways?
- iii. What type of representatives from the Kenyan community in Europe, do you use as voices in stories on migration and development?
- iv. Are you familiar with other suggestions about to, or know any successful experience of other groups of migrants that use the media as a tool to talk about issues on migration and development?

c) Main criteria media producers use to generate the discourse on migration and development

- i. What priority do you give to stories on migration and development?
- ii. How frequently are stories on migration and development featured?
- iii. What criteria do editors use to select the stories?
- v. What additional images are used to support the stories?

d) Differences existing between discourses on migration and development in transnational media in Germany and Britain

- i. Is migration and development an important topic for coverage in the media in Germany, Britain?
- ii. How are migrants understood in Germany and Britain?
- iii. What stories on migration and development have you written in the past 2 years?
- iv. What impact if feasible d the stories have on the audience?

NOTE: The questions are a guide to the interview, to help address certain conceptual issues that arise in the research study. They will not be used to elicit a question and answer approach. Other significant issues will arise from the interview. Your responses will only be used for purposes of academic research. Goethe University's Graduate School of Social Sciences ethical and research guidelines will strictly be adhered to.

⁸⁰ <http://mkenyaujerumani.de/>: Mkenya Ujerumani, a synonym for Kenyans in Germany.

<http://www.ukentv.com/>: Ukentv. The Internet media outlets engage in the production of news and information items on migration, development, migrant activities, social and economic remittances, linkage to Kenya, Entrepreneur, Business, Popular Culture. The activities include crowd funding, celebration of national holidays, exhibition of culture in terms of local Kenyan foods and dress, scholarship, employment opportunities, promotion of Kenya's tourism sector and investments.

2. Brief Biographies of Respondents

a) Phase 1 Field work in Germany (September to December 2016)

1. Caro Wakesho

A Kenyan journalist, with over 15 years' experience in broadcast media. She worked at the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC) as a producer and news reader, before coming to Germany on assignment in the Kiswahili Department. She is a specialized broadcaster in packaging stories on development, women, politics, migration in Kiswahili language. She hosts radio programmes she also reads the Kiswahili news bulletin broadcasted to partner stations in Swahili speaking countries of Africa. Her experience in media coverage of issues in Africa, Kenya and Germany places her in the knowledge realm of media, migration and development.

2. Brian Odhiambo

He is an experienced radio journalist having worked at Kenya's Radio Jambo. He came to Germany as producer and presenter on the Kiswahili department at an international media house. He has done stories on migration, politics, social and economic issues affecting the Africa continent. He also reads the Kiswahili news bulletin, field interviews and host radio shows. The programmes are broadcast on partner stations in Swahili speaking countries of Africa e.g. Tanzania, Rwanda, Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo and Kenya. His contribution to politics of migration enables him to understand the topic under study.

3. Virginia Muthoni

A journalist and entrepreneur she is the founder of Mkenya Ujerumani. A digital media website Mkenya Ujerumani, a synonym for Kenyans in Germany. It was founded in 2010. She produces news and information items on migration, development and migrant activities. Her stories target Kenyans in Germany and touch on social, economic and cultural issues affecting Kenyans living in Germany.

Some of the themes are linked to crowd funding, celebration of national holidays, exhibition of culture in terms of local Kenyan foods and dress, scholarship, employment opportunities, promotion of Kenya's tourism sector and investments. She has managed a transnational digital media for the past six years. She gives insight on the operation of digital media and how discourse on migration and development are shaped.

4. Charles Lwanga

He studied Psychology, Education and German at the Kenyatta University in Kenya. He later worked at Kenya Broadcasting Corporation and currently works at a German international broadcaster in Bonn. His journalistic assignments include news, documentary and features broadcasted at the station. He's part of the Learning by Ear programme which focuses on telling African stories, through plays and narrations that are either transmitted on radio or through travelling caravans of actors. The project involves writers and playwrights from all over Africa. He is a content producer who will inform on the criteria for generating stories in media production.

