

Where Do We Belong?

Media Coverage of Migration in Sub-Saharan Africa



MEDIAMONITORING
• • • • • **AFRICA**

Acknowledgements

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1. Introduction

***“The Media doesn’t tell us what to think, but it does tell us what to think about”
Anonymous***



News media play a fundamental role in shaping the public discourse across a wide range of social and public interest matters. For the purposes of this research project, we seek to analyse and understand how the news across four African countries report on issues of migration. There are believed to be more than 244 million people currently living outside of their native countries.¹ With the volume of migrants having more increased by more than 71 million since 2000¹ and in the context of an increasingly globalised world, how is the issue of migration being framed in the public discourse? Is the media providing fair and balanced coverage to the challenges and opportunities of migration? Or is it perpetuating myths, stereotypes and misinformation about the effects and experiences of migrants both in their home and host countries? With our understanding that the media is a critical tool of information dissemination, unpacking how they frame issues helps us to see how they are influencing the public agenda, establishing political priorities and developing solutions, or encouraging fear and xenophobia. The research conducted by Media Monitoring Africa (MMA) monitored a total of 16 different media across South Africa and Zimbabwe, Kenya and Tanzania, and international media, Deutsche Welle and BBC Africa.

The research conducted aims to analyse how the media covers issues of migration between the four Sub-Saharan African countries identified above. The specific countries were chosen to demonstrate the ‘push’ and ‘pull’ elements in different regions. South Africa and Kenya were identified as ‘pull’ countries (i.e countries that attract migration), and Tanzania and Zimbabwe were identified as ‘push’ countries (i.e countries from whence citizens migrate). For comparative purposes, the research also looks at how migration has been covered in Deutsche Welle (Germany) and BBC Africa (UK). The inclusion of the two international media was done, partly due to the recent focus on migration in Europe and the UK, but also to allow for an international perspective on migration on our continent from the public broadcasters of two major countries to be established. By analysing the coverage of the media in Kenya, Tanzania, Zimbabwe and South Africa, the project seeks to improve their reporting on migration and xenophobia in terms of

1. United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division (2016). International Migration Report 2015: Highlights (ST/ESA/SER.A/375). Pp. 36

balance, fairness and quality of journalism and ultimately to enhance the public discourse on migration issues. The analysis was carried out by monitoring online newspapers through the use of MMA's in-house media monitoring tool, Dexter (see methodology below for details). Analysis of the results from Dexter provided insight into the performance of the different media houses through the in-depth content analysis.

2. Background and Context

An international migrant, according to the United Nations (UN), is defined as “a person who is living in a country other than his or her country of birth” (UN International Migration Report 2015, p.4).² People move largely when the opportunity structure offered in their current location (or country) fails to meet their aspirations or expectations.³ These patterns of change, which include both voluntary and involuntary migration, are driven by a wide range of complex interacting factors that both draw people to a new location (“pull”) and/or drive them away from their current one (“push”).^{2,3} These factors span the economic, social, political and environmental and can be either real or perceived by the decision-maker. Examples of such factors include persecution, conflict, political strife, poverty and employment, natural disasters, resource supply, population pressure, ethnicity and religion as well as local and national economy, among others.^{3,4} These factors all play into the trade-offs and choices people make in their decisions around whether or not to relocate.

In Sub-Saharan Africa specifically, more than 23.2 million people are thought to reside outside of their home countries.⁵ Contrary to popular belief, however, only roughly one-quarter of these migrants have moved to Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) member state.⁶ In fact, over 60 percent of migration flows take place on the continent itself.^{5,7} Owing to the intricate socio-economic, political and environmental terrain on the continent, migrants range from refugees and asylum seekers fleeing systematic persecution through to skilled professionals looking to expand their network into other cities. Cross-border movement patterns are often mixed and many African countries act as both sending and receiving states.^{1,5}

2. United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division (2016). International Migration Report 2015: Highlights (ST/ESA/SER.A/375). pp. 36.

3. Adepaju, A. 1998. Linkages between internal and international migration: The African situation. *International Social Science Journal* 50 (157): 387-396.

4. Regional Mixed Migration Secretariat (RMMS). 2013. Mixed Migration in Kenya: The scale of movement and associated protection risks. Mixed Migration Research Series: Explaining people on the move. Paper 2. pp 74.

5. World Bank. 2016. Migration and Remittances Factbook 2016, 3rd edition. Washington, DC: World Bank. doi:10.1596/978-1-4648-0319-2. License: Creative Commons Attribution CC BY 3.0 IGO.

6. Oucho, J.O. 2009. Voluntary versus forced migration in Sub-Saharan Africa in: Fischer, C. and Vollmer, R. (eds.). Brief 39: Migration and displacement in Sub-Saharan Africa – the security-migration nexus II. Bonn International Centre for Conversion: Bonn. pp 11-20.

7. List of OECD countries.

Sentiment towards migrants

Despite the complexity of factors driving international migration, much research shows how the public discourse in many regions has become progressively reductionist, simplistic and negative.⁸ Balch and Balabanova (2014) reveal in their study of UK news coverage in 2006 and 2013 that sentiment had become significantly cynical, dismissive and hostile towards immigrants despite the positive contributions that foreign nationals made to the national economy in years leading up to the survey.⁸ These concerns over “foreigners” and their burden on the state were flagged as some of the primary motivations that UK citizens voted to leave the EU in the historic Brexit referendum held in June 2016.⁹

With internal European ties taking strain following the referendum, African politics on the other hand is moving quickly in the other direction and the push for greater continental integration has never been higher on the agenda. The most visible manifestation of this was the launch of the African passport in early 2016 which is meant to allow all such passport-holders visa-free entry into any other African country.^{10 11} Ultimately, the passport is meant to serve as a signifier of more robust inter-regional co-operation and greater freedom of movement for Africans on the continent. Our question then is: Are these changes to higher-level continental policies a true reflection of issues being faced on the ground?

Bearing in mind that Africa already hosts the highest volume of internally displaced persons (IDP) worldwide as well as accommodates roughly 20% of refugees globally,⁵ what are Africans’ understandings and perceptions of migration? And if elsewhere coverage of migration issues have increasingly narrowed in recent times, how is the issue of migration being framed in the African public discourse? To answer this, we look to the media as an indicator of the current public agenda in terms of such pressing issues.

Making a case for Zimbabwe-South Africa and Tanzania-Kenya

Migration affects both the country that people choose to leave as well as the place wherein they choose to settle. Recognising this, we have selected two pairs of countries that share significant migrant flows. Within each pair, one country more readily identifies as a ‘sending’ state (origin) and the other as the ‘receiving’ state (destination). We have chosen Zimbabwe (‘sending’) and South Africa (‘receiving’) and Tanzania (‘sending’) and Kenya (‘receiving’). While we acknowledge that these cross-border fluxes are far more complex than these unidirectional pairings suggest, we felt that this is the best way to untangle media perceptions about migration between countries.

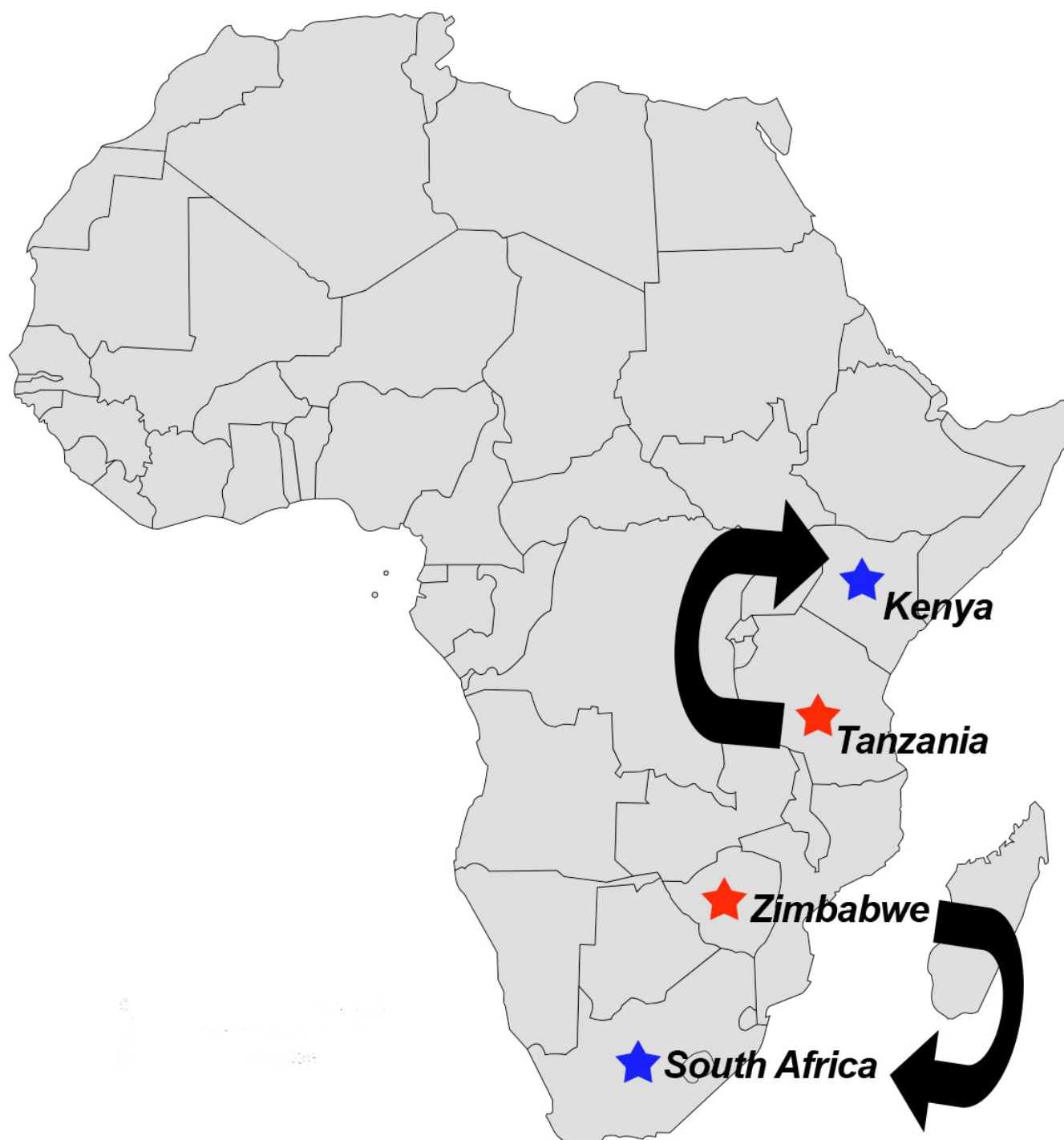
8. BICC brief 39 Migration and Displacement in Sub-Saharan Africa The Security-Migration Nexus II

9. Balch, A. and Balabanova, E. 2014. Ethics, Politics and Migration: Public Debates on the Free Movement of Romanians and Bulgarians in the UK, 2006–2013. Politics 24 November 2014.

10. Khan, A. Four ways the anti-immigration vote won the referendum. 7 July 2016. NewStatesman.

11. African Union (AU). 13 June 2016. African Union set to launch e-Passport at July summit in Rwanda.

Figure 1. Map showing the basic migration trends between four African countries analysed. Red star indicates country of origin while blue star indicates country of destination.



Migration trends in Kenya

The East African Bloc has experienced significant movement of IDPs and refugees within the region over the past two decades. Importantly, labour circulation remains a key contributor to the intra-regional migration witnessed locally.¹² Here, Kenya serves as a primary regional hub for migration as both a destination country for refugees and non-refugee migrants as well as a transit country for irregular migrants¹³ as they make their way to other parts of the world.^{12,14,15}

In Kenya, refugees make up one third of the total international migrant population.¹² As a ready recipient of IDPs, Kenya hosts two of the biggest refugee camps globally: Kakuma refugee camp and Dadaab refugee camp. In less than four years, the population of Kakuma grew more than twofold, from 85,862 refugees in 2011 to 181,821 as of 31 March 2015, while Dadaab is a complex of five camps and is the largest refugee camp in the world as well as one of the oldest.¹² Most refugees that are currently in Dadaab camp are from Somalia and Ethiopia and fled their home countries because of ongoing war and famine.

With Kenya's booming economy as well as a much better Multi-Dimensional Poverty Index Score (0.166) and Human Development Index score (0.555 ranking 146 out of 187 countries) than most of its neighbours,¹⁶ the country also attracts large volumes of regular economic (non-refugee) migrants who are drawn to the better socio-economic and education opportunities offered than those of their home countries.^{12,14,15} Kenya's 2009 Population and Housing Census indicates that 84% of the country's immigrants originate from Africa and the bulk of those are actually from East Africa (60%) or partner states.¹² Importantly, Tanzania is key contributor to these migration statistics where the majority of international immigrants (41%) were from United Republic of Tanzania.¹² These strong linkages between Tanzania and Kenya are also reflected in the fact that, according to the World Bank, Tanzanians living in Kenya sent home remittances worth \$15 million in 2012.¹⁷ For these reasons, Kenya and Tanzania were identified as a case study pair.

Migration trends in South Africa

The Southern African Development Community (SADC) has increasingly become a hub for intra-regional movements over the past two decades, where residents often relocate in the pursuit of more promising livelihood and work prospects.¹⁸ With this, South Africa is an important destination for migrants in the region, particularly given its perception as an engine of regional economic growth and its relative political

12. Migration in Kenya: A COUNTRY PROFILE 2015

13. The term irregular migration refers to a person who, owing to unauthorized entry, breach of a condition of entry, or the expiry of his or her visa, lacks legal status in a transit or host country. The definition covers inter alia those persons who have entered a transit or host country lawfully but have stayed for a longer period than authorized or subsequently taken up unauthorized employment (also called clandestine/undocumented migrant or migrant in an irregular situation). The term "irregular" is preferable to "illegal" because the latter carries a criminal connotation and is seen as denying migrants' humanity.

14. Regional Mixed Migration Secretariat. 2013. Mixed Migration in Kenya: The scale of movement and associated protection risks. RMMS: Nairobi. pp 74.

15. Crush, J., Dodson, B., Williams, V. and Tevera, D. 2017. Harnessing migration for inclusive growth and development in Southern Africa. Southern African Migration Programme (SAMP): Special Report. pp 72.

16. UNITED NATIONS DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME, Human Development Reports: Kenya

17. World Bank. 2012. Bilateral Remittance Matrix 2012. Excel spreadsheet.

18. International Organisation for Migration - Southern Africa: The regional migration context

stability. While exact figures for international migrants in South Africa remains hotly contested,¹⁹ it was estimated that in 2015, South Africa hosted the greatest number of migrants in the region (52% of total migrant stock) at 2.3 million people.²⁰ Importantly, too, is that South Africa is thought to have deported almost one million people since 1990, the majority of which were from Zimbabwe and Mozambique.²¹

While immigrants depend on South Africa for better work prospects, South Africa is also reliant on foreign nationals as key contributors to the economy. For example, in the mining sector many men who work underground are from Zimbabwe, Lesotho or Mozambique.¹⁹ Although this has decreased in recent times due the downsizing and/or closure of many South African mines, 23% of mine workers were foreign nationals in 2013.¹⁹ The early 2000s also saw a massive influx of Zimbabwean citizens into South Africa as their country entered a state of unprecedented socio-political and economic crisis under the leadership of President Robert Mugabe. Forced land seizures, rampant political corruption and systematic government-endorsed brutality saw the economy enter a state of hyper-inflation alongside many international sanctions.²² This, together with a severe drought, saw many Zimbabweans cross the border into their southern neighbour in search of socio-economic opportunity. While exact migrant figures remain unknown and although the Zimbabwean situation has stabilised to some extent over the past few years, many Zimbabweans continue to live and work in South Africa.²³

Concerningly, animosity towards non-South Africans has flared up on multiple occasions over the past ten years in South Africa. In 2008, 2012, 2015 and 2017, there were multiple attacks and violence specifically targeted towards mainly African foreign nationals. In 2015, the violence deteriorated to such an extent that busloads of Zimbabweans were assisted back to their home country to avoid further persecution.²⁴

Just like in other countries, migration in South Africa is highly contested issue. Given the fact that one of the primary migration corridors in the region is between Harare (Zimbabwe) and South Africa, and the fact that underlying unrest and sporadic outbursts of xenophobia are commonly directed towards citizens of South Africa's neighbors, understanding how both South African and Zimbabwean media frame the issues around migration would prove incredibly interesting as we attempt to open up the conversation as a productive tool for policy makers.

3. How we conducted the research

How we sourced the stories for analysis

The monitoring was conducted over a six month period (1 September 2016 to 28 February 2017) using MMA's internal online monitoring tool, 'Dexter'. Dexter is a tool that scrapes all online media content from the websites of pre-selected media (see Table 1 below), and stores the articles in a database.

19. Africa Check: FACTSHEET: Where do South Africa's international migrants come from?

20. Crush, J., Dodson, B., Williams, V. and Tevera, D. 2017. Harnessing migration for inclusive growth and development in Southern Africa. Southern African Migration Programme (SAMP): Special Report. pp 72.

21. Black et al. 2006. Migration and development in Africa: An overview. Southern African Migration Programme (SAMP).

22. Robertson, J. 2003. The Zimbabwean economy: The current position and the way forward In: Cornwall, R. Monograph 87: Zimbabwe's turmoil. Problems and prospects. Institute for Security Studies: Pretoria. pp 41-60

23. Chiumia, S. 5 November 2013. How many Zimbabweans live in South Africa? The numbers are unreliable. Africa Check.

24. Mutasa, H. 2015. Zimbabweans leave South Africa after xenophobic attacks. Al Jazeera.

Within the database of stories from the monitoring period, we then ran a keyword search for “migration” and sifted out any false positives i.e. a story about digital migration would have been excluded. We then used these stories as the dataset for our research. For each story, Dexter also automatically retrieves important information, including: (1) name, type and origin of publication, (2) headline and summary, (3) main topic of the story (from a pre-selected list see Appendix A) and (4) identity of quoted sources (including name, race, gender and affiliation).

Dexter makes use of a series of linked software programmes and algorithms to assist in meeting our monitoring needs. Over the last three years, we have used machine learning to “train” Dexter to accurately extract the items and data we are looking for. For example, Dexter “knows” which sources are people, because we have taught it to recognise names and organisations, as well as attribute gender to those names. In the same way, by using other related software, Dexter is able to link a series of words or a phrase to issues so that each time, it can extract the common or central topic of a news story. Once the data had been captured by Dexter, specially trained people (hereafter media monitors) then went through all the articles and checked that the inputs provided by Dexter were accurate and changed items, where necessary.

With Dexter being an automated system, there is always the risk that it might attribute quotes and affiliations to sources that may sound the same or that it might put forward other inaccuracies. The quality control is therefore manually conducted to ensure that the analysed data is as accurate as possible. Once this process of monitoring was completed, the data was further analysed in Excel to give the results in the proceeding chapters below.

What we analysed in each story

We can understand how migration and its related issues are put forward by the media by extracting and analysing specific elements of a story. In this case, we identified the primary topic of each story, the key underlying messages as well as the sources accessed.

As a starting point, and in order to get an overall sense of a story, we identified the primary topic of each article. This assigned topic summed up the main subject or over-arching theme of each article and was derived from a wide-ranging pre-existing list of topics. There was only one topic allocated per article. For instance, a story that explores the sale of illegal identity cards in Kenya, such as that published by Standard Digital (5 December 2016),²⁵ had “Crime” identified as its main topic. This is because the article specifically relays the reasons for the arrest of those involved in the fraudulent transactions involving migrants. For the full list of topics used, please see Appendix A.

From this, we also wanted to understand how even though a story might primarily focus on migration, there might be other underlying messages being put forward about migration or migrants more generally. These “key messages” are those that the article implies without stating such outright. During the data checking phase, the messages most appropriate to that story were chosen from an extensive pre-selected list (see

²⁵. 16 foreigners arrested for acquiring Kenyan identity cards illegally

Appendix B for full list) by the monitors. Each story could have more than one underlying message.

Finally, one of the simplest ways of establishing who has power in stories and whose views are considered important is by exploring which group is most widely sourced in stories. Sources refer to people who are directly or indirectly accessed by the media for information for the story or who are clearly depicted in cartoons or images. In these cases, those that are most frequently accessed, or indeed those that are never accessed, point to which groups contribute the most to and have control of the narrative. With this, the capacity in which people are accessed (role, occupation, or organisation) as well as their gender and race give an indication of whose stories are reported, who is given the opportunity to speak, and whose views are represented in the media. For this reason, analysing the breakdown of sources is used as a key mechanism of understanding the overall narratives.

The analysis of this combination of elements (topic, key message and sources) is thereby used to unpack how migration is constructed and framed in these stories.

The media we analysed

The 15 media (see below) were chosen not only because they were publications that produced content in English, but also because they had an online presence. Dexter is only able to source content from online platforms and therefore each of the selected media had to publish online as well as have a large enough online platform to provide us with usable data.

Table 1. The following media were monitored during the period:

| Media Title | Website Address | Country |
|------------------------|---|----------------|
| The Chronicle | http://www.chronicle.co.zw/ | Zimbabwe |
| News Day | https://www.newsday.co.zw/ | Zimbabwe |
| Daily News | https://www.dailynews.co.zw/ | Zimbabwe |
| Daily Nation | http://www.nation.co.ke/ | Kenya |
| Standard Digital | http://www.standardmedia.co.ke/ | Kenya |
| The Star | http://www.the-star.co.ke/ | Kenya |
| The East African | http://www.theeastafrican.co.ke/ | Kenya |
| Daily News | http://dailynews.co.tz/ | Tanzania |
| The Citizen | http://www.thecitizen.co.tz/ | Tanzania |
| The Guardian Tanzania | https://www.theguardian.com/world/tanzania | Tanzania |
| Deutsche Welle | http://www.dw.com/en/top-stories/africa/s-12756 | Germany |
| BBC Africa | http://www.bbc.com/news/world/africa | UK |
| Mail & Guardian | https://mg.co.za/ | South Africa |
| The Sunday Independent | http://www.iol.co.za/sundayindependent | South Africa |
| The Sunday Times | http://www.timeslive.co.za/sundaytimes/ | South Africa |

Limitations to the methodology

There are always certain limitations to a research methodology. One of the greatest limitations to this research study was the fact that most media operating in the countries used for analysis do not publish in English and that our technology limits our analysis to content published online. We therefore had to select only online media that we could access from a language perspective i.e. English. While this is clearly a limitation, it is noted that English is an official language in all countries monitored, and despite its colonial links, English is often used as the primary medium of communication across news stations here.

It is also important to take note that reporting is often reactive and events based. This means that in any period, the coverage of migration or any social issue may fluctuate depending on events occurring. What we have seen during this particular period is that there was a considerably low number of stories published on migration from certain media and this may stem from the fact that there was no major migration-related event occurring in that time. While there may be various reasons for the low coverage, there was still enough data (> 250 stories) to conduct a concrete analysis of media's coverage on migration.

4. Research findings

The data analysis chapter is structured in three different sections. The first looks at the coverage of migration focusing on Zimbabwe and South Africa, the second looks at Kenya and Tanzania and the third looks at a sample from Deutsche Welle and BBC Africa coverage. Each section focuses on similar elements of analysis and unpacks coverage from an African perspective.

How did the media cover migration stories between Zimbabwe and South Africa?

By Ntsako Manganyi

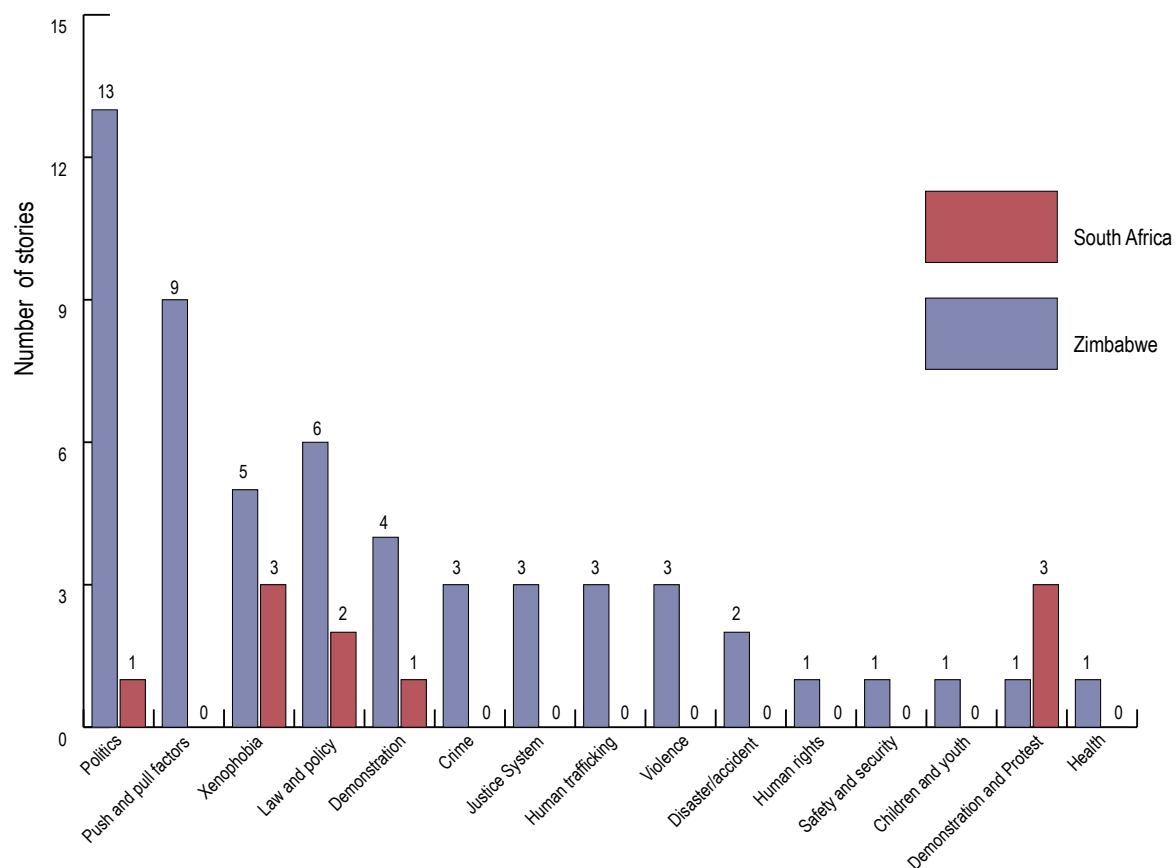
It is important to start by saying that the number of South African stories was vastly lower than number of Zimbabwe stories (seven stories published in South Africa, compared to 58 published in Zimbabwe). Although it is assumed that migration would be a topical issue in both countries' media, the South African media barely covered migration at all. This finding is particularly concerning in light of how little coverage other migration-related issues, such as incidents of xenophobia, were also given. This low level of reporting in South African media raises some alarm bells as xenophobia has been a recurring issue in recent times and has also often been specifically directed at other African nationals living in South Africa.

Concerns were raised that the low number of stories may stem from technological problems with Dexter accurately extracting stories. However, once we realised how few stories there were, we had monitors manually sift through the selected media websites and they also found only the stories picked up by Dexter.

What were the main topics in the migration coverage?

Every monitored item was assigned a topic based on the content of the story. The graph below depicts the most frequent topics in migration stories during the monitoring period.

Figure 2: Topics covered in migration stories between Zimbabwe and South Africa



Stories that focused on politics as well as different laws and policies related to migration clearly dominated the coverage in Zimbabwe. These are any items that focused specifically on higher-level discussions, political debates, international forums, press conferences and politicking about the issue of migrants and/or migration. The reason that the topic of politics was a recurring theme through Zimbabwean stories was that local political parties and politicians often use community issues, such as migration, as tools to campaign. This is evident in a story, whose topic was identified as politics, which quotes Ngqabutho Mabhena, a chairperson of the Zimbabwean Community in South Africa, who states that: “in our view, the xenophobic attacks are well coordinated and political. Opposition parties which are fighting the ANC government want to make South Africa ungovernable and they are mobilising communities to attack foreigners.”²⁶ This report therefore suggests that these instances of xenophobia were being used as political tools by opposition parties to stir up dissent for the ruling party, and by extension indicates that these incidents of violence were highly politicised. Articles that highlighted the push and pull factors of migration itself were also common in the Zimbabwean reporting. This, according to Mawadza (2012), may stem from the fact that the political and economic situation in Zimbabwe, which has continued to deteriorate since 2000, continues to fuel migration.²⁷

26. Zimbabweans in SA say ‘xenophobic attacks are political’, engage ANC

27. Mawadza, A. (2012). The Zimbabwean threat: Media representative of immigration in the in South Africa media. University of the Western, p. 10.

The graph also indicates that out of 64 migration stories across both countries, only one story focused on human rights. Human rights violations against migrants include denial of access to fundamental rights such as the right to education or the right to health and are often closely linked to discriminatory laws and practice, as well as to deep-seated attitudes of prejudice and xenophobia, which has been rife in South Africa.²⁸

Linked to this, other critical issues about the experiences of migrants coming to South Africa including instances of human trafficking and violence, and those of children and youth were also barely covered. Here, there was also only one story focused on children and youth. The United Nations says that children who migrate with their parents are faced with very different opportunities, challenges and threats to their adult parents.²⁸ Some of these include

discrimination in the country of settlement, barriers to accessing social services, challenges to the rights to citizenship and identity and parents' economic insecurity,²⁹ and yet this perspective was only raised once across all stories. These results point to the underlying biases in the media agenda that choose to focus on issues that affect the powerful, such as politics and policies, over those with less power who, in this case, are the migrants themselves.

Considering how migration has been one of the biggest issues between the two countries since early 2000 and that migration has had close links to many instances of violence, demonstrations and protests as well as xenophobia by local residents, it is interesting that such a small proportion of South African media covered it. In November 2009, Zimbabwean citizens living in the rural community of De Doorns, an informal settlement near Breede Valley Municipality in the Western Cape, were displaced as a result of xenophobic violence. In these instances, Zimbabweans were selectively targeted despite the presence of other foreign nationals (e.g. Lesotho nationals) living and working in the same area (SAHO, 2015).³⁰ These attacks are just one example of many instances of xenophobia that have occurred in South Africa over the past ten years and it is used to re-emphasise how problematic the lack of coverage of migration and related issues is in South African reporting.

28. UNHR: Office of the High Commissioner: Migration and Human Rights

29. UNICEF office of research innocent: MIGRATION AND CHILDREN

30. Xenophobic violence in democratic South Africa

What were the main messages put forward in the stories?

In addition to the primary topic of each story, we also went further to look at the underlying messages raised in the migration stories. The table below shows the “key messages” found during the monitoring period.

Table 2: Top 10 key messages identified in migration stories between South Africa and Zimbabwe.

| KEY MESSAGES | TOTAL | SOUTH AFRICA | ZIMBABWE |
|--|-------|--------------|----------|
| Migrants are vulnerable | 30 | 1 | 29 |
| Migration is a human rights issue | 15 | 0 | 15 |
| Government needs to take action | 15 | 2 | 13 |
| Migrants are threat to security | 13 | 3 | 10 |
| Migrants are threat to economy | 9 | 1 | 8 |
| Migrants just want a better life | 7 | 2 | 5 |
| Migrants do not feel safe in their new country | 7 | 0 | 7 |
| Foreign/ migrants are criminals | 5 | 2 | 3 |
| State/ politician are not doing enough | 4 | 0 | 4 |
| Politician target migrants | 4 | 1 | 3 |

According to the South African Press Code and the Society of Professional's Code of Ethics, the prime purpose of the news media is to provide people with information, which can enable them to make informed judgments and choices about current issues.³¹ McDonald & Jacobs found that, given the high levels of xenophobia, and the relatively small amount of contact that citizens of these countries have with migrants, “anti-immigrant sentiment in the region is not primarily a result of direct personal contact with foreigners but rather a product of (mis)information from secondary sources including the media” (McDonald & Jacobs 2005: 13).³²

The table above shows that media in Zimbabwe in particular put forward empathetic narratives about non-Zimbabweans by most commonly suggesting that they are vulnerable and that migration is a human rights issue. This immediately highlights a specific perspective regarding migrants that is at once compassionate as it speaks to their potential helplessness in the situation in which they find themselves. In contrast to these suggestions, though, migrants are also portrayed negatively in the press. We see this as some of the other key messages from Zimbabwean media include how government needs to take action (against migration) and that migrants are both a threat to society and to the economy. These messages tend to de-humanize people coming from other countries and can endanger their sense of belonging to the communities in which they are settling. This was a clear indication that most of the stories fell into one of two camps, either extremely supportive of migration or extremely opposed to it. The coverage therefore did not necessarily provide adequate information, analysis or interrogation to enable the reader to make informed opinions around the issue of migration.

31. Press Council South Africa: Joe Thloloe - Graduation Speech

32. McDonald, D. & Jacobs, S. 2005. Understanding Press Coverage of Cross-Border Migration in Southern Africa since 2000. Cape Town: Idasa

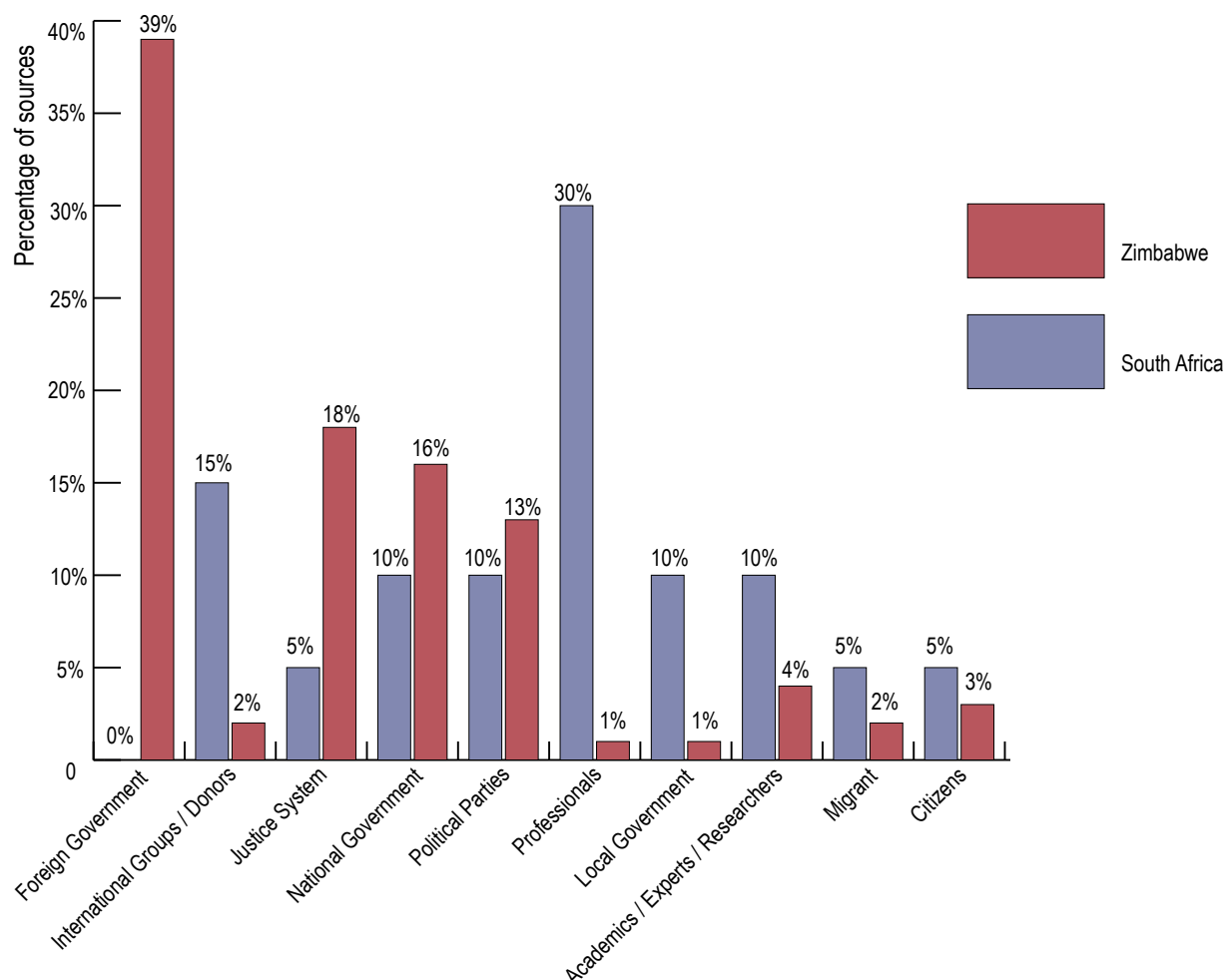
Who was accessed in the coverage?

Which groups were accessed in the coverage?

The affiliation of a source gives us a clear view of whose perspectives in the society are deemed most important by the media, and specifically in this case, when it comes to the issue of migration. Affiliation relates to a source's position or who they are representing, such as government, academic, professional group or citizen. In this analysis, an expert is a person with extensive knowledge or ability in a given subject, while professional are those belonging to a specific group, such as teachers, nurses or doctors.

In the coverage of migration, we found that in Zimbabwean media, 39% of sources accessed were from foreign governments, whilst the second highest sources were representatives of the justice system at 18%. On the other hand, experts, citizens and migrants themselves made up less than 10% of all sources in Zimbabwe. This speaks to poor practice as the experiences, interests and concerns of the very people most affected by migration were almost completely muted in the discourse analysed.

Figure 3: Affiliation group of sources accessed between South Africa and Zimbabwe



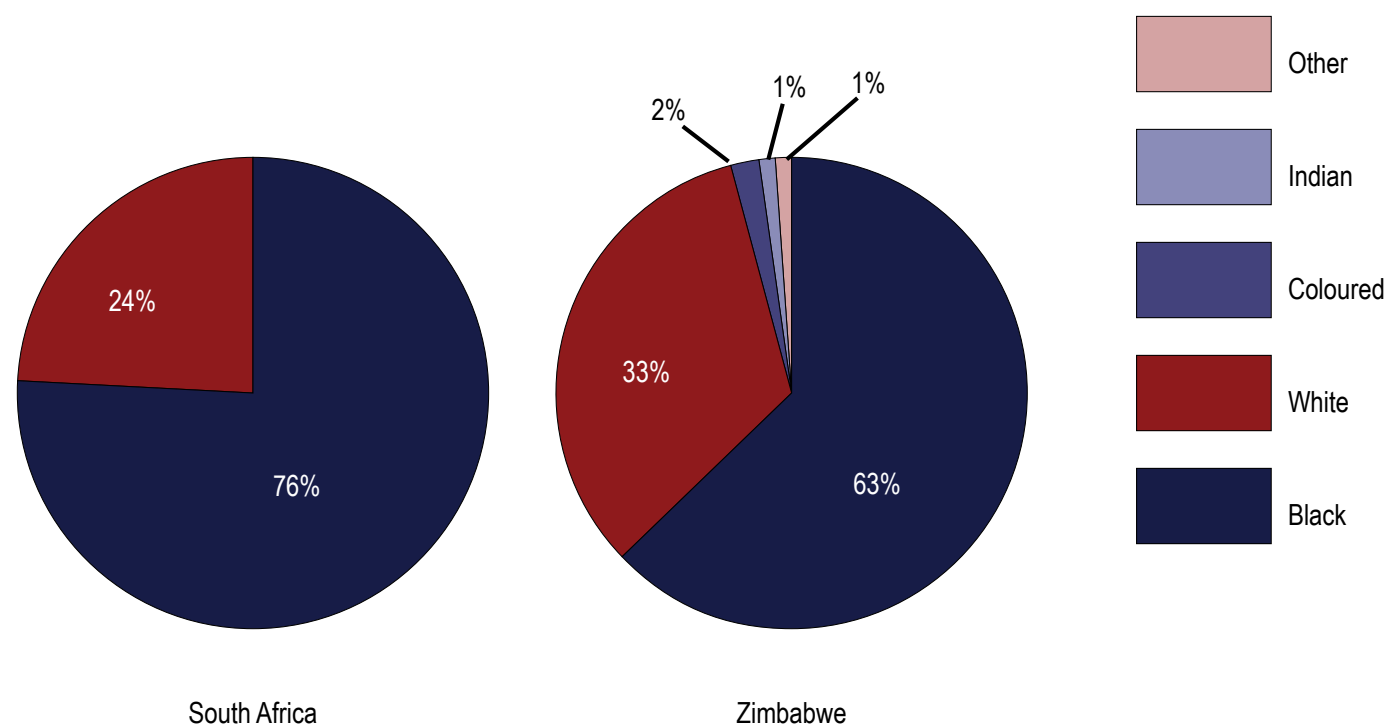
Whilst Zimbabwean media mostly sourced foreign government in their stories, South African media chose to source professionals (30%) as well as international groups or donors (15%). Equally interesting is how South African media opted to source professional views on migration so frequently whilst Zimbabwean media sourced professional voices very rarely (1%). While it is important to source the view of professionals on these issues, professionals do not represent the entire social reality of migration. As in Zimbabwean

media, it is clear that the South African reporting focused very little on attempting to access the very people who are affected by migration on a daily basis.

What was the race breakdown of those accessed in the coverage?

It is also important to examine the race of sources accessed. Given Zimbabwe and South Africa's history when it comes to race and how it relates to politics and power, the issue of race is still prevalent across all spheres of society. This is even more apparent in the media and their representation of race.

Figure 4: Race of Sources accessed between South Africa and Zimbabwe



According to 2015 South African census data, 80% of South African population are African while coloured and white people make up 9% and 8%, respectively.³² Indian/Asian people make up 3%.³³ In Zimbabwe, those of African origin make up 99% of the entire population.³⁴

In the Figure above, we see that more than 60% of the sources accessed in both South Africa and Zimbabwe were black. While the level of black voices sourced is the highest across all population groups, black people still remain under-represented relative to the percentage of national populations that they constitute. Likewise, this figure also reveals a gross under-representation of coloured sources, while white voices across both countries were over-represented. This finding reflects the racial dynamics in both countries. In South Africa, for example, despite the coloured population constituting a greater percentage of the population than white people, they were not accessed in a single story, while white voices made up almost one quarter of all sources accessed. While this higher level of white representation may be attributed to the high volumes of professionals, experts and foreign government affiliates who are white and who were extensively sourced in the coverage (see previous section), this points to a more fundamental issue relating to race representation and power dynamics locally.

33. Statistics South Africa. 2015. StatsSA's 2015 mid-year population estimates. StatsSA: Pretoria. pp 20

34. Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency. 2012. Census 2012: National Report. Population Census Office: Harare. pp 152.

Again, this is a common trend that we see when analysing media coverage of various topics,³⁵ where white voices tend to dominate the discourse over other population groups. This indicates that the issue of race representation is not isolated to the coverage of migration but rather systemic to the way in which media operate and to the ongoing societal challenges we face when dealing with issues of race representation.

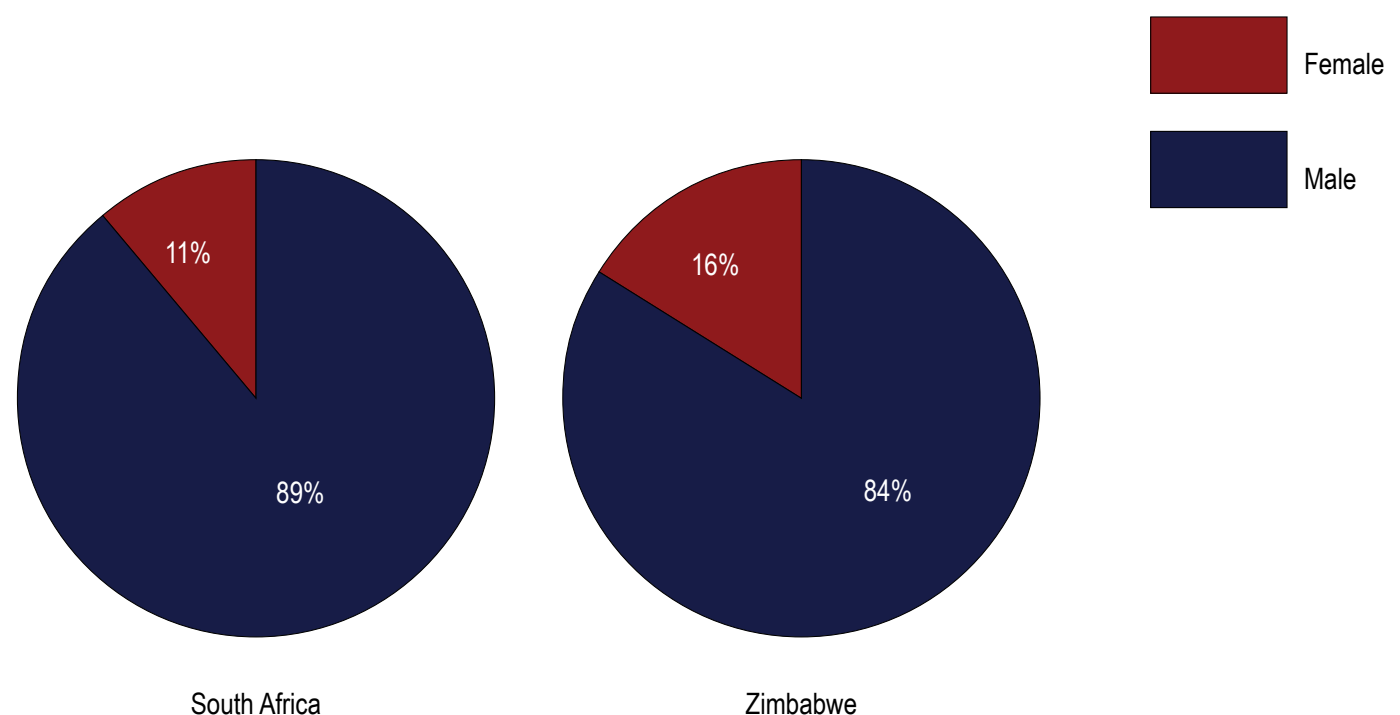
What was the gender breakdown of those accessed in the coverage?

The graph on the next page shows the gender breakdown of sources accessed between South African and Zimbabwean media. Analysing the sex of sources accessed reveals the extent of the gendered nature of migration coverage.

It is clear from the Figure that the disparity between the coverage given to male and female voices is significant. These values are worse than the global average where females and males make up 24% and 76% of voices respectively.³⁶ These findings show us that the media are not merely reflecting the societal reality of gender inequality, but that they are also potentially feeding into existing gender stereotypes by not accessing women and representing their views equally.

According to Mwafurirwa (2016) , the poor reporting and misrepresentation of women, specifically migrant women, contributes to the stereotyping of women who arrive in South Africa in search of safety or opportunities. In some instances cultural factors contribute to this challenge as there are existing traditions that tend to undermine the role of women in society and the media are encouraged to portray women in their versatile roles, even more so when covering migration issues.³⁷

Figure 5: Gender of Sources accessed in migration stories between South Africa and Zimbabwe



35. Mtwana, N. and Bird, W. 2006. *Revealing Race: an analysis of the coverage of race and xenophobia in the South African print media*. Johannesburg: Media Monitoring Africa. pp 43.

36. Global Media Monitoring Project. 2015. *Who Makes the News?* Global Media Monitoring Project 2015. WACC, World Association for Christian Communication

37. Why we need to challenge the media's reporting of women and migration.

Summary remarks for South Africa-Zimbabwe analysis

The media community has been operating in a difficult environment, with increasingly limited resources. Nevertheless, issues of migration, especially in the context of South Africa-Zimbabwe and the number of people affected, needs to receive equitable accurate and balance reportage. One of the key observations from this analysis was the negligible number of stories published in South African media. This oversight is an important one as it shows how low migration is on the agenda in South Africa, despite the intensity of regional migration as well as the ongoing issues of xenophobia locally. More research is needed to further unpack why such a fundamental issue is not a local media priority.

The findings also point to a failure to fully engage with migrants and their experiences of migration on-the-ground. This was seen not only in how rarely the human rights side of migration was a primary topic in stories, but also in how the voices of migrants were continually under-represented in the coverage. Here, the media in both countries chose to focus on the high-level politics and the voices of the powerful to explain and understand the issue of migration. While there are exceptions to this, by and large the stories appear to present only a partial picture of the factors, challenges and positive expectations associated with migration, and they missed opportunities to challenge stereotypes and more fully unpack the complexity of issues associated with people moving between the two countries.



How did the media cover migration stories between Kenya and Tanzania?

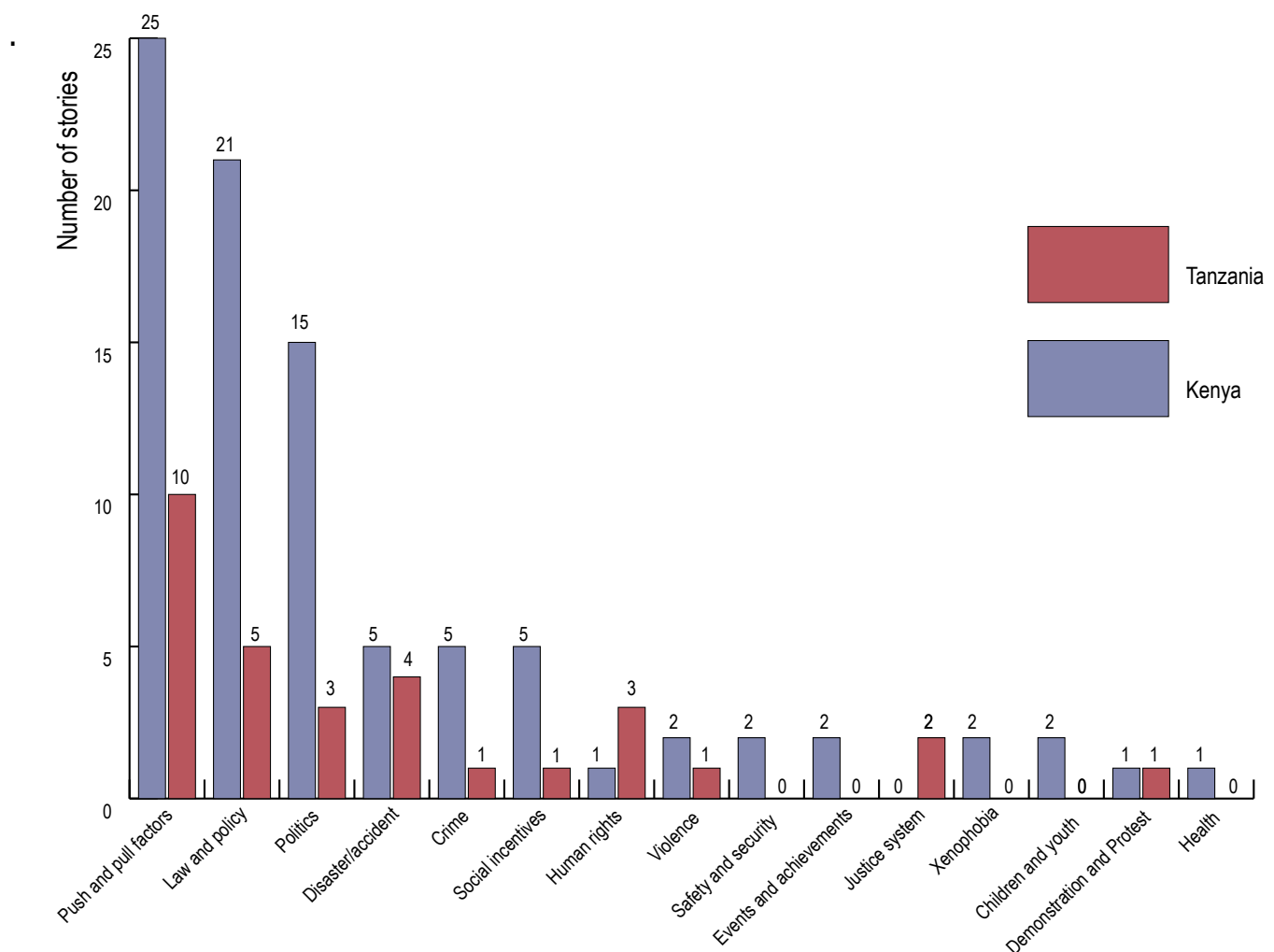
By Jacques Ndong

Kenya and Tanzania are the main focus of this section. Firstly, in terms of number of stories monitored in the six-month period, Kenya had substantially more stories (93) than Tanzania (32). Here, although both countries could do better to provide more coverage, Kenya's media seem to be more open to initiate a debate regarding migration with different stakeholders. This is important to bear in mind as we consider the following sections of the analysis.

What were the main topics in the migration coverage?

For this part of the analysis we look at the topic of each story, where the topic is identified as the main subject or content contained in each article. It is interesting to note that in both the trends of topics covered in Kenyan and Tanzanian media were very similar, where "push and pull factors" and "law and policy" were the most common topics in the media analysed. When we speak of "push" factors we refer to the reasons why people are leaving their countries while "pull" factors are those reasons that entice people to migrate to specific countries. In Kenya explicitly discussing these factors constituted 25 stories covered by the media, while in Tanzania they stood at 10 stories.

Figure 7: Topic of stories between Kenya and Tanzania



Migration coverage in Kenya is more angled towards discussing migrants coming to the country. With Kenya being the more stable of the two countries and with a stronger economy, it makes sense that there was a tendency of Kenyan stories to report on the “pull” factors in terms of migration. On the other hand, the Tanzanian media more commonly covered the “push” factors and reported stories about people transiting via Tanzania to reach the final destination of their choice. Either way, the fact that the coverage in both countries frequently explored the reasons and circumstances around why migrants move is a promising element to the reporting and suggests a more nuanced approach to migration than was seen in Zimbabwean and South African media.

In both countries, there was also a heavy focus on law and policy issues which were covered in 21 stories from Kenya and 5 stories in Tanzania. With the ongoing patterns of migration worldwide and with more and more countries trying to adjust their policies regarding migrants, it is not surprising that this made up a significant portion of the coverage. In Kenya and Tanzania, specifically, the media reported extensively on the implementation of various laws and have been debating the measures their respective governments have put in place to deal with the issue of migrants. For example, the issues of border control and migrants’ access to human rights was widely covered in the reporting seen. It also follows that “politics” was also widely covered by both sets of media as politicians’ statements, opinions and views are almost always reported. A key example of this was a statement made by Kenyan Deputy President William Ruto, which was widely covered, when he said, “The framework designed to respond to human distress has become ineffectual.”³⁸

Over and above stories that highlighted the “push and pull” factors involved in migration, stories that highlighted the vulnerability of migrants on a daily basis were largely overlooked. Here, coverage of the experiences of migrants including those that related to human rights, violence, safety and security, xenophobia, children and health were only covered in a handful of stories. Importantly, by failing to adequately report on these issues, the media fail to reflect on the types of experiences and challenges that migrants are face and thereby put forward very specific and narrow narratives regarding migration. Given the role of the media in informing citizenry, these gaps hinder the public from fully understanding and engaging with issues around migration.

What were the main messages put forward in the stories?

For this section of the report, we looked closely at the underlying key messages of each story.

The top three key messages in Kenya were that migrants are vulnerable (36), that they just want a better life (29) and that migration is a human right issue (21). These top messages occur 86 times in total across the coverage and show that Kenyan media are showing a high level of empathy toward the migration phenomenon as a whole by suggesting that migrants often leave because of their circumstances and often not out of choice, and that they should be afforded the same rights as non-migrants.

38. “Ruto faults global community over Kenya’s refugee burden”. Daily Nation. 19 September 2016. Accessed at: <http://www.nation.co.ke/news/Kenya-faults-rich-nations-over-refugee-crisis/1056-3387248-151hgng/index.html>

Table 3. Top 10 key messages identified in Kenyan and Tanzanian stories on migration

| KEY MESSAGES | TOTAL | KENYA | TANZANIA |
|---|--------------|--------------|-----------------|
| Migrants are vulnerable | 43 | 36 | 7 |
| Migrants just want a better life | 33 | 29 | 4 |
| Migration is a human rights issue | 23 | 21 | 2 |
| Migrants are threat to security | 20 | 14 | 6 |
| Migrants leave home countries because of violence | 19 | 17 | 2 |
| Migrants do not feel safe in their new country | 18 | 17 | 1 |
| Migrants are threat to economy | 13 | 11 | 2 |
| Government needs to take action | 12 | 9 | 3 |
| State must minimize influx of foreigners | 12 | 10 | 2 |
| Foreigners/Migrants die in large numbers | 11 | 10 | 1 |

It must be noted that although we describe Tanzania as a “sending” country because of the large number of Tanzanians leaving the country, many migrants from other countries use Tanzania as a transit before reaching their final destination. Here, the top three key messages followed a similar pattern to Kenyan media, although the idea that migrants were a threat to security was the second most common message (6). Although the stories were mostly positive towards migrants, narratives that reveal that migrants are a threat to the economy illustrate the underlying opposition to migrants and the unwillingness to accommodate them in either country.

Importantly, too, were the ideas that the State must minimize influx of foreigners as well as that it must to take action. These messages point to the media challenging government accountability in solving the crisis and putting pressure on them to react more efficiently. Despite the potential positive spin that this may have, these stories still provide a primarily negative view of migration as an issue to be “solved” rather than one to be understood and engaged.

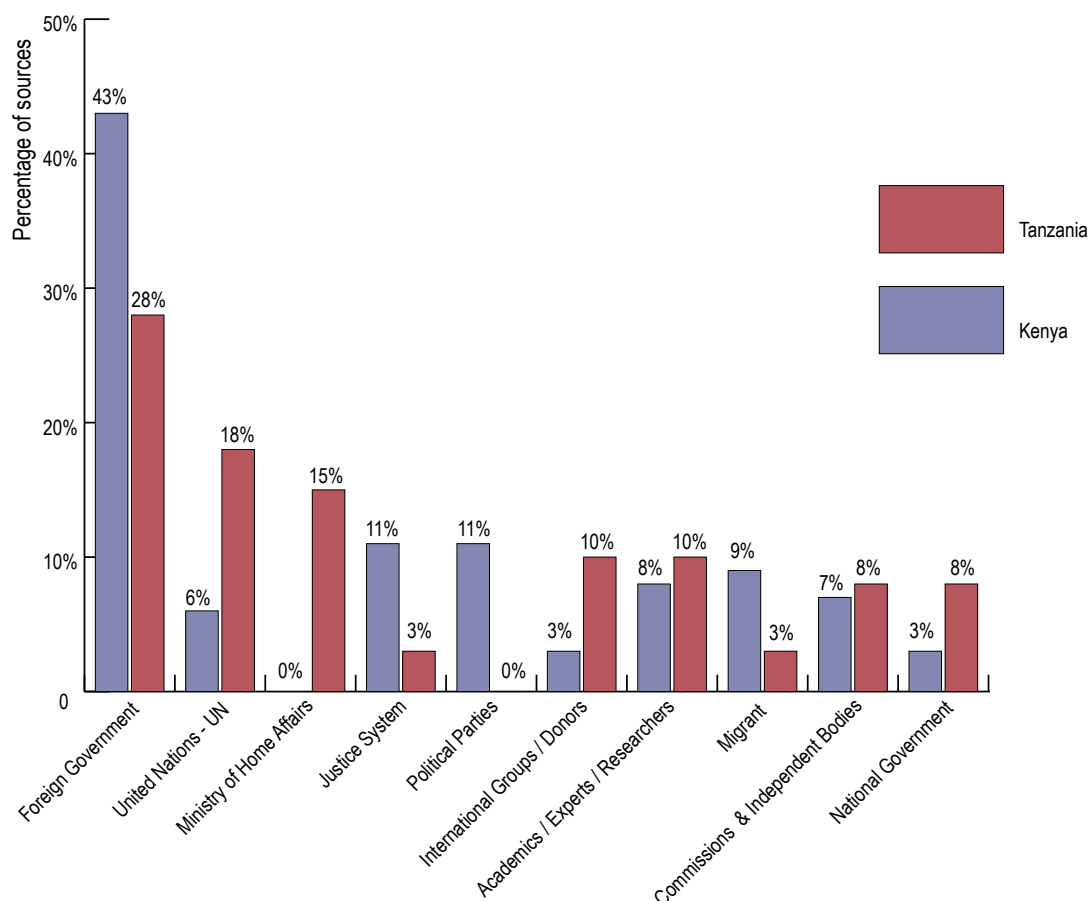
Who was accessed in the coverage?

Analysing sources is a critical component to any media analysis as it points to who is having their voice heard the most through the media and whose voice is the most neglected. The following section therefore looks more closely at who is being accessed and breaks it down in terms of affiliation, race and gender.

Which groups were accessed in the coverage?

We have monitored the affiliations of the sources accessed in the stories because it is important to know which group is most commonly represented and in which capacity they do so as well as those voices that are overlooked and neglected.

Figure 8: Affiliations of sources in migration stories between Tanzania and Kenya



What is immediately striking in the Figure above is that foreign governments received by far the most coverage in the media, where in Kenya it made up 42% of the sources and in Tanzania it made up 28% of the voices. In both countries the reporting covered the European refugee crisis extensively and this could be one of the reasons why foreign governments were accessed regularly and at length. Here, too, media in both countries challenged western countries on the financial support they should provide to developing countries to deal with migration.³⁹ This contributed to the voices of foreign government being well covered by the media in both countries. Here, too, an obvious preference for the media to access politicians and political deployees from affected departments (e.g. Ministry of Home Affairs) as well as international bodies (e.g. UN, international donors) to talk about migration is clear.

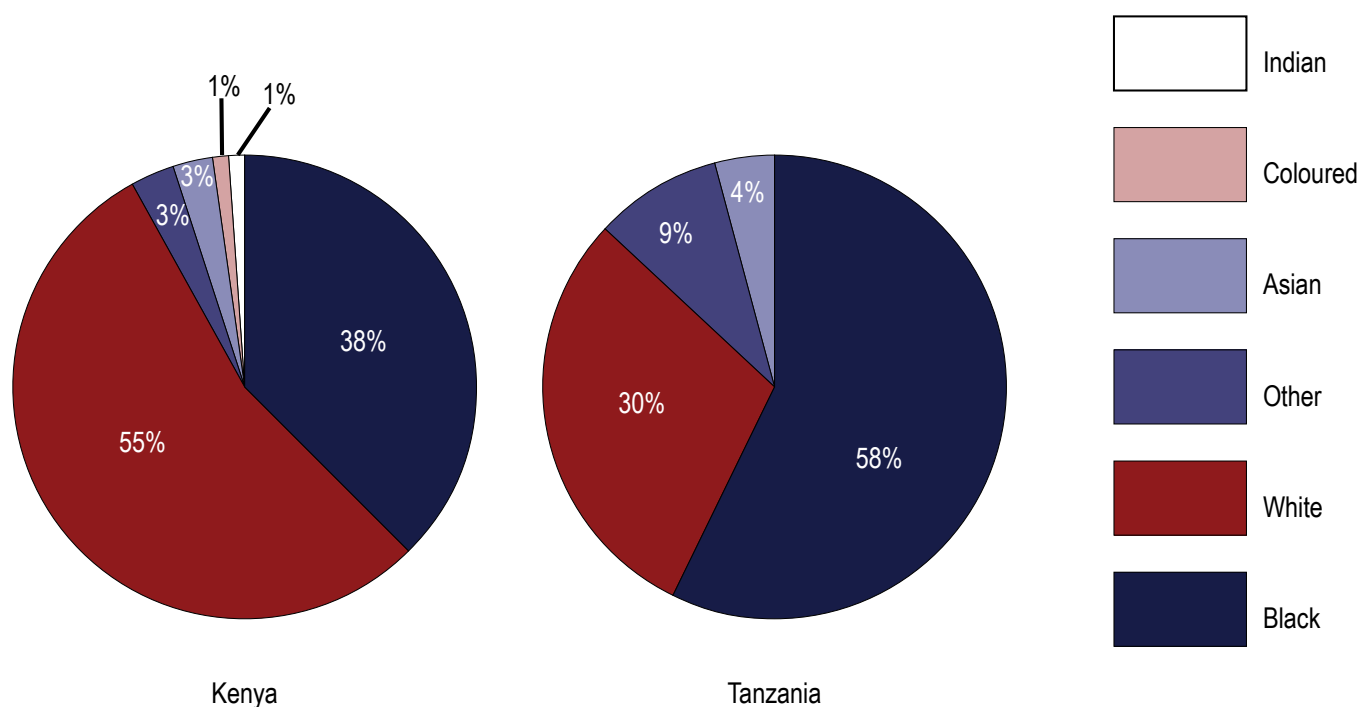
Contrary to this, is the proportion of migrant voices accessed in both countries. These voices constituted only 10% of all sources. This is a critical area of oversight for both countries' media as migrants are often the subjects of the stories and yet their voices and views remain unheard.

39. Daily Nation: Ruto faults global community over Kenya's refugee burden

What was the race breakdown of those accessed in the coverage?

One of the best ways of understanding race representation in the media is to look at the racial breakdown of sources accessed and this is particularly important, given some of the racial and xenophobic tendencies, when looking at migration.

Figure 9: Race breakdown of sources accessed in migration stories between Tanzania and Kenya



The voices accessed in the media coverage in both countries are dominated by black and white people. In Kenya the two groups represent 89% of all sources accessed, while in Tanzania the two groups represent 85% of sources covered. As has been said in the previous section on affiliations, the media covered the issues surrounding the European migration situation significantly and this too may have led to the high percentage of white sources accessed in the coverage.

As was seen in the South Africa-Zimbabwe analysis, this reflects an over-representation of white voices because in both Kenya and in Tanzania, black people make up 99%.^{40,41} of the population. This discrepancy was seen more severely in the Kenyan coverage where white people made up more than half of the total sources accessed. Once again, this figure points to the societal differences when it comes to race and the differential importance given to different racial groups by the media.

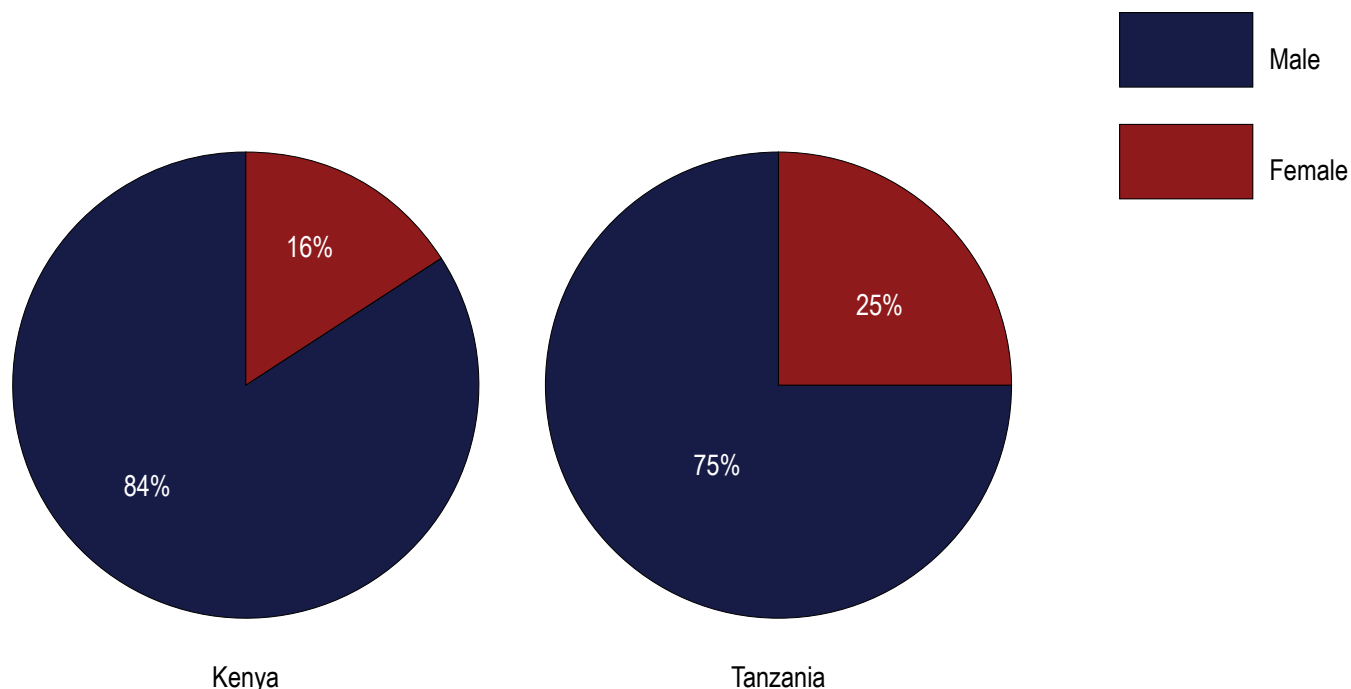
40. CIA The World Factbook: Kenya.

41. CIA The World Factbook: Tanzania

What was the gender breakdown of those accessed in the coverage?

The Figure below shows the gender breakdown of male and female sources as accessed in the coverage of migration between the two countries.

Figure 10: Gender breakdown of sources accessed in stories in Kenya and Tanzania



The analysis clearly indicates that men were sourced significantly more than women across both countries, although Tanzania did access women more frequently (25%) than Kenya (16%). Unfortunately, most media analysis reveals similar findings relating to media biases in sourcing women for their stories.⁴² It demonstrates the continual under-representation of female voices on issues that relate to them, such as migration, and perpetuates the view that the voices of female migrants are unimportant and can therefore go unheard.

42. Macharia, S. 2015. Who makes the news? Global Media Monitoring Project 2015. London & Toronto: World Association for Christian Communication. pp 158

Summary remarks for Kenya-Tanzania analysis

Our monitoring reveals that although there was quite a high level of coverage around migration, particularly in Kenya, and that many of the stories looked at the circumstances around why migrants move, many of the other stories narrowed in only on the legal and political issues thereof. Here, the continual accessing of the political elite, including those in foreign governments, politicians and other high-level political representatives (e.g. UN etc.) instead of migrants themselves, speaks to whose views the media choose to prioritise and regard as important. To reiterate, the fact that migrants themselves are sourced so infrequently is, in and of itself, a serious handicap in the coverage.

On a positive note, the key messages revealed that the sentiment towards migrants was largely compassionate and empathetic, and these views outweighed negative sentiment towards them. While interrogating and analysing the ongoing circumstances around migration may lead to some concerns about the economy, loss of jobs and the role of the government in that, the fact that much of the coverage emphasized that migrants should be treated as any other citizen is an encouraging finding.

The analysis here, too, reveals the ongoing tensions in the media representing a suitable diversity of voices, specifically in terms of race and gender. By unpacking the groups whose voices are most regularly accessed in the coverage, we can see whose opinions, perspectives and views are preferred. In this case, white people and men were given significantly more airtime relative to the proportion of the population in both Kenya and Tanzania that they constitute.



How did Deutsche Welle and BBC Africa cover migration?

By Sarah Findlay

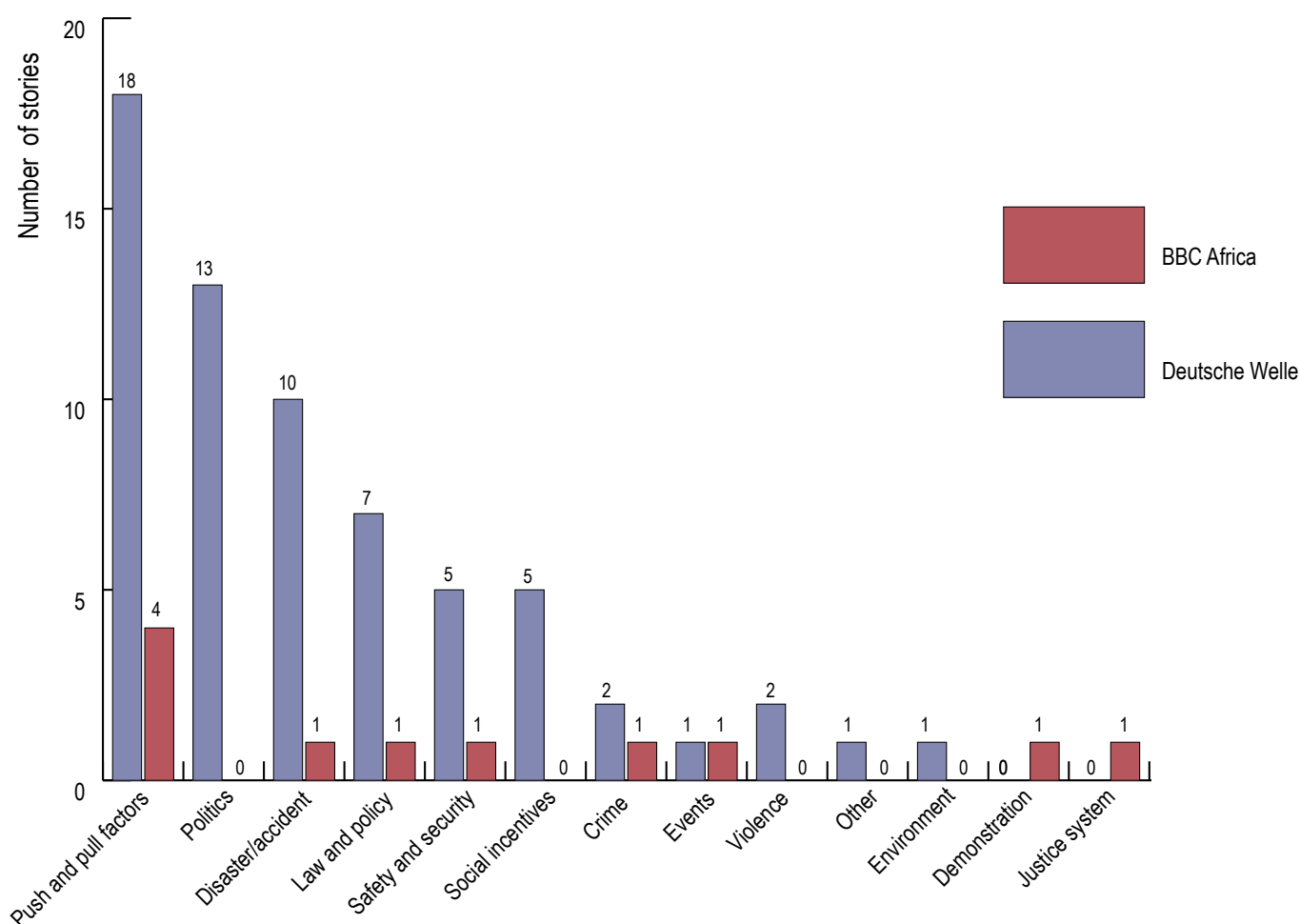
This section of the report focuses on how two international media, specifically from UK and Germany, has chosen to cover issues of migration. While the coverage analysed here is hot on the heels of the massive European refugee crisis and its analysis is therefore interesting in and of itself, the results are used to shed light on how international and/or foreign media report on issues and events related to migration generally. This chapter therefore serves as another layer of comparison for our analysis.

As a starting point, it is important to note that across the monitoring period, 65 stories about migration came from Deutsche Welle, Germany's public broadcaster, compared to 11 stories from BBC Africa, Great Britain's counterpart. This disparity in the absolute number of stories already points to the difference in import and significance given to migration between the two media. Here, migration clearly falls low on the media agenda for BBC Africa relative to Deutsche Welle and this difference is critical to consider throughout the following analysis as it lays the foundation for the importance given to the issue.

What were the main topics in the migration coverage?

To begin our analysis, as with the two preceding analysis, we look to the primary topic of each story.

Figure 11: Primary topics across migration stories between Deutsche Welle and BBC Africa



Firstly and most obviously was the fact that there were fewer topics from BBC Africa media compared to Deutsche Welle simply because of the lower levels of coverage in the former. Nevertheless, stories that looked specifically at the push and pull factors resulting in migration were the most frequently cited topics across both countries. These stories were those that explicitly spoke of motivations for people to move from a country (“push”) or those reasons drawing people to a new country (“pull”). An example of this was a story published by Deutsche Welle (27 February 2017) entitled “South Sudan: Tens of thousands flee famine and civil war”.⁴³ The article drew attention to how South Sudanese nationals were leaving their home country because of the famine and violent local in-fighting. This article plainly described the factors involved in migrants’ decisions to move and was therefore flagged as a “push and pull” story.

Interestingly, stories that focused on political events, press conferences and politicking about migration-related issues (“politics”) made up the second most common topic of all Deutsche Welle stories, but was not found in a single BBC Africa article. This may stem from how vocal German politicians, political parties and national government have been in discussing what they have deemed the “migration crisis”.

Importantly, stories that dealt with issues specifically about women, children and youth, human trafficking and slavery, awareness and education as well as health were completely absent across all analysed media. This finding speaks to how issues that relate directly to the lived experiences of migrants, refugees and asylum-seekers were all overlooked in order to direct attention to the topics deemed important by social and political elites including higher-level policies.



43. Deutsche Welle - South Sudan: Tens of thousands flee famine and civil war

What were the main messages put forward by the media?

While analyzing primary story topics can give us a basic understanding of general themes in migration articles, what can often be even more insightful is looking at underlying key messages of stories. As with the previous sections we analysed what other messages were contained in the article analysed.

The table below shows key messages that were found in 5% or more of stories in either countries' media. Notwithstanding the differences in level of coverage discussed earlier, clear themes emerge between Deutsche Welle and BBC Africa. For example, BBC Africa for the most part appear to focus on the human aspects of migration by driving messages about the vulnerability and humanity of migrants. Themes that suggest that migrants "just want a better life", "do not feel safe in their new countries" and that they "leave their home countries because of violence" indicate a degree of empathy by journalists towards migrants and their circumstances.

Interestingly, this idea of migrants having to flee violent home countries was reiterated the most frequently in Deutsche Welle and also suggests a level of compassion towards refugees. However, these portrayals were offset by other messaging that emphasised the role of government in curbing the influx of migrants and in their "taking action". Here, the narrative centred on how the State should be doing more to impede the flow of migrants between countries.

These starkly different approaches to migration highlights how the issue of migration is both complicated and can direct two vastly different narratives.

Table 4. Top 10 key messages identified in Deutsche Welle and BBC Africa stories on migration

| KEY MESSAGES | TOTAL | DEUTSCHE WELLE | BBC AFRICA |
|---|-------|----------------|------------|
| Migrants leave home countries because of violence | 28 | 26 | 2 |
| Migrants just want a better life | 18 | 13 | 5 |
| Migrants are vulnerable | 11 | 5 | 6 |
| Migrants do not feel safe in their new country | 6 | 3 | 3 |
| State must minimize influx of foreigners | 17 | 17 | 0 |
| Government needs to take action | 16 | 16 | 0 |
| Foreigners/Migrants die in large numbers | 15 | 15 | 0 |
| Migrants are threat to economy | 3 | 0 | 3 |

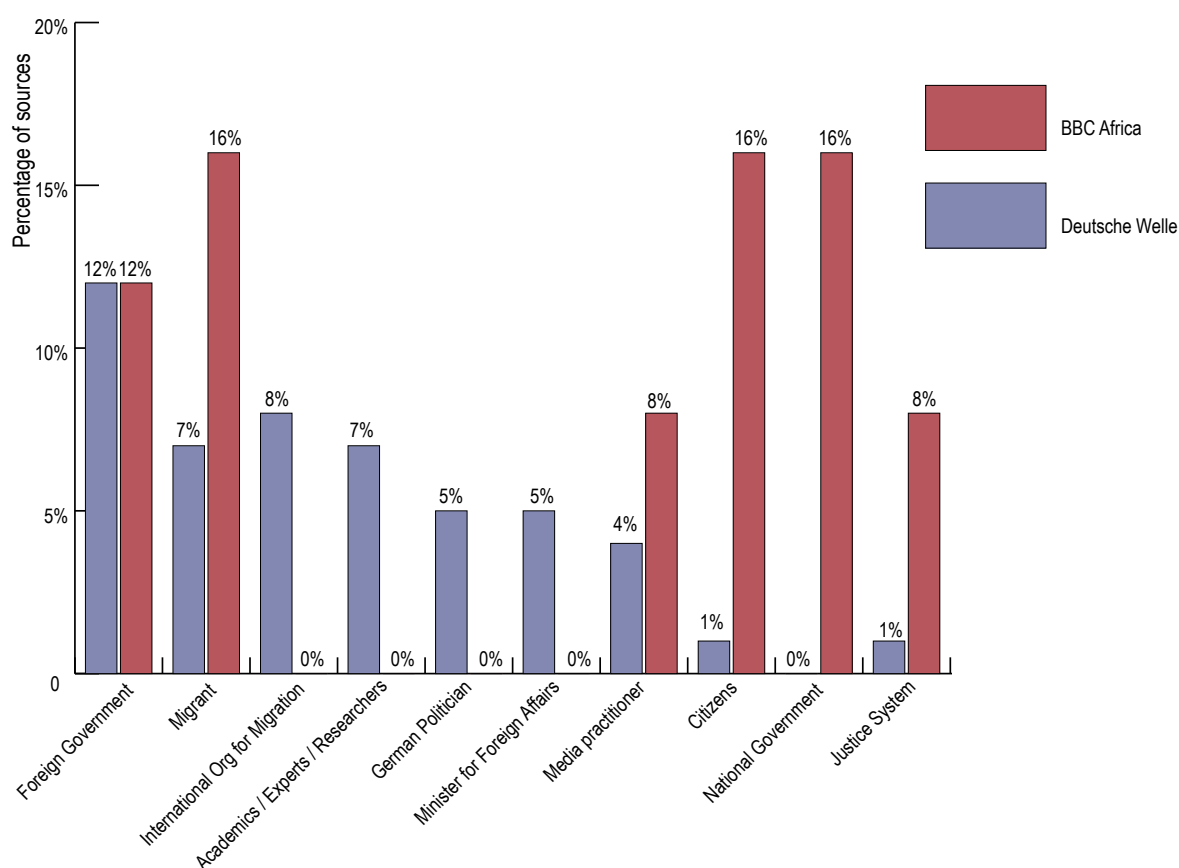
Who was sourced in the coverage?

Throughout this section, it is important to bear in mind that because of the fewer number of analysed stories from BBC Africa, there were simply fewer number of sources accessed compared to Deutsche Welle counterpart. And while similar numbers of sources would have added robustness to the comparison, the values here still show general trends in sources accessed between the two media.

Which groups were accessed in the reporting?

Analyzing which groups are most commonly accessed in the media provides a sense of whose views are considered most valuable to understanding a particular issue or event. In this case, we see a distinct difference between those accessed by the BBC Africa and Deutsche Welle media. One of the most striking observations is the clear tendency of BBC Africa-based stories to source migrants (16%) and citizens (16%) alongside representatives of national (16%) and foreign governments (12%). This is in stark contrast to German media who consistently accessed political affiliates, including foreign governments (12%), international organizations (8%), experts (7%) and local politicians (10% in total). Migrants and citizens made up only 7% and 1% of sources across Deutsche Welle stories respectively. This speaks to a common trend of journalists relying on social and political elite for perspectives over engaging citizens and those affected for their views. This discrepancy in affiliate sources once again points to the apparent differences in the types of stories published between the two countries.

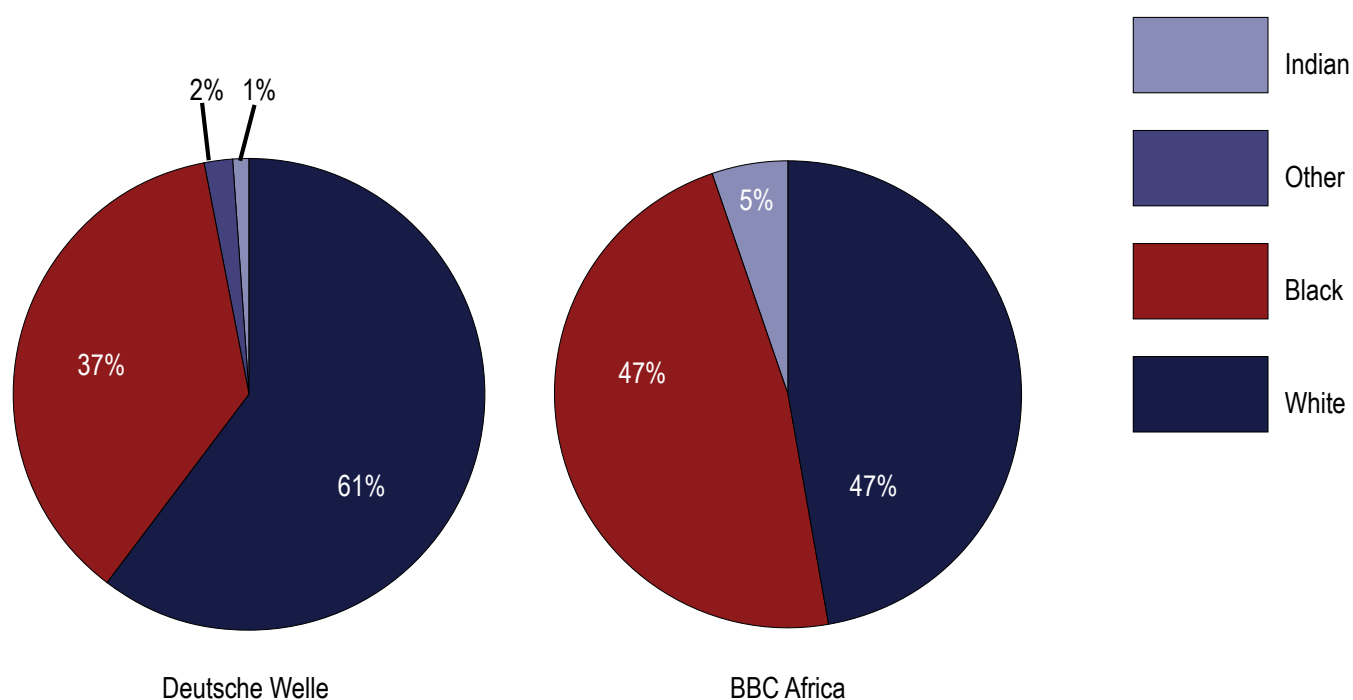
Figure 12. Breakdown of sources by affiliation between Deutsche Welle and BBC Africa media



What was the race breakdown of those who were accessed?

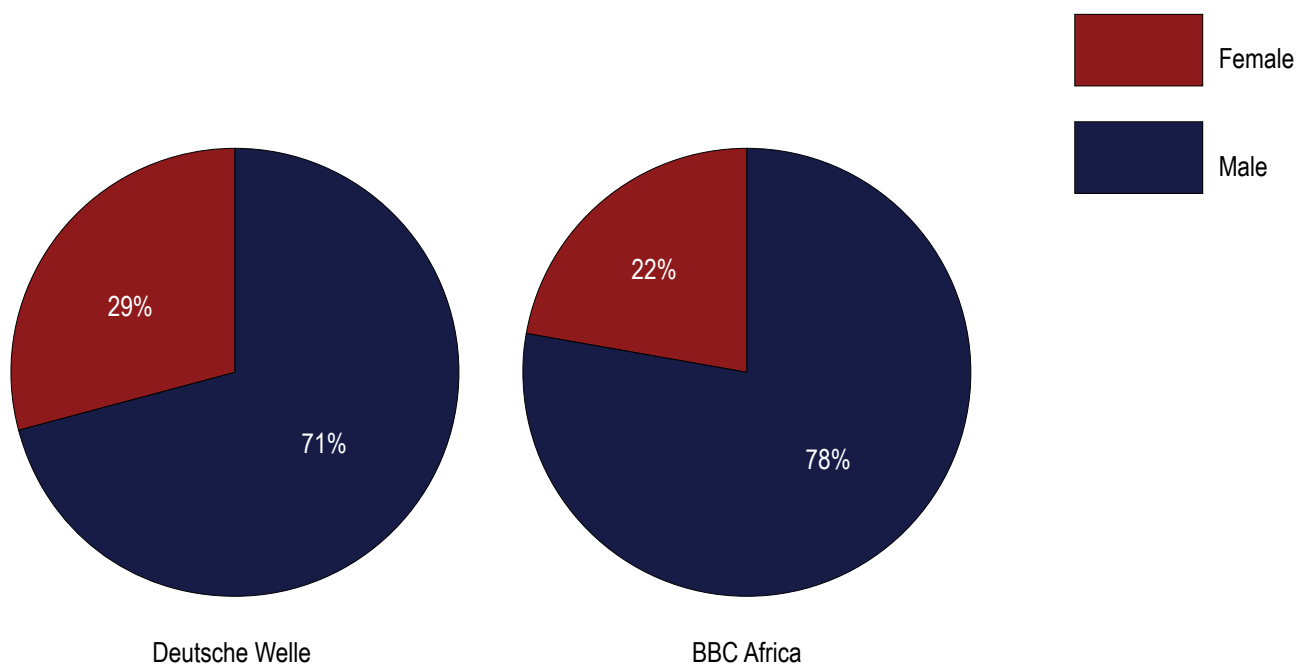
As with other analyses of sources, understanding the racial profile of sources can be used to understand if the media are giving particular population groups more opportunities to speak than others. In this case, the Deutsche Welle coverage was dominated by white sources (61%) while BBC Africa sources were more evenly spread between white sources (47%) and black sources (37%). These differences in the race of sources can be understood by looking at who was accessed in terms of affiliations, seen above. The Deutsche Welle coverage, for example, accessed primarily high-level government sources who were mostly white, while BBC Africa reporting accessed a far higher proportion of migrants and citizens who were mainly non-white.

Figure 13. Breakdown of sources by race between Deutsche Welle and BBC Africa media



What was the gender breakdown of those accessed?

In terms of the gender breakdown of sources, women were dramatically under-accessed in the coverage across both countries. Here, despite women being shown, time and again, as one of the most vulnerable groups to human rights abuses particularly in times of migration,^{44,45} they were repeatedly under-represented across all media analysed. While this striking disparity between gender and voices is not unusual,⁴⁶ it once again reveals the perpetual exclusion of women's voices about issues that directly and indirectly affect them. **Figure 14. Gender breakdown of sources between Deutsche Welle and BBC Africa media**



Summary remarks for Deutsche Welle and BBC Africa analysis

Although BBC Africa appears to be more empathetic to the experiences of migrants as seen through the key messages and how much more frequently migrants and citizens were accessed in stories, the fact that there were fewer stories indicates the small space given to migration as a critical issue. In contrast, migration appears to be a hot topic on Deutsche Welle's media agenda, being given far more coverage. The stories from this broadcaster, though, appear to focus more on political events, laws and policies and on how best government(s) can reduce the influx and impact of migrants on locals, rather than on the lived experiences and humanity of migrants. Therefore despite the extensive coverage, dominance of political voices and a rather negative framing of migration in the media persists.

44. Amoa, B., Fischer, C. and Vollmer, R. 2009. 'Conclusion' in: Fischer, C. and Vollmer, R. (eds.). Brief 39: Migration and displacement in Sub-Saharan Africa – the security-migration nexus II. Bonn International Centre for Conversion: Bonn. pp 104-109.

45. International Organisation for Migration. 2013. Taking action against violence and discrimination affecting migrant women and children. Fact sheet. pp 7.

46. Mtwana, N. and Bird, W. 2006. Revealing Race: an analysis of the coverage of race and xenophobia in the South African print media. Johannesburg: Media Monitoring Africa. pp 43.

5. Conclusion

There can be little doubt that migration across the world is a critical issue. Given the media's role in shaping public discourse both nationally and internationally, analyzing how particular issues are put forward is key to understanding how they should be dealt with by those with the power to change them. In this case, what story is the media trying to tell about migration and about migrants generally and how does this differ between the countries analysed?

Levels of coverage

It is important to briefly comment on the number of articles available for data analysis. Firstly, across the two pairs of African countries monitored, there was a remarkable discrepancy between the numbers of stories published. This was not linked to whether the country was identified as a “sending” or “receiving” state. This points to how countries prioritise various issues differently and that events or subjects that take precedence on the media agenda in one country may not even make it onto the front page in another.

Having said this, it must also be stated how concerning it is that the South African media analysed offered such negligible coverage on migration. Given the current heightened political environment, however, this result is not particularly surprising as South African media tend to focus largely on politics and events-based reporting, and seldom unpack critical social challenges, such as migration and the cause and effect thereof. Similar gaps in South African media coverage have been shown elsewhere.⁴⁷ In as much as limited resources of may go some way in explaining relatively low coverage of Southern Africa by South African media, coverage of the rest of the continent by South African media remains generally minimal.

Another interesting finding is that African media tend to cover migration issues in Europe and not give adequate focus to local issues. This follows the trend where migration and movement between African countries is seen as a normative challenge and not necessarily something that needs to be analysed and unpacked in mainstream media. On a more practical basis, limited local resources and the widespread availability of content from global media brands, including the BBC and Deutsche Welle, also clearly skews coverage towards Europe and nations with greater media resources.

Where both entities are linked to their respective nations' Foreign Policy aims, it is also likely that the greater focus and coverage on issues of migration by Deutsche Welle in particular and BBC Africa to a lesser degree were, in large part, due to the political events and challenges around migration that both the UK and German were facing at the time of monitoring.

47. See: (1) Media Monitoring Africa. 2016. “From protest ban to biased reporting? SABC coverage of the 2016 municipal elections”. Johannesburg: Media Monitoring Africa. pp 46.

(2) Media Monitoring Africa. 2014. Presentation: “Media coverage of the 2014 National & Provincial Elections in South Africa”.

What do we hear in migration stories?

The media coverage analysed here was dominated by political themes and not of human rights approaches or subjects. With an unambiguous focus on laws, policies and regulations, there was a clear failure to explore, or even attempt to explore, the lived experiences of migrants themselves. In line with this, stories also tended to hone in on the effects of migration and the impact of migrants, specifically on destination countries, and did not necessarily seek to unpack the reasons why migration occurs from a particular place or indeed why it occurs generally. This speaks to how coverage, in line with current trends in journalism, is often more of a reaction to particular events rather than an in-depth analysis of the topics involved. This lack of investigation and context therefore presents a very narrow and superficial view of the types of issues to be considered when dealing with migration.

One of the most striking common aspects of the coverage is the dominance of white, male politicians, or politically aligned sources across all media monitored. While these sources are largely attributable to coverage of the migration challenges in Europe – being covered in African media – their dominance is indicative of core failings in covering migration. Here, to only access the political elite, including government and expert sources, leaves little to no space for migrants and citizens to share their views and this also contributes to the unrepresentative types of narratives seen. It must be noted, however, that despite the relatively low level of coverage afforded to migration by BBC Africa, their reporting is nonetheless significant for giving greater voice than all other media monitored to migrants themselves. This is a small but noteworthy victory as it may ensure that stories of migrants have greater authority and dignity.

Coverage also followed a common trend of a male-dominated discourse where female voices as well as those of children and youth tend to be forgotten. While the exclusion of these voices has been seen in media analyses time and time again, it is nonetheless concerning as women and children face very different challenges when they migrate,⁴⁵ especially under circumstances of forced displacements. Given also that women and children make up a large proportion of migrants across the world, the media need to be able to unpack and understand these challenges in order to better serve these, the most vulnerable of migrant groups.

What does this mean?

What these trends suggest is that not only are some media under-reporting critical socio-political issues that impact millions of people across the continent, but they are also doing so in a manner that is skewed in the interest of vested power. It seems patently perverse that the dominant voices we hear are those of white men in senior positions, when the issues so clearly impact people who are not in positions of power, and who are women, children and commonly, people of colour. That the issues are seldom contextualised and explained, means that audiences are not empowered to act or engage with these issues, and they can therefore be forgiven for having little understanding or compassion for the people involved or the issue of migration itself. Ultimately, the patterns of reporting seen here echo coverage on other key issues including gender-based violence and children.

There are common ethical principles and ideas about the roles of media in a democracy, and this includes that the media should give voice to the voiceless, afflict the comfortable and comfort the afflicted. Certainly the patterns here seem to suggest that mainstream media are failing, in different ways and in different degrees, in these fundamental roles and responsibilities. The task and central questions then become how can these patterns be shifted?



6. Appendix A

Full list of topics and description for the types of stories they describe

Awareness and education: Items which are awareness pieces, giving information on migration, regarding awareness campaigns/initiatives or education programmes, or outlining some of the factors involved in the issue.

Children and youth: Any item where the explicit focus is on children and youth, and issues and experiences related directly to them.

Crime: Items which speak to behaviours related to or incidents of murder, robbery, hijacking, theft, corruption, bribery, fraud. This can be those carried out by migrants or on migrants

Demonstration and Protest: Items about marches, protests and demonstrations highlighting issues around migrants or migration (both for and against)

Disaster/accident: Any item which relates to a tragedy or accident related to migrants and migration i.e. earthquakes, famine, typhoons, shipwrecks.

Events and achievements: Features prominent events or achievements of migrants or organizations relating to migration

Gender: Any item where the explicit focus is on gender and gender-related issues of migrants

Health: Items which describe any health-related issue or incident affecting migrants. It could relate to healthcare or disease more generally

Human rights: Items that focus on access to certain fundamental human rights, including access to food, access to sanitation, access to housing, access to education etc. Depending on context of story, but generally abuse of human rights would fall under different category such as violence.

Human trafficking, abduction and slavery: If the item specifies or highlights an incidence/occurrence of trafficking, kidnapping and slavery, be it for sexual or labour purposes.

Justice system: Any item that relates to courts, judges and judgements, constitutional issues and the judicial system, specifically as it relates to migrants.

Law and policy: Any item that relates to laws, bills, policies and procedures regarding migrants and migration, on a national, regional or international scale.

Migration: items which explicitly/implicitly describe the push and/or pull factors involved in migration or any movement of people

Politics: Any item that focuses specifically on higher-level discussions, political debates, international forums, press conferences and politicking about the issue of migrants and/or migration

Safety and security: Any issue or intervention related to the security and protection of migrants (by individuals, organizations or governments) or the failure thereof.

Violence: If the item specifies or highlights an incidence/occurrence of violence, be it physical or sexual, including abuse and rape.

Xenophobia: Items look at incidents of racism and discrimination based on one's race, ethnicity or nationality.

7. Appendix B

Full list of key messages of that would be identified in stories

- Black South Africans are lazy
- Black foreigners are criminals
- Different people cannot live together
- Differentiation of migrants refugees not important
- Differentiation of migrants, refugees is important
- Foreign nationals are better business people
- Foreign nationals sell cheap fake goods
- Foreigner reap the rewards of our struggle
- Foreigner's/Migrant's lives are very important
- Foreigner/Migrant is foreign
- Foreigner/Migrant looks after others
- Foreigner/Migrant needs to be taken care of
- Foreigners are likely to be illegal migrants
- Foreigners do not belong here and should go
- Foreigners do not contribute to our society
- Foreigners rightfully reap rewards of struggle
- Foreigners should be grateful for our hospitality
- Foreigners/Migrant steal our jobs
- Foreigners/Migrants are competent and skilled
- Foreigners/Migrants are criminal
- Foreigners/Migrants are dominant and/or stubborn
- Foreigners/Migrants are flooding the country
- Foreigners/Migrants are greedy
- Foreigners/Migrants are hard working
- Foreigners/Migrants are incompetent and unskilled
- Foreigners/Migrants are intelligent/ rational
- Foreigners/Migrants are law-abiding
- Foreigners/Migrants are lazy / idle
- Foreigners/Migrants are likely to be legal in SA
- Foreigners/Migrants are physically ugly
- Foreigners/Migrants are racist /bigoted
- Foreigners/Migrants are stupid/ simple/ irrational
- Foreigners/Migrants are submissive
- Foreigners/Migrants are violent
- Foreigners/Migrants are welcome here
- Foreigners/Migrants cannot be trusted
- Foreigners/Migrants cause/bring disease
- Foreigners/Migrants contribute to our society
- Foreigners/Migrants controls the economy
- Foreigners/Migrants create more jobs
- Foreigners/Migrants die in large numbers
- Foreigners/Migrants do not deserve equal rights
- Foreigners/Migrants exploit workers
- Foreigners/Migrants improve standards
- Foreigners/Migrants live in splendor
- Foreigners/Migrants live in squalor / are dirty
- Foreigners/Migrants lower standards
- Foreigners/Migrants sell reliable merchandise
- Foreigners/Migrants sell unreliable merchandise
- Foreigners/Migrants should have equal rights
- Foreigners/Migrants steal our women
- Foreigners/Migrants support/ engage in terrorism
- Foreigners/Migrants take our houses

- Foreigners/Migrants undermine wages
- Foreigners/migrants' lives do not matter
- Government needs to take action
- Kenya is a better place to live
- Migrant children need special treatment
- Migrant feel safe in their new country
- Migrant integration is difficult
- Migrant tradition and culture is barbaric
- Migrant tradition and culture is primitive
- Migrants are here temporarily
- Migrants are most likely to be men
- Migrants are threat to economy
- Migrants are threat to health
- Migrants are threat to security
- Migrants are vulnerable
- Migrants deserve to be attacked and/or killed
- Migrants do not feel safe in their new country
- Migrants have no choice but to leave
- Migrants just want a better life
- Migrants leave home countries because of violence
- Migrants misuse grants and free health services
- Migration is a human rights issue
- Only black people and Muslims are migrants
- Police target migrants
- Politicians target migrants
- South Africans are not xenophobic
- State must minimize influx of foreigners
- State politicians are doing enough
- State politicians are not doing enough
- Tanzania is a better place to live
- The State is doing enough to protect migrants
- The State is not doing enough to protect migrants
- There are fewer opportunities in Kenya
- There are fewer opportunities in South Africa
- There are fewer opportunities in Tanzania
- There are fewer opportunities in my home country
- There are more opportunities in South Africa
- Third force is responsible for xenophobia
- Undocumented migrants are criminals
- Xenophobia is confined to poor communities
- Xenophobia is not a significant problem
- Xenophobia only affects or displaces men
- Xenophobia only happens in poor communities
- Xenophobic attacks are not more than thuggery
- Xenophobic violence is a good strategy
- Xenophobic violence is understandable
- Xenophobic violence only affects black migrants
- Zimbabwe is in crisis
- Zimbabwe is not in crisis