



UNIVERSITÀ  
DEGLI STUDI  
DI PADOVA

Università degli Studi di Padova

Dipartimento di Scienze Storiche, Geografiche e dell'Antichità

HOW ARE MIGRATION AND THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN  
MIGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT FRAMED IN PUBLIC DEBATES IN  
KENYA AND RWANDA.

Supervisor: Prof. Andrea Pettrachin

**Candidate: Sharon Jemutai Korir**

**Registr. number: 2070844**

ACADEMIC YEAR 2024/2025

## **DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY**

Il candidato dichiara che il presente lavoro è originale e non è già stato sottoposto, in tutto o in parte, per il conseguimento di un titolo accademico in altre Università italiane o straniere.

Il candidato dichiara altresì che tutti i materiali utilizzati durante la preparazione dell'elaborato sono stati indicati nel testo e nella sezione "Riferimenti bibliografici" e che le eventuali citazioni testuali sono individuabili attraverso l'esplicito richiamo alla pubblicazione originale.

The candidate declares that the present work is original and has not already been submitted, totally or in part, for the purposes of attaining an academic degree in other Italian or foreign universities.

The candidate also declares that all the materials used during the preparation of the thesis have been explicitly indicated in the text and in the section "Bibliographical references" and that any textual citations can be identified through an explicit reference to the original publication.

Student's signature

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'S. Rossi', is written over a horizontal line.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

I thank God above all and I am especially thankful to my supervisor for his guidance, constructive feedback, and support throughout the process, which ultimately shaped this research. Without his knowledge and patience, this study would have not been possible. I would like to specifically thank my university for granting me all the necessary academic resources as well as an environment to conduct this research. I would also like to acknowledge my professors and colleagues for their attention and motivation through this journey. I also thank the many institutions, policymakers, and organizations whose reports, speeches, and publications provided essential data for this study. Their work has said much about how migration is framed at a national level, especially in countries like Kenya and Rwanda. To my mother, family and friends, thank you for your unyielding support, patience, and motivation to go through this journey. Your support has been my strength. Thank you all.

## **ABSTRACT IN ENGLISH**

Migration and its relationship with development are increasingly prominent topics in public debates across Africa, reflecting the complex interplay between human mobility, economic growth, and social transformation. This study delves into how these issues are framed in the public discourses of Kenya and Rwanda, two countries with distinct historical, political, and economic contexts but shared experiences of migration as both a challenge and an opportunity. In Kenya, migration is often discussed in the context of regional instability, refugee movements, and the economic contributions of the diaspora. Public debates frequently highlight the strain on resources caused by refugee inflows, while simultaneously celebrating the remittances and skills brought by Kenyan migrants abroad. In contrast, Rwanda's post-genocide reconstruction and visionary development agenda have shaped a narrative that frames migration as a strategic tool for national transformation. The Rwandan government actively promotes policies that leverage diaspora engagement and skilled migration to drive economic growth and global integration.

This research employs a qualitative approach, analyzing media representations, policy documents, and public discourse to uncover the dominant narratives surrounding migration and development in both countries. It examines how historical legacies, such as Kenya's role as a regional hub for refugees and Rwanda's efforts to rebuild its national identity, influence these framings. The study also explores the role of political rhetoric, international partnerships, and cultural attitudes in shaping public perceptions of migration. By comparing Kenya and Rwanda, the research reveals divergent approaches to migration: while Kenya often emphasizes the challenges of managing migration, Rwanda focuses on harnessing its potential for development.

The findings contribute to a deeper understanding of the migration-development nexus in Africa, highlighting the ways in which public debates reflect and shape policy priorities. This study underscores the importance of context-specific narratives in addressing migration-related challenges and opportunities, offering valuable insights for policymakers, researchers, and development practitioners. Ultimately, it calls for a more nuanced and inclusive approach to migration debates, one that balances the realities of migration with the aspirations of development in Kenya, Rwanda, and beyond.

## RIASSUNTO (ABSTRACT IN ITALIAN)

La migrazione e il suo rapporto con lo sviluppo sono temi sempre più rilevanti nei dibattiti pubblici in Africa, riflettendo l'interazione complessa tra mobilità umana, crescita economica e trasformazione sociale. Questo studio approfondisce il modo in cui queste questioni vengono inquadrare nei discorsi pubblici di Kenya e Rwanda, due paesi con contesti storici, politici ed economici distinti, ma con esperienze comuni della migrazione sia come sfida che come opportunità. In Kenya, la migrazione è spesso discussa nel contesto dell'instabilità regionale, dei movimenti di rifugiati e dei contributi economici della diaspora. I dibattiti pubblici evidenziano frequentemente la pressione sulle risorse causata dall'afflusso di rifugiati, pur celebrando al contempo le rimesse e le competenze portate dai migranti kenioti all'estero. Al contrario, la ricostruzione post-genocidio del Rwanda e la sua agenda di sviluppo visionaria hanno plasmato una narrazione che presenta la migrazione come uno strumento strategico per la trasformazione nazionale. Il governo ruandese promuove attivamente politiche che sfruttano il coinvolgimento della diaspora e la migrazione qualificata per stimolare la crescita economica e l'integrazione globale.

Questa ricerca adotta un approccio qualitativo, analizzando le rappresentazioni mediatiche, i documenti politici e il discorso pubblico per individuare le narrazioni dominanti sulla migrazione e lo sviluppo in entrambi i paesi. Esamina come l'eredità storica, come il ruolo del Kenya come hub regionale per i rifugiati e gli sforzi del Rwanda per ricostruire la propria identità nazionale, influenzano questi quadri interpretativi. Lo studio esplora inoltre il ruolo della retorica politica, delle partnership internazionali e degli atteggiamenti culturali nel plasmare le percezioni pubbliche sulla migrazione. Confrontando Kenya e Rwanda, la ricerca rivela approcci divergenti alla migrazione: mentre il Kenya enfatizza spesso le sfide della gestione dei flussi migratori, il Rwanda si concentra sul loro potenziale per lo sviluppo.

I risultati contribuiscono a una comprensione più approfondita del nesso tra migrazione e sviluppo in Africa, evidenziando il modo in cui i dibattiti pubblici riflettono e influenzano le priorità politiche. Questo studio sottolinea l'importanza di narrazioni specifiche al contesto per affrontare le sfide e le opportunità legate alla migrazione, offrendo preziosi spunti per i decisori politici, i ricercatori e gli operatori dello sviluppo. In definitiva, invita a un approccio più sfumato e inclusivo ai dibattiti sulla migrazione, che equilibri le realtà migratorie con le aspirazioni di sviluppo in Kenya, Rwanda e oltre.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

### Contents

DECLARATION AND APPROVAL.....	Errore. Il segnalibro non è definito.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT.....	iii
ABSTRACT IN ENGLISH.....	iv
<b>RIASSUNTO (ABSTRACT IN ITALIAN).....</b>	<b>v</b>
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	vi
ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS.....	ix
CHAPTER 1.....	1
INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Background of the Study.....	1
1.2 Rationale for the Study.....	3
1.2.1 Migration as an Increasingly Relevant Focus in East Africa.....	4
1.2.2 Framing in Migration Governance.....	4
1.2.3 Africa Must Embed a Migration Analysis.....	5
1.2.4 Policy and Practical Contributions of the Study.....	5
1.3 Research Objectives.....	6
1.4 Research questions.....	6
1.5 Significance of the Study.....	6
1.6 Scope and Limitations.....	8
1.7 Structure of the Thesis.....	9
17.1 Chapter 1: Introduction.....	10
1.7.2 Chapter 2: Literature Review.....	10
1.7.3 Chapter 3: Context.....	10
1.7.4 Chapter 4:.....	10
CHAPTER 2.....	12
LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....	12
2.0 Empirical Literature Review.....	12
2.1 Migration.....	12
2.2. Migration and Development.....	15
2.2.1 Migration as a Driver of Development.....	15
2.2.2 Development as a Driver of Migration.....	16
2.2.3 Ambiguities and Challenges in the Migration-Development Nexus.....	16