5. Teresia Ratemo

Founder of Proud Chocolate internet radio in Germany, she is a media producer and presenter. She started as an intern at the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation and Kenya Television Network. Worked as a producer and presenter at Kenya's Royal Media Services and German based Immigrant African Heritage Radio. Her internet radio combines audio and visual formats of production. It first went on air in June 2016. The internet radio produces programmes targeting Kenyan migrants in Europe and non-migrants in Kenya. Topics discussed touch on migration, resettlement, employment, foreign cultures, racism, discrimination, integration, immigration process and documentation, relationships. She offers a unique on the trend of how digital internet media is taking the scope to address migrant issues.

b) Phase 2 Fieldwork in Britain (January to April, 2017)

1.Naftali Musa

Naftali is an experienced Kenyan journalist working for an international media house in London - the United Kingdom. He is a trained broadcast journalist, having worked at the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation in the Kiswahili Department. He is specialized in Radio production, but has over the past few years engaged in TV production and is a top anchor for the Swahili news. He alternates his assignments from London to Nairobi and is a well-spoken member of the Swahili editorial team. His experience puts him at the centre of the African news, he sees how ideas are moulded during editorial story pitching, the production of the story and the images that filter through the newsroom. He is also aware of Western media editorial perceptions in portraying developing countries, and the struggle of African journalists to get the right image of Africa out. He offers an analysis on emerging political trends and social prejudices that surround Kenyan migrants in the UK, in relation to their agency role in development.

2.Janet Waitherero

She is the founder and manager of the London based migrant media Ukentv, a case study for the thesis. She is also a public relations consultant, community media producer and social media marketer. She doubles as a producer and broadcaster at Ukentv and runs charitable and social events that bring together Kenyan migrants in the UK. She is also the president of the Face of Kenya (UK, USA, and Germany). An event that showcases Kenyan culture through fashion, music, cuisine and entrepreneurial ventures. Realizing that there was a gap in the number of community media that represented migrants in the UK. Ukentv was launched in 2007, the organization started with stories about what is affecting Kenyan migrants in the UK, and their relations to Kenya. When Ukentv became a platform for Kenyan voices, the gap in telling positive stories about migrants was evident. There was a call for more production to cover different subjects that are relevant to migrant lives. The organization engages with the UK and Kenyan governments, to understand migrant lives and ideas for developing the home and host states. The positive migrant engagement has seen the outlet expand and attract Kenyans from different parts of the UK.

3.Alice Wangeci

Alice works at the international broadcaster in London, UK. She is a Kenyan migrant to the UK and apart from her journalist work, she is also a researcher on critical perceptions and images in the media. She is specialised in production of English programmes at the British media house, and a member of the editorial team. She reports on different themes on immigration and migrants. Her current analysis of Brexit, gives new knowledge on how migrants voted and the possible effects of article 50 which sets into motion the formal exit of Britain from the EU. She highlights, specific repercussions to migration and critical views of the status of Kenyan migrants and how the current discourse affects their development initiatives.

4.Peter Musau

Musau has worked for 12 years as a producer for English programmes at the international broadcaster in London, UK, Focus on Africa, Network Africa. Prior to his assignment in London, Musau worked for a local FM radio station - Baraka FM based in the Kenyan coastal town, Mombasa. Baraka FM broadcasts majorly Swahili programmes. He is specialised in radio and TV production and presentation of news and programmes, reporting and editing. His experience as a field reporter on migration, gives a general perspective on the categories of migrants. Through his eye witness accounts, he embodies migration challenges, laws and policies that determine migrant's occupation and presence in migration-receiving countries.

5. Simon Katana

A graduate of the Kenya Institute of Mass communication, Katana worked at the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation before joining the international broadcaster in London, UK. He has depth of experience in reporting on African issues touching on migration and development. He has seen changes in migration policies and editorial receptiveness over the years he has worked at the broadcaster. He links these debates to the current migration crisis in Europe. While the influx of immigrants from Syria, South Sudan, Somalia, Ethiopia is related to political insecurities, the juxtaposition to Kenyan migrants provides a viable discourse on categories of migrants and underlying issues. His insights reveal challenges on the migrant image in the UK, and how public perception and prejudices affect their economic production and development.

3. Descriptions of Production Genres

Genre	Description
News	Categorized as hard news, this genre exposes high level of news worthiness and could focus on topics ranging from politics, economics, social issues. News has a limited time frame and calls for immediate dissemination (Tuchman et al, 1972, Smith 1985, Whitmore,1987, Limor & Mann, 1997, Patterson, 2000 in Wilzig & Seletzky, 2010).
Feature	Described as soft news, deals with less urgent matters and has no strict deadlines. The information is considered sensational and touches on personalities, social events, histories that need detailed elaborations (Patterson, 2000 in Wilzig & Seletzky, 2010).
Speech	An official statement released within a set official function addressing specific themes, objectives and statement of facts.
Tip	Factual pointers giving information about something, a subject, advice, caution, instructions for example in Do It Yourself (DIY) formats.
Commentary	An authorial subjective narrative or analysis of an issue or subject giving opinion and arguments either in support or against an occurrence. Written by experts, specialist and even editors.
Essay	A written prose that gives context on a specific subject matter with more in-depth analysis, background information and research.