2.2.4 A Two-Way Interaction .....	18
2.3 Migration and Development in Public Discourses .....	18
2.3.1. Migration as an Economic Contributor .....	19
2.3.2 Brain Drain and Knowledge Circulation .....	20
2.3.3: Migration and Social Cohesion .....	21
2.4 The Gaps in the Existing Literature .....	22
2.5. Theoretical framework .....	23
2.5.1: Definition of Frames .....	23
2.5.2: Theories on Frames.....	24
2.5.3 Framing Theory .....	24
CHAPTER 3- CONTEXT .....	30
3.1 Migration Flows .....	30
3.2 Institutions .....	33
3.2.1 Governmental Actors .....	33
3.2.2 Regional and International Organizations .....	33
3.2.3 Private Sector and Diaspora Organizations .....	34
3.3 Policies and Legal Frameworks .....	37
3.3.1: Kenya.....	37
3.3.2: Rwanda .....	39
3.4. Key events related to migration in Rwanda and Kenya.....	42
3.4.1: Rwanda .....	42
3.4.2: Kenya.....	43
CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY AND ANALYSIS.....	46
4.1 Description of the Dataset and Analytical Approach.....	<b>Errore. Il segnalibro non è definito.</b>
4.1 Description of the Dataset and Analytical Approach.....	46
4.1.1 Key Components of the Dataset .....	50
4.2. Actors in Migration and DevelopmentDiscourses .....	60
4.2.1 Government Institutions.....	60
4.2.2International Organizations .....	65
4.2.3 Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) .....	67
4.2.4 Media and Civil Society .....	68
4.2.5 Private Sector and Diaspora Groups .....	69
4.3 Identified Frames in Migration and Development Discourses .....	70

4.3.1 Humanitarian Frame .....	71
4.3.2. Security Frame .....	71
4.3.3 Economic Opportunity Frame .....	72
4.3.4 Frames on Development .....	72
4.3.5 Frames on the Migration-Development Nexus .....	73
4.3.6 Integration Challenges Frame .....	73
4.4 Analysis of the Dataset: Patterns in Migration and Development Discourses.....	74
4.4.1 Analyzed Frames .....	74
4.4.2 Patterns in How Migration is Framed .....	81
4.4.3 Pattern 1: Rwanda’s Proactive and Development-Oriented Framing vs. Kenya’s Reactive and Fragmented Approach .....	81
4.4.4 Pattern 2: The Politicization of Refugee Narratives in Kenya vs. the Institutionalized Diaspora Discourse in Rwanda .....	83
4.4.5 Pattern 3: Divergence in Media and Civil Society Narratives .....	83
CHAPTER FIVE .....	85
CONCLUSION.....	85
5.1 Conclusion.....	85
REFERENCES.....	89

## **ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS**

ADF	Agricultural Development Fund
AU	African Union
CBK	Central Bank of Kenya
CS	Cabinet Secretary
DGIE	Directorate General of Immigration and Emigration (Rwanda)
DRC	Danish Refugee Council
EAC	East African Community
FKE	Federation of Kenya Employers
GCM	Global Compact for Migration
IOM	International Organization for Migration
KFC	Kenya Flower Council
KNCCI	Kenya National Chamber of Commerce and Industry
LAF	Legal Aid Forum (Rwanda)
MINEMA	Ministry in Charge of Emergency Management (Rwanda)
NCM	National Coordination Mechanism on Migration (Kenya)
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
RAS	Refugee Affairs Secretariat (Kenya)
RCA	Rwanda Community Abroad
RDB	Rwanda Development Board
RDGN	Rwanda Diaspora Global Network
RPHC	Rwanda Population and Housing Census
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

# **CHAPTER 1**

## **INTRODUCTION**

Migration is the movement of individuals from one location to another across state borders, often driven by economic, political, environmental, and social forces. It is a worldwide phenomenon that impacts demographic trends, labor markets, and socio-political dynamics. Migration has the potential to stimulate economic growth and enhance cultural exchange, but it is accompanied by challenges in integration, resource allocation, and governance (World Bank, 2022). Migration-development nexus has been an issue of discussion in academia and policy for a long time resulting into different views by different individuals and states. For instance, while some researchers suggest migration is a driver of economic development through its support for remittances, labor mobility, and diaspora investment (Aniche, 2020), others point out the economic dilemmas in terms of brain drain, social inequalities, or dependency on foreign cash flows (Ratha, 2021). These different perspectives have resulted in other responses to migration within policies and public discourses that government, international organizations, media, and civil society actors' shape. This chapter outlines the study's main components that is the background of the study to give a better understanding of migration and development dynamics.

### **1.1 Background of the Study**

Migration has always been a defining trait of human history, shaping social, economic, and political structures. Research shows that a mix of push factors such as conflict, environmental degradation, and political instability as well as pull factors such as economic opportunities, drives and pull people across borders (Maria and Ionuț, 2024). In essence, some people migrate for improved economic opportunities, while others find themselves being forced to migrate as a result of conflicts, wars, and persecution (Owen et al., 2023). Furthermore, the relationship between migration and development has been a highly debated topic in academic and policy discourses. For example, migration can trigger development through remittances, diaspora investments, and labor mobility (Makina, and Magwedere, 2023). Additionally, the Global Compact for Migration (GCM) adopted by the United Nations in 2018 identifies migration as a driver of sustainable development and promotes migrant-friendly policies that lead to better economic opportunities, human rights for migrants, and global engagement (Pécoud, 2021).

According to these scholars, remittances to migrants are a large share of foreign exchange earnings in many developing countries. Remittance is an example of the active role of migrants in poverty alleviation, education finance, and infrastructure development, where in Sub-Saharan Africa in 2021, it recorded \$49 billion (World Bank, 2022).

However, migration comes with challenges for development, too. For instance, talented workers leaving their home country can sap economic growth in 'sending' countries, especially within specific sectors such as health care and education (Ratha et al., 2021). Similarly, others point out that migration can increase social inequalities because the benefits of remittances are not uniformly distributed across household and regional lines (Reslow, 2019). In response to these debates, international institutions have established frameworks to facilitate safe, orderly, and beneficial migration.

In Africa, migration is integral to regional integration, economic Development, and labor mobility. However, compared with migration in parts of Europe or North America, which frequently frame migration as a security challenge, in Africa, it is primarily intra-regional, with an immense movement of people across neighboring countries to trade, work, and get educated (Flahaux and De Haas, 2016). The free movement protocols encourage free movement of individuals to promote cross-border trade and economic cooperation (Adeola, 2019).

However, despite the significance of migration in Africa, academic and policy discussions have often been dominated by Global North perspectives, focusing on migration from Africa to Europe while neglecting South-South migration trends (Lavenex and Piper, 2019). Therefore, this study investigates migration patterns in East Africa with specific attention to Kenya and Rwanda because these nations have different political objectives that shape their migration approaches. The research uses Kenya and Rwanda to understand the similarities and differences between migration governing approaches and policy development methods within East Africa. Kenya for instance is a key migration hub in East Africa, functioning as a destination and origin country. The country hosts over 500,000 refugees, primarily from Somalia, South Sudan, and the Democratic Republic of Congo, making refugee governance a significant policy issue (McAteer et al., 2023). There are two dominant narratives that shape Kenya's migration governance: *The Security Frame* which narrates that government often links migration to border security and terrorism concerns, particularly regarding the Dadaab and Kakuma refugee camps (Njau, 2021)

and *the Economic Opportunity Frame* which narrates that Kenya's diaspora contributes over \$3 billion annually in remittances, highlighting migration as an economic asset (Victor, 2024). These competing narratives create policy tensions as Kenya seeks to balance economic benefits from migration with security concerns related to irregular migration.

In a nutshell, Rwanda, unlike Kenya, has focused on diaspora engagement and return migration rather than refugee management. The Rwandan government promotes migration as a development strategy, encouraging Rwandans abroad to invest in the national economy (Muyombano, 2020). For example, through Vision 2050, Rwanda has established diaspora economic growth by providing business opportunities and policies for remittance use. Makina and Magwedere, (2023) claims that Rwanda chooses not to create policies that treat migration as a national crisis because the country considers migration as an asset instead. Rwanda's state-centered migration governance approach creates an appropriate basis for understanding its policies in contrast to Kenya's scattered migration strategies.

In addition, the configuration of migration governance results from various actors participating in the process, including the governments that implement migration laws and control borders, international organizations such as IOM, UNHCR, which advocate for migrant rights and policy coordination, the media that influences public perception through its portrayal of migrants, civil society and NGOs that challenge state narratives and advocate for inclusive migration policies. These actors use distinct frames to characterize migration, ultimately leading to consequences for decision-making, societal views, and regional management structures. An evaluation of opposing migration accounts will reveal their influence on policy creation in Kenya and Rwanda.

## **1.2 Rationale for the Study**

Migration has become integral to economic development, social change, and global policymaking. Nonetheless, migration governance is highly contested, and its meaning varies by political, financial, and security context (Serraglio and Adaawen, 2023). Framing of the migration is done by various actors such as governments, international organizations, the media, and civil society who shapes how migration is understood, managed, and integrated into national development strategies. Kenya and Rwanda have been selected as two key case studies given the nuances of the region's migration flows, which are influenced by geography, history, economics, and geopolitics. This study has three main driving factors, that is, the growing importance of

Migration in East Africa, the role of framing in migration governance and the need for an African-centered perspective on migration.

### **1.2.1 Migration as an Increasingly Relevant Focus in East Africa**

Migration has been a key structural trait of East African societies for centuries, encouraged by economic opportunities, environmental change, cross-border trade, and political instability.

While migration in Europe and North America is often characterized as a security issue, most African migration is intra-regional, with people moving across borders seeking work, business, and education (Adeniyi, Carciotto and Dinbabo, 2024). Kenya for example is a key migration host, with more than 500,000 refugees and important cross-border labor migration (UNHCR, 2022). Diaspora remittances provide the economy with over \$3bn a year (World Bank, 2022). Similarly, Rwandans abroad are welcome to return home to invest in the nation's development (James, 2021). Rwanda has a coherent, development-oriented migration strategy, unlike Kenya, which has a fragmented migration discourse. Therefore, this study aims to find out the true links between migration and development.

### **1.2.2 Framing in Migration Governance**

Migration cannot only be considered a demographic reality because it is also a political and ideological construct framed and thus shaped by public discourse. The framing theory argues that how an issue is framed affects policymaking, media coverage, and community attitudes (Entman, 1993). Different actors use competing frames to shape migration debates for example, some governments may paint migration as an economic opportunity (i.e., engaging the diaspora in Rwanda), while others depict it as a security threat (i.e., tightening refugee access in Kenya). Secondly, international organizations (IOM, UNHCR, etc.) stress migration's developmental potential whilst protecting broader juridical claims for migrant rights and humanitarian protection, and lastly, the media is important for reinforcing migration narratives, whether positive or negative, shaping public perceptions, and influencing policy discourse.

In addition, narratives developed by civil society and NGOs frequently contest official narratives and are purposed to promote migrant inclusion, integration, and human rights. On the other hand, negative migration frames, including securitization and criminalization, have been shown in existing research to translate into restrictive policies, militarization of borders, and attitudes of xenophobia (Laux, 2021). In contrast, development-oriented framing can lead to policies that

embed migration within national development agendas, such as in the case of countries that actively channel diaspora investments to promote growth (Behera, Jain and Sharma, 2024).

Migration framing varies a lot with a different type of framing in Kenya and Rwanda. For example, migration discourse in Kenya is increasingly viewed through security and economic lenses, creating tensions between refugee management and diaspora engagement in policy and the media. On the other hand, narrative from the Rwandan government focuses primarily on migration as an economic development strategy, in which diaspora members contribute to the realization of development goals, along with an emphasis on return migration. This study aims to examine these contrasting narratives and assess how they shape migration policy, governance, and public attitudes.

### **1.2.3 Africa Must Embed a Migration Analysis**

Many studies frame the issue of African migration in the context of the crisis mindset by focusing on migration as a matter of challenge rather than development opportunity (Cannata, 2021). There is little research on how policy actors in Africa construct migration narratives within the continent; this is one of the findings in under-studied analysis of African migration governance. Additionally, little attention is given to resilience-building in African contexts for instance, the African Union Migration Policy Framework (2018) which focuses on African institutions and how migration discourse is made.

This research fills the existing knowledge gaps by studying migration discourses from an African perspective in Kenya and Rwanda. The research investigates migration governance approaches in local settings alongside policy goals and media coverage because it aims to overcome Western-based perspectives about African migration regulation.

### **1.2.4 Policy and Practical Contributions of the Study**

Apart from its academic importance, this research also holds practical relevance by informing migration governance in East Africa. Knowledge about how migration is constructed is revealed through informed policymaking. By revealing the link between migration narratives and policy outcomes, the study generates outcomes that can help governments, policymakers, and international agencies create better-balanced, more evidence-based migration policies. Also, by analyzing how media and political actors shape migration narratives, the study contributes to better-informed migration discussions, countering misinformation and negative stereotypes. And

lastly, by examining migration policies in Kenya and Rwanda, the study contributes to broader discussions on regional migration frameworks, cross-border labor mobility, and economic integration within East Africa and the African Union.

In conclusion, the rationale for this study was based on the growing importance of migration in East Africa, the role of framing in shaping migration governance, and the need for an African-centered approach to migration studies. Kenya and Rwanda offer unique yet contrasting migration governance models, making them ideal case studies for understanding how policy actors conceptualize migration and its links to Development. The study contributes to a more nuanced understanding of migration governance, policy formulation, and public debates in Africa by analyzing migration discourses in these two countries.

### **1.3 Research Objectives**

1. To identify the key actors involved in migration and development debates in Kenya and Rwanda.
2. To examine how these actors construct and articulate migration and development narratives.
3. Analyze the dominant frames used by different actors to conceptualize migration and Development.
4. To investigate how migration frames vary across different policy actors, including governments, international organizations, media, and civil society.

### **1.4 Research questions**

1. How do policy actors in Kenya and Rwanda conceptualize/frame the effects of migration?
2. What do the actors understand about the frames on Migration and Development?
3. What dominant frames are used by different actors to conceptualize migration and Development?
4. How do migration frames vary across different policy actors?

### **1.5 Significance of the Study**

Migration is a fundamental issue for global and regional governance, directly impacting economic development, security, and social cohesion. How we present migration shapes our responses to it, including policies and governance, as well as what we see as the right balance of

economic gain, human rights, and security implications (Ullah, 2024). Findings from the study add to academic literature, policy, and public discourse on migration in Kenya and Rwanda.

From an academic point of view, the study enriches studies of African migration by offering a comparative analysis of the frame through which migration is understood in Kenya versus Rwanda. Most of the previous academic literature on migration governance remains focused on Western contexts, typically overlooking how African states conceive and govern migration (Triandafyllidou, 2018). This research builds on existing work on framing theory, applied to a case of migration governance in Kenya and Rwanda, thus adding to the scholarly debate on how migration discourse shapes state and non-state policies on migration. It also speaks to how migration narratives shape policy and public opinion more broadly, particularly in East Africa.

Consequently, this study advances knowledge on how migration frames can shape governance decisions, thus providing crucial insights for governments, international organizations, and migration practitioners. In some instances, in Kenya, migration governance is heavily security-oriented and economically driven, while in Rwanda, migration is framed to use the diaspora as a vehicle for development (Balakian, 2025). Understanding these varying reform approaches can assist policymakers in crafting more evidence-based and robust policies harmonized with national and regional objectives. The findings will also interest regional migration governance initiatives, notably those undertaken through the African Union Migration Policy Framework (2018) designed to strengthen effective migration management and labor mobility on the continent.

Through its relevance not only for academia and policymaking but also for public discourse and media representations of migration, this study lays the foundation of an argument that could foster further insight into migration studies. For instance, there is a deep connection between the image of immigration portrayed in the media and how this image is reflected in public opinion and political choices, which is soundly marked by the replication of negative stereotyping or oversimplified narratives (Lavenex, 2019). So, through this study that analyzed migration discourse in Kenya and Rwanda, these thoughts are meant to be very important for journalists, civil society organizations, and public communicators to create a more comprehensive and evidence-driven migration discourse. This could be used to counter misinformation, particularly in highlighting how diaspora communities contribute to their home countries, and to better

understand refugee integration and labor mobility more generally as key aspects of national Development. Therefore, this study is necessary for academics, policy and media practitioners who relate to this study in the East African region for migration discourses alike. For example, examining migration narratives in Kenya and Rwanda provides insights into migration governance, regional integration issues, and public perception.

### **1.6 Scope and Limitations**

This study examines which narrative frame policy actors in Kenya and Rwanda employ concerning migration and Development. It considers how governments, international organizations, media, and civil society frame migration narratives. It aims to understand the dominant migration frames, their impact on policy, and the differing framing among various actors. Due to the complexity of migration, it is important to clearly define the geographical, thematic, and methodological scope of the study, as well as acknowledge the limitations that may affect the research findings.

The study covers Kenya and Rwanda, two of the East African countries which have quite different models of migration governance geographically. On one hand, Kenya is a hub of migration as a host of refugees, a migration corridor for cross-border labor migration, and a country with a significant diaspora populating the world and sending remittance back home to spur economic development (Fischer, 2024). Rwanda on the other hand adopted a migration policy focused on diaspora involvement and return migration, framing migration as an instrument for economic development rather than a security issue. This comparative study offers lessons on how migration governance varies within the East African context; however, it is not meant to be generalized to all African countries.

The study thematically focuses on how migration is constructed by policy actors instead of actual migration trends and rates of statistical data on migration flows. It analyzes how migration is framed in policy documents, legal statements, media coverage, and organizational publications, highlighting frames of economic opportunity, security, humanitarianism, and diaspora engagement (IOM, 2022). Migration has many facets, ranging from climate-related displacement and labor rights to refugee integration. However, this ‘migration and development’ in particular agenda is mainly concerned with how actors construct migration narratives and their relation to development.

Theoretically, the research does not rely on primary data collection through interviews or surveys but is based on a qualitative content analysis of documents and media reports. The analysis relies on an extensive review of official government documents, media reports, statements from NGOs, and international policy documents to identify and study dominant migration frames and the consequences of those frames for governance (Schreier, 2012). Though such approaches afford important insights into how discourse is constructed and policy is framed, they may not always be able to capture real-time shifts in migration frameworks responsive to political events, crises, and changes in global policy.

Additionally, one of the study's significant limitations lies in the reliance on documentary analysis, which cannot faithfully account for un-addressed informal migration discourses, the realities of migrants, or challenges to policy implementation. Moreover, migration narratives are often the product of particular political contexts and broader social trends, making some of the frames identified in the study subject to change and potentially necessitating more research into whether they have long-term effects. While comparing Kenya and Rwanda, the study does not try to establish cause-and-effect relationships between how migration is framed and migration policy outcomes; instead, it looks at patterns and differences in migration conceptualizations.

Limitations notwithstanding, this study offers an in-depth examination of migration narratives in East Africa and key insights into the framing of migration, the actors driving these narratives, and their consequences for policy and governance. This study should be complemented in future research by interviews with a broader range of actors involved in migration governance, including policymakers, migrants, and civil society actors, in order to paint a fuller picture of how migration governance looks like and what framing strategies are involved.

## **1.7 Structure of the Thesis**

The thesis presents its arguments across five chapters, in which new information extends the analysis of migration and development discourses in Kenya and Rwanda. The paper follows a systematic lineup of chapters, presenting the research issue before examining migration framing methods and covering study outcomes. The following is a summary of each chapter:

### **17.1 Chapter 1: Introduction**

This chapter provides an overview of the study, introducing the research topic, rationale, objectives, and key research questions. It also outlines the significance of the study, defining its scope and limitations, and explaining the thesis structure.

### **1.7.2 Chapter 2: Literature Review**

The second chapter reviews existing literature on migration and Development, focusing on theoretical perspectives, migration governance, and framing theory. It explores how different actors construct migration narratives, examining previous studies on migration policies, discourse analysis, and the role of media in shaping public perception. The chapter identifies literature gaps, justifying this study's need.

### **1.7.3 Chapter 3: Context**

This chapter provides a historical and policy context for migration in Kenya and Rwanda. It covers migration flows emigration and immigration trends, key actors in migration governance, legal frameworks, and significant policy events that have shaped migration narratives in both countries. The chapter establishes a background for understanding how different actors frame migration.

### **1.7.4 Chapter 4: Empirical Analysis of Migration Frames**

The fourth chapter presents the core findings of the study, analyzing how migration is framed in Kenya and Rwanda. It describes the dataset and analytical approach, identifies dominant migration frames, and examines how different actors construct narratives about migration and Development. The chapter also explores variations in migration framing between the two countries and among different policy actors.

This chapter interprets the key findings from Chapter 4, linking them to existing literature and theoretical perspectives. It examines the implications of migration framing for policy, governance, and public discourse, comparing Kenya and Rwanda's approaches to migration governance. The chapter also highlights how migration narratives and regional migration frameworks influence policy decisions.

This final chapter also summarizes the study's main findings and discusses their broader implications for migration governance in East Africa. It offers policy recommendations for governments, international organizations, and civil society actors on improving migration management through evidence-based framing strategies. The chapter also suggests areas for future research, particularly in understanding how migration frames evolve and influence long-term policy trends.

The structure of this thesis follows a logical sequence, beginning with a foundation of existing knowledge, followed by contextual analysis, empirical findings, and interpretation of results. Each chapter contributes to a comprehensive understanding of migration discourses in Kenya and Rwanda, providing insights into how policy actors frame migration and its implications for governance and Development.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

#### **2.0 Empirical Literature Review**

##### **2.1 Migration**

Migration is a complex phenomenon that over time continues to be studied. Many scholars and institutions have come up with different definitions of migration. According to United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (2020), migration is the movement of people from one place to another with the intent of settling temporarily or permanently in a new location. On the other hand, International Organization for Migration (2022), uses a sociological approach in its definition of migration as the process by which individuals or groups move from one societal context to another, often driven by economic, social, political, or environmental factors. Scholars underline that migration has multiple causes, with different causes that might prevail in different contexts. For instance, the IOM's World Migration Report (2024) says that factors such as economic, social, political and environmental situations majorly contribute to migration patterns. However, research published in the Journal of Travel Medicine (2018), points out that demographic, political, environmental and socio-economic situations largely resulting to migration often varying across different regions and scenarios.

Additionally, the decision to leave not only depends on aspirations impacted by multiple migration drivers, but also on the risks of staying, and the resources and capacity for moving. Understanding the complexities of the decision to leave or stay and where to go if the decision to migrate is taken, is essential (Mixed Migration Centre, 2022). In the same way, the Neoclassical model by Todaro (1970), adds that migration depend on two channels that are key in influencing people's decisions; first is the income channel in which migration is seen as a form of investment and if the expected income differences are higher more people will migrate. The other channel is the budget constraint where the decision to migrate depends on the moving costs and the availability of resources that make migrating possible. Similarly, a survey by Gallup World Poll suggests that 12% of the world population (around 750 million adults) would like to migrate if they had a chance to do so. However, the report Measuring Global Migration Potential

(2015), shows that a large portion of global population express a desire to migrate but only a small fraction actively prepare to do so. The report posits that less than 0.5% of adults all over the world approximately 23 million people are actively making preparation to migrate (IOM, 2017).

With over 280 million international migrants globally, international migration has recently increased dramatically (IOM, 2022). According to UN (1998), international migrant is defined as any person who changes his or her country of origin. A report by IOM World Migration Report (2022) states that there were approximately 281 million international migrants worldwide in 2020, representing 3.6% of the global population. When talking about migration, types of migration is an important factor that explains the flow of migration. There are two major types of migration, that is; regular migration and irregular migration. Regular migration refers to the movement of individuals through recognized, authorized channels, adhering to the legal and regulatory frameworks of the countries involved. This includes obtaining necessary visas, permits, and complying with entry and exit requirements (IOM, 2017). On the other hand, irregular migration involves movement of people which occur outside the laws, regulations or international agreements which govern the entry into or exit from a state (IOM, 2017).

According to International Migration Report (2020), Europe is one of the most sort after destination for international migrants. A similar report by UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs reports that as of 2020, the continent hosted over 87 million international migrants, accounting for nearly 30% of the global migrant population. Particularly, countries like Germany, the United Kingdom, and France were among the leading destinations. Similarly, Asia is a major origin and destination for international migrants with about 86 million international migrants residing in the region. The Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries like Saudi

Arabia, the United Arab Emirates and Qatar attracted millions of migrant workers annually especially from South and Southeast Asia (World Migration Report, 2022).

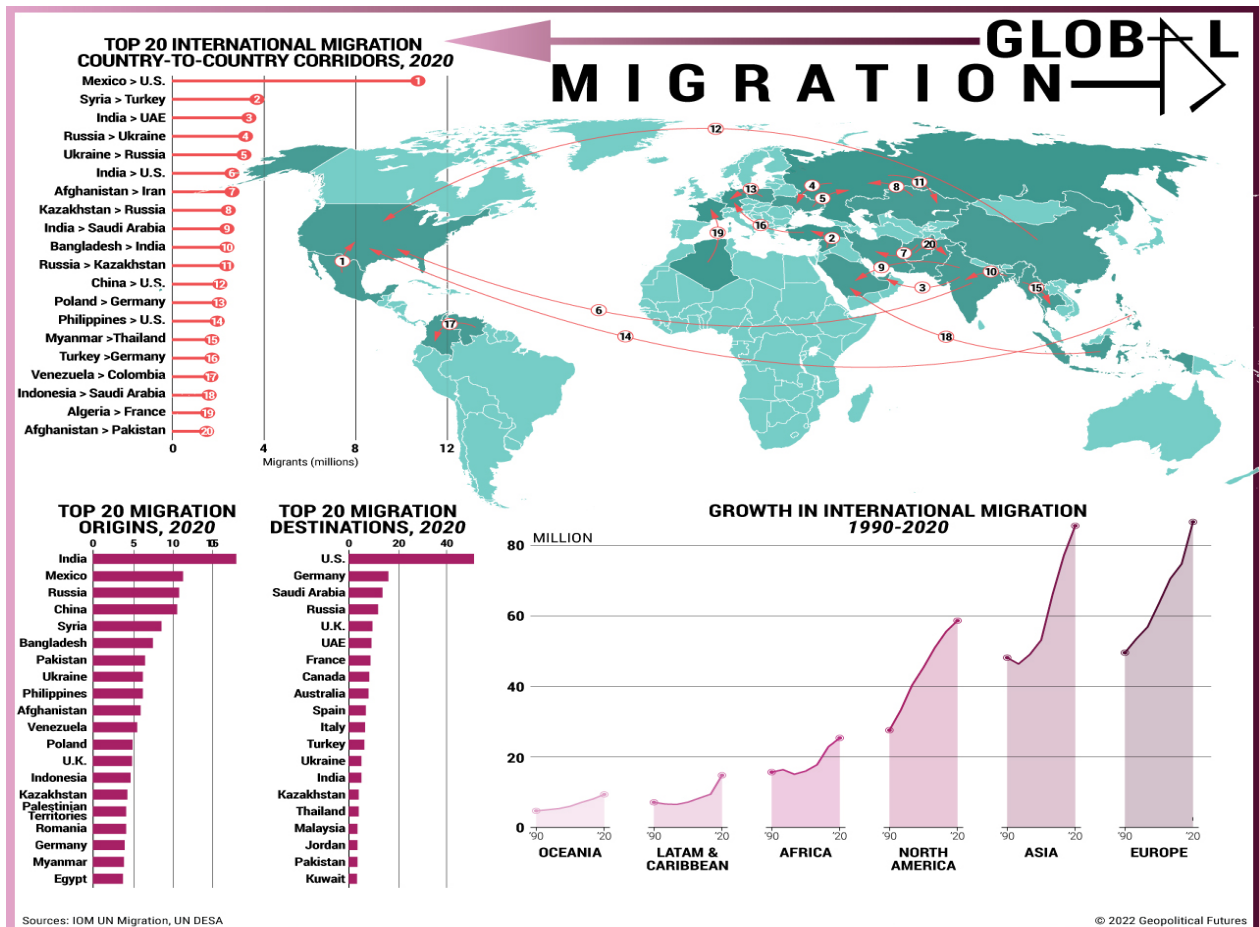


Photo1: Global Migration Trends 2020(Credits: Geopolitical Future)

According to Pew Research Centre (2020), North America in particular United States of America (USA) and Canada were key destination for international migrants with USA alone hosting over 51 million international migrants making it the single most migrant receiving country globally. The report continues to note that migration in this region is driven by economic opportunities, family reunification and education. Africa on the other hand, is often considered a region of emigration but it also experiences significant intra-continental migration. More than 80% of African migration occur within the continent with countries like South Africa, Cote d'Ivoire and Nigeria being key destinations (African Union, 2020).

## **2.2. Migration and Development**

Development can narrowly be defined as the application of human capital to raise human productivity, generate wealth, and increase national income (D. Massey, 1984). In a broader lens, development is the expansion of people's freedoms and capabilities to lead lives that they value and have reason to value (UNDP, 1990). Amartya Sen (1999), discussed development as an expansion of individuals' capabilities and rights arguing that development should focus on enhancing people's capabilities to make choices and lead lives they value, rather than solely on economic growth or material wealth. While development tends to be seen through an economic lens, development is multi-faceted or multi-dimensional, encompassing not only income or wealth but also health, education and more. Furthermore, migration is not just a linear process in which people relocate in search of better opportunities; it is intricately linked to social, economic, and political systems at the local, national, and global levels. As a result, migration and development both shape each other, that is, they have a two-way relationship.

### **2.2.1 Migration as a Driver of Development**

Migration has long been understood to be a driving force behind social and economic advancement. De Haas (2020), argues that migration contributes positively to development by facilitating remittances, transfer of knowledge and investment in origin countries. Remittances are money sent home by migrants, supporting local economies and giving families financial support. According to World Bank (2021) projections, remittances to low- and middle-income countries, which are a major source of foreign cash and economic stability for many countries, topped \$600 billion in 2020. Often, these monies are used to support local companies, healthcare, and education, raising living standards and promoting neighborhood development. Diasporas play a vital role in development by acting as investors, entrepreneurs, and bridge-builders between their home and host countries, creating transnational networks and economic linkages (Brinkerhoff, 2006).

In addition, circular migration enables skill transfer between countries by supporting labor market demands and fostering development in both origin and destination countries (Vertovec, 2007). Migrants bring back the information, skills, and experiences they have gained overseas which is can be vital in the labor market. For example, the return of highly qualified individuals to their home nations can improve local administration and industry. In international labor

markets, migration is also quite important (IOM, 2015). Countries with a labor shortage frequently depend on migrant labor to cover gaps in industries including technology, healthcare, and agriculture (OECD,2014). According to World Bank (2013), this labor migration helps economies of the nations where migrants are going while also giving them the chance to raise their socioeconomic standing. Besides, international migration can reduce poverty by diversifying household income sources and building resilience against economic shocks in origin countries (Adams et al. 2005). Skeldon, R. (2017), states that migration fosters regional development by creating new opportunities for trade, investment and cultural exchange between countries of origin and destination countries.

### **2.2.2 Development as a Driver of Migration**

On the other hand, development also affects migration patterns. The "migration hump" theory by Zelinsky, W. (1971), suggests that as nations grow, migration first rises as people acquire the knowledge and resources necessary to migrate, and then migration rates may fall as development levels out and opportunities become more available locally. This illustrates the complex ways in which development affects migration patterns. As countries develop and create more job opportunities, individuals are more likely to migrate in search of better employment prospects (D. Massey, 1993). Similarly, Beine et al. (2014), argues that higher levels of development often correlate with increased educational opportunities, leading to individuals to migrate for better educations and skills. According to De Haas et al. (2013), development often brings about better governance and political stability which can attract migrants seeking a safe and secure environment.

Additionally, the South-South Migration and Remittances report by World Bank (2007) posits that improvements in infrastructure for example transportation and communication facilitates migration by making it easier for individuals to migrate. A. Portes (1999) also states that community's development and social networks often strengthen providing support systems that encourage migration to other regions and countries.

### **2.2.3 Ambiguities and Challenges in the Migration-Development Nexus**

Migration and development are closely related, but their relationship is not always clear-cut or predictable. The effects of migration on development are multifaceted and can vary significantly between contexts, making it difficult to draw general conclusions (De Haas, 2010). According to

D. Ratha (2013), remittances can decrease poverty and raise living standards, but can also increase dependency and inequality in communities, and families that depend too much on labor migrants who may not invest as much in local economies, which can impede more general developmental objectives. Similarly, migration can exacerbate inequalities within communities, leading to social tensions between migrants and non-migrants (Mastrorillo et al. (2016). The authors continue to explain that while remittances can improve the financial situation of families receiving them, they can also create disparities between migrant households and non-migrant households, leading to feelings of resentment and social division. Additionally, according to Dustmann et al. (2014), the influx of migrants can lead to perceived or real strain on public services, contributing to social tensions between migrants and local populations. As migrants settle in host communities, they may compete for limited resources such as housing, healthcare, and education, leading to resentment among local residents who feel their access to these services is being compromised (Dustmann et al. 2014).

Moreover, brain drain occurs when skilled professionals leave their home countries for better opportunities abroad, leading to a loss of human capital. This phenomenon can hinder economic growth and development in the home country, as it loses individuals who could contribute to innovation and productivity Docquier et al. (2012). According to Dustmann et al. (2014), the arrival of migrants can lead to cultural tensions, particularly in communities that are not accustomed to diversity. Migrants may bring different cultural practices, which can challenge established norms and values in host communities. This can result in backlash from locals who perceive their cultural identity as threatened. Besides, Portes & Rumbaut (2006), argue that high levels of migration can undermine social cohesion within communities, leading to increased social tensions. In addition, when migrants are perceived as competing for jobs, housing, or social services, it can create an 'us versus them' mentality, leading to social fragmentation and conflict.

In addition, K. Koser (2007), reveals that politically, increased migration can lead to political backlash and the rise of anti-immigrant sentiments. Economic anxieties and perceived threats to cultural identity can fuel populist movements that scapegoat migrants, leading to social tensions and discriminatory policies.

Also, in the nations of destination, integrating migrants is faced with difficulties. Migrants may face discrimination, exploitation, and challenges accessing social services, despite their frequent contributions to economic growth and cultural diversity (Penninx, 2005). These challenges could lessen migration's beneficial contributions to development and cause social discontent.

#### **2.2.4 A Two-Way Interaction**

According to De Haas, (2010), the relationship between migration and development is unquestionably two-way: That is, migration can help development by transferring human, social, and financial capital, while also development can affect migration by causing inequality or opening up new opportunities. For instance, international initiatives such as the United Nations' Global Compact for Migration (2018) highlights the importance of maximizing the developmental benefits of migration while addressing its challenges, emphasizing the role of policies in ensuring safe, orderly, and regular migration to maximize its contribution to sustainable development. Similarly, academic debates underscore the multifaceted nature of the migration-development nexus. Scholars highlight that while migration can alleviate poverty and promote economic growth, it can also deepen social inequalities and create dependency on remittances (de Haas, 2020; Clemens & Postel, 2018). These ambiguities demand a nuanced understanding of migration policies and their implications for sustainable development.

In summary, the relationship between migration and development is reciprocal, complex, and difficult to categorize simply. Although migration can propel economic and social advancement, its effects are contingent on a variety of factors, such as policy frameworks, socio-economic contexts, and the nature of migration flows (De Haas, 2011)

### **2.3 Migration and Development in Public Discourses**

Development and migration are closely related subjects that have attracted a lot of scholarly and public attention. The complicated and confusing link between the two is frequently brought up in discussions on this topic, reflecting a dual narrative that highlights both opportunities and obstacles. Migration is often presented as a force for growth, facilitating the flow of financial resources, labor, and talents, but it also raises questions about governance, economic stability, and cultural identity (Schiller et al., 1992).

### **2.3.1. Migration as an Economic Contributor**

Migration has widely been recognized as a driver of economic growth, with migrants contributing to labor markets, innovation, and entrepreneurship (World Bank, 2023). In Europe for instance, much of the discussion around migration is dominated by economic factors, especially when it comes to how migration aids in the development of both the nations of origin and the countries of destination (Ruhs et al. 2008). Favell and Martin (2008) argue that European countries have increasingly relied on migration to address labor market imbalances, particularly in sectors like healthcare, construction, and agriculture. According to Zawojcka and Siudek (2021), migrant workers are crucial in sustaining the European economy, particularly in sectors like healthcare, construction, and agriculture, which face labor shortages. Similarly, the European Commission (2020) show that migration helps mitigate the aging population challenge in Europe, with migrants accounting for 70% of population growth in the EU in the last decade.

On the other side of the continent in the Americas, according to Portes and Rumbaut (2014), migration has been integral to the economic development of the Americas. Ratha (2013) also points out that remittances from migrants in the United States to Latin America represent a significant portion of national GDPs. Countries like Mexico, Guatemala, and the Dominican Republic are major recipients of remittances, which help improve access to healthcare, education, and housing for millions of families. Latin America and the Caribbean for example received \$96 billion in remittances in 2019, and remittances account for more than 5% of GDP in several countries in the region (World Bank, 2020). In the U.S, immigrant labor accounts for about 16% of the total workforce, and they contributed \$2 trillion to the U.S. GDP in 2019 (National Academy of Sciences, 2019).

Similarly, Rahman and Fee (2012) argue that migration contributes significantly to the economies of countries like India, Bangladesh, and the Philippines through remittances, which support household incomes and national economies. Ratha et al. (2022) further highlight that Asia remains the largest recipient of remittances globally, with India receiving \$89.4 billion, China \$53 billion, and the Philippines \$36.7 billion in 2021. These inflows contribute to improved education, healthcare, and infrastructure development. According to Piper (2008), many Asian women migrate for domestic work or caregiving, particularly to the Gulf States and

East Asia. While migration empowers women economically, it also exposes them to labor exploitation and abuse.

According to Ratha et al. (2022), African migrants sent home \$53 billion in remittances in 2021, with Nigeria accounting for nearly \$19 billion. These funds are often used to improve household welfare, education, and healthcare. However, scholars like Black et al. (2006) argue that while remittances are vital, their uneven distribution can exacerbate inequalities. Adepaju (2006) highlights that 80% of African migration occurs within the continent, often driven by economic opportunities and regional agreements like the ECOWAS Protocol on Free Movement. For example, Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire are major destinations for migrants from neighboring countries.

### **2.3.2 Brain Drain and Knowledge Circulation**

Docquier and Rapoport (2012) argue that brain drain can negatively affect development by depriving origin countries of skilled labor. However, they also note that in some cases, brain drain can create incentives for skill development and lead to 'brain gain' if migrants return or contribute through diaspora networks. According to Dustmann and Glitz (2011), migration not only contributes through remittances but also facilitates the transfer of skills and knowledge. For example, skilled workers who return home after working abroad can bring back valuable expertise in technology, business management, and education, which can significantly benefit the development of industries in their home countries. For instance, countries like India and China have seen a positive impact from the return migration of professionals who have worked in the U.S. or Europe. These returnees often start businesses, improve local industries, and create jobs. In 2020, India had about 17 million diaspora members, and return migration contributed significantly to the country's innovation sector, especially in technology (Dustmann et al. 2011).

However, countries like India, Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka experience significant outflows of skilled workers, especially in fields like healthcare, engineering, and information technology. The loss of such human capital can create gaps in critical sectors and hinder sustainable development. In 2017, about 2.7 million skilled professionals from India migrated to the U.S., exacerbating brain drain and hindering the country's domestic development goals (Docquier & Rapoport, 2012).

### **2.3.3: Migration and Social Cohesion**

While migration enriches cultural diversity, it can also lead to social tensions and political polarization, particularly in the context of illegal immigration. Integration has been a major concern in the field of migration. In the public discourse, the focus is mainly on the challenges of integrating migrants into local communities, particularly in the wake of large-scale migrations. Scholten et al. (2015) discuss how integration policies in countries like Germany, Sweden, and the UK have struggled to keep pace with the surge of migrants, especially following the 2015 refugee crisis. In 2015, over 1.3 million asylum applications were filed in Europe, sparking debates about cultural cohesion and resource allocation. The debate over migration and its effects on social cohesion has gained prominence in both North and South America. Scholars such as Schneider and Schmitter (2017), discuss how large-scale migration, particularly of undocumented migrants, can lead to social divisions, racial tensions, and political polarization. In countries like the U.S., public discourse on migration has become highly politicized, with debates over border control, amnesty, and the integration of migrants leading to tensions within communities. In 2019 for instance, the U.S. had an estimated 10.5 million undocumented immigrants, a figure that has led to significant political debate over immigration policy (Pew Research Center, 2020).

Additionally, issues like cultural integration, displacement of local populations, and increased competition for public resources such as housing and healthcare can lead to social friction. In countries like Malaysia, Singapore, and Qatar, the influx of migrant workers has raised concerns over the protection of labor rights and social cohesion, particularly in sectors like construction and domestic work (Castles & Miller, 2014). According to ILO (2020), in 2019 migrant workers made up 30% of Singapore's total workforce, and issues of labor exploitation and integration have been a major topic in public discourse. Likewise, Mudde (2019), examined how the influx of refugees from the Middle East and Africa has fueled populist movements and right-wing rhetoric in Europe, leading to increased xenophobia and opposition to migration. Crush and Ramachandran (2014) also document widespread xenophobia in South Africa, where migrants face discrimination and violence despite their contributions to the economy. Public discourse often reflects tensions between the developmental potential of migration and social cohesion in host communities.

In conclusion, there are dual narratives surrounding migration and development. While migration brings economic benefits through remittances, labor force contributions, and knowledge transfer, it also raises concerns about social integration, labor market pressures, and the consequences of brain drain. Public discourse varies depending on local contexts, with debates reflecting both the positive potential and the challenges associated with migration.

#### **2.4 The Gaps in the Existing Literature**

There are still a lot of holes in the breadth and methodology of the large amount of research on migration and how it interacts with development. These gaps, which reflect shortcomings in theoretical frameworks, methodological approaches, and contextual coverage, impede a thorough understanding of the relationship between migration and development. To advance the conversation and create evidence-based policies, these gaps must be filled.

In developed regions and countries for example in Europe and America, migration and development discourses are predominantly driven by political actors, often focusing on migration management, security, and economic contributions (Castel et. al.2013). In East Africa, the discourse is more segmented, involving state actors, international organizations, NGOs, and community groups, but lacks a cohesive narrative. While developed countries have extensive research on how NGOs, think tanks, and advocacy groups shape migration narratives, the role of these actors in East Africa is underexplored. This limits understanding of how grassroots and civil society actors influence migration-development policies in the region (Bakewell, 2008). Additionally, research on the role of regional organizations like the European Union in framing migration is extensive (Betts, 2010), but similar studies on African organizations like the East African Community (EAC) are scarce. This oversight hinders understanding of how regional frameworks shape migration-development narratives in East Africa hence a need to look into other actors in East Africa in the discourse of migration and development.

Moreover, migration in developed countries is often framed economically, focusing on labor markets and remittances. In East Africa, humanitarian issues such as refugee crises and forced displacement dominate, but these are rarely analyzed in terms of their developmental implications (Adepoju, 2008). This neglects the potential of migration to contribute positively to regional development beyond emergency responses. Extensive analysis on how diaspora communities frame migration and development in developed nations have been done. On the

other hand, studies on African diasporas' roles in shaping policies and public discourse are still limited (Faist, 2008). This creates a gap in understanding how diaspora networks influence development initiatives and migration governance in East Africa. Therefore, more studies need to be done in understanding how diaspora networks influence development initiatives and migration governance in East Africa.

According to Lecheler et al. (2013), media in developed countries plays a significant role in shaping public opinion on migration and development, but the influence of African media on migration narratives is not well studied. This gap overlooks how media in East Africa influences perceptions of migration and its developmental implications. For example, comparative analyses between East Africa and developed countries on how migration and development are framed are rare. This among others limits the ability to identify best practices and contextualize global migration-development narratives. This therefore calls for a need to conduct more studies migration narrative on the media in East Africa and conduct comparative studies how migration is framed between developed countries and East Africa. Besides, some locations and migrant routes are overrepresented in the literatures, which is another significant gap. Migration from the Global South to the Global North, especially from Africa and Asia to Europe and North America, is a common focus of migration studies. This focus ignores other key migratory patterns, like South-South migration and especially migration in East Africa despite the undeniable importance of these migration corridors. Therefore, there is need to explore on the migratory corridors of East Africa.

Gaps have also been found in the theoretical frameworks utilized to study migration and development. There are influential theories like the world-systems theory and the push-pull model that offer insightful perspectives. These theories frequently take a linear and deterministic approach to migration. There are limited studies on theoretical frameworks on frames especially in East Africa hence a need for more studies.

## **2.5. Theoretical framework**

### **2.5.1: Definition of Frames**

Frames are tools for organizing information, giving meaning to events, and influencing how people interpret issues. They are not neutral; instead, they reflect the perspectives, priorities, and biases of the actors employing them (Goffman, 1974). According to Entman, (1993), framing is

particularly important in migration and development discussions as it determines how migration is perceived either as a challenge, opportunity, or a combination of both. Frames shape debates about labor mobility, brain drain, remittances, human rights, and security.

### **2.5.2: Theories on Frames**

There are many theoretical perspectives that provide insight into how frames function in shaping migration and development discourses. This study utilizes Framing Theory which is used to explain how actors in Kenya and Rwanda frame migration and the relationship between migration and development.

### **2.5.3 Framing Theory**

Framing theory is a concept in communication, sociology, and political science that focuses on how information is presented to the public and the effects of that presentation on people's perceptions, attitudes, and behaviors (Goffman, 1974). The framing theory is the way issues are framed in discourse that is whether through media, political speeches, or social interactions which shapes how individuals understand and interpret those issues. The theory is concerned with how certain aspects of an issue are highlighted while others are downplayed, influencing public opinion and policy decisions.

Framing involves the presentation of information through an interpretive lens. Frames help to organize and structure how an issue or event is understood by audiences. Essentially, frames direct attention to certain aspects of an issue while ignoring or underplaying others. For example, in the context of migration, a frame might emphasize migration as a security threat, while another frame might emphasize it as a humanitarian crisis or economic opportunity. According to Robert Entman (1993), framing is a process of selecting some aspects of a perceived reality and making them more prominent in a communicating text. Also, frames guide how individuals process information by focusing on specific problems, causes, moral judgments, and solutions. The selection of a specific frame influences how individuals understand the issue and form their opinions. Frames shape public opinion by providing audiences with a particular context through which to view an issue. By framing migration as a problem to be solved through restrictive policies, or as an opportunity for economic growth, different actors influence public attitudes and policy debates (Van Gorp, (2005).

In the framing theory, concepts such as frame building, frame setting and frame resonance are important. Frame Building according to Scheufele (1999), refers to the process by which media outlets, political actors, or other stakeholders create frames through their messaging. This includes selecting specific words, images, and narratives to shape how an issue is perceived. Frame setting considers the impact of the frame on audience perceptions and how it influences their thoughts, attitudes, and behaviors. According to David Snow and Robert Benford (1988), the effectiveness of a frame in shaping public opinion depends on how well it resonates with the existing values, beliefs, and experiences of the audience. If a frame aligns with widely held cultural values or existing societal norms, it is more likely to be accepted and influential.

So, the framing theory has been used in this study to understand how different actors frame the issue of migration in relation to development. It offers a powerful tool for understanding how migration and development in Kenya and Rwanda are represented and understood in the public discourse. This is done by examining how different actors frame migration and gain insight into how these frames influence public opinions, policy decisions and social attitudes. The frames include the following;

*a) Preventive Development Frame:*

This approach treats migration as a product of underdevelopment, i.e., economic and political instability, unemployment, and poor governance. The frame asserts that it is possible to control migration flows by handling these problems in countries of origin. The argument has always been that when you provide economic growth and social development, you can contribute to reducing the push factors of migration. For those searching for conditionality, you may be motivated by the prospect of stopping migration, which is widely promoted by international organizations, policymakers, and development agencies and defended by those advocating for policies investing in education, jobs, and infrastructure (Sabates-Wheeler, and Waite, 2003). For example, this frame has been incorporated into the EU's development cooperation strategies, and funds are available to tackle migration's 'root causes' in African countries.

Also, the frame has received significant attention, making it relevant to this study, as it introduces the interrelatedness of migration and development within the policy discourse locus of Kenya and Rwanda. Through analyzing the work of political actors using this frame, the study looks at how governments legitimize migration-related policies through the development lens.

This frame creates an analysis of whether the policies reduce migration or are both a critical act and a ringing bell in the current dynamics of migration politics. It also sheds light on the influence of international development aid on migration governance in East Africa. A key strength of this frame is its positive paradigm for migration governance; it addresses the need for long-term structural solutions rather than temporally limited restrictive ones. However, this frame also has a significant weakness: It oversimplifies the migration-development relationship. Broad empirical studies argue that development does not necessarily promote lower migration but more mobility as people access ways to migrate. Moreover, this frame is frequently deployed to validate repressive migration policies, which ultimately deflects from the imperative of legal migration pathways and rights-based approaches.

*b) Restrictive Migration Frame*

According to this frame, migration is seen as a threat to society, which can only be curtailed through restricting borders, deportation policies and visa restrictions. This framing comes from theories of security and sovereignty, which focus on securing national borders, maintaining economic stability, and fostering social unity. Nationalist governments, security agencies and political leaders regularly employ it, claiming that irregular migration causes crime, unemployment and the draining of social resources (Kari, Malasowe & Collins, 2018). Such a view has led countries worldwide to adopt more authoritarian migration policies, from the European Union's efforts to seal off its external borders to the United States' hard-liner immigration enforcement measures.

This frame is particularly pertinent to this study as it tends to explain what 'narrative' of migration is transposed into the policy frame in Kenya and Rwanda through their policy discourse. According to Huysmans (2006), governments often justify restrictions on migration by associating movement with other problems related to security, economic burden or political instability. The study illustrates how restrictive migration narratives shape laws, refugee policies, and border control measures in East Africa by analyzing how this frame is deployed. This frame also explains the focus some migration policies take around control to the detriment of integration efforts, explaining regional migration governance. Undoubtedly, this frame's strength is its appeal to national security concerns, which can increase political legitimacy and public support for migration control policies. It is also concerned with the challenges posed by human

trafficking and irregular migration networks. However, its biggest failing is the human rights abuses it creates when restrictive actions can prevent asylum seekers from accessing aid or migrants from receiving protection. Moreover, this framing often overlooks the economic and social contributions of migrants, thereby consolidating xenophobic narratives and segregated policies instead of promoting inclusive migration governance.

*c) The National Security and Interest Frame*

The frame depicts migration as a possible danger to national sovereignty, economic stability, and cultural identity, justifying why states must place their interests above international migration commitments. This frame comes from realist political theory, which maintains that states should act to pursue their self-interest in order to secure their physical security and economic advantage. According to Taran (2009), nationalist governments, policymakers, and security agencies use this frame as a convenience, framing migration as a risk to national cohesion, labour markets and public resources. Framed this way, migration policy has become a renewed priority around the world, manifesting in everything from Brexit to a focus by the European Union on external border security. This is an important lens for this study, providing insights into the extent to which national interests influence migration governance in Kenya and Rwanda. Kenya often presents migration as a security concern that requires surveillance of borders and limits on refugee camps. Though the government of Rwanda touts its policies as encouraging diaspora engagement, it remains very selective in its asylum policies, favouring economic gains and diplomatic capital over an open migration policy. The study examines how migration policies balance national interests with regional and international migration commitments by looking at how this frame is used.

One of the advantages of this frame is that it sets migration policies against the backdrop of national priorities, securing the domestic economic and security significance of migration governance. It also provides political justification for stricter migration policies, which can help pragmatically manage public anxiety. Nonetheless, it is weak due to its inability to account for international human rights obligations and generate anti-migrant attitudes. Moreover, this frame might also erode regional migration frameworks and diplomatic ties by placing national interests first at the expense of international cooperation.

#### *d) Migration as a Crisis Frame*

This frame on the other hand treats migration as an urgent emergency needing immediate intervention, frequently framing it as a crisis of conflict, environmental disaster or economic distress. The frame comes from humanitarian narrative and crisis management theories that call for timely responses to mass displacement and forced migration. It is the most common term the world's governments, international organizations, and news media use when issues arise, mainly when there are sudden surges of migration due to wars, famines, or natural disasters. This frame has been pivotal in shaping European responses to the Syrian refugee situation as well as international interventions on displacement in conflict-impacted areas such as Sudan and the Democratic Republic of Congo. Why this frame is helpful in this study is because it demonstrates in crisis discourse how Kenya and Rwanda name migration-related challenges as crises that need to be addressed immediately and these frames are employed frequently by Kenya in conversations around refugee camps and the movement of those who have crossed borders, presenting the Dadaab and Kakuma refugee camps inundated by humanitarian needs. Rwanda's counter example has portrayed its function beneath the Rwanda Asylum Pact as a response to the Migration disaster, emphasizing that its involvement is one constituent of a worldwide reply. Through an analysis of the application of this frame, the research investigates how migration policy is crafted in this context of need and how states derive legitimacy for migration engagement through an appropriation of the crisis frame.

Certainly, one benefit of this frame is that it activates international generosity and humanitarian impulses, calling attention to the need to protect and assist migrants. It also legitimizes rapid policy responses, enabling governments to implement short-term measures like emergency shelters or distributing aid. This is a temporary and reactionary solution and does not address the causes of migration in the long term, which is its weak point. Moreover, 'crisis' framing can be instrumentalized to justify restrictive measures, including border closures and asylum restrictions, to manage migration emergencies.

#### *e) The Economic Burden Frame*

The frame depicts migration as a burden to host countries, arguing that migrants mainly refugees and low-skilled workers overtax public services, infrastructure, and job markets. This frame

comes from economic protectionist theories, which posit that states cannot put the welfare of citizens ahead of those of migrants if they do not pursue free market policies without the precondition of a nation-state offering up domestic economic stability and jobs for its citizens, it cannot include or accept migrants (Coughlin, Chrystal and Wood, 2002). It is invoked frequently by governments, nationalist-minded politicians and parts of the public to justify policies that curb immigration, limit refugee intake, and impose rigid labour-market controls. This viewpoint has influenced debates about migration in Europe and North America, where anti-immigration frequently centers on welfare dependence, health care expenses and competition in the labour force.

This frame is essential for this study since, in Kenya and Rwanda, migration policies are legitimated in economic terms. In Kenya, government officials often use the threat posed by refugees' consumption of national resources to justify plans to close refugee camps or limit asylum rights. Within Kenya, foreign workers from bordering countries, including Uganda and Tanzania, are frequently positioned as competitors in the Kenyan job market, strengthening protectionist labour policies. Likewise, in Rwanda, although the government is keen to attract diaspora investment and skilled migration to Rwanda, critics argue that economic arguments are long-sighted and that the UK-Rwanda deal will tax public resources that could otherwise sustainably benefit the displaced. This frame explains the structure of economic arguments employed to guide migration governance and the public perception of migrants.

It is important to note that one of the advantages of this frame is that it emphasizes the financial and infrastructural challenges of migration management and provides policymakers with the means to assess resource allocation and economic sustainability, but its most consequential shortcoming is that it ignores migrants' economic contributions whether through labour participation, remittances or entrepreneurship. Moreover, such a narrative can incite anti-migrant attitudes giving way to exclusionary policies which restrict the integrated economic inclusion that would make migration a potential development driver.

## **CHAPTER 3- CONTEXT**

### **3.1 Migration Flows**

Migration flow refers to the movement of people from one place to another, typically across political or geographical boundaries. This movement can be driven by a variety of factors including economic opportunities, social conditions, political instability, conflict, natural disasters, and environmental changes. East Africa's migration patterns, especially in Rwanda and Kenya, are influenced by a confluence of internal and external influences (IOM, 2020). Both internal and external factors contribute to the region's varied migration patterns, which include cross-border mobility, forced relocation, and labor migration. Critical insights into the trends, causes, and effects of migration in relation to development and regional integration can be gained by comprehending these flows (Adepoju, 2008).

In Rwanda, the historical, socioeconomic, and political climate of the nation have had a major impact on migration trends. According to Rwandan Migration Profile (2020), millions of refugees fled Rwanda to neighboring countries like Uganda, Tanzania, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) after the 1994 genocide, which resulted in widespread forced displacement. There have been noticeable reversals in migratory patterns as a result of the government's policies encouraging resettlement and refugee returns over the years. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR, 2020) reports that Rwanda has become a refugee host nation, taking in some 127,000 refugees and asylum seekers in camps and urban areas, mostly from Burundi and the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

Additionally, in Rwanda, economic migration is an important aspect of migration patterns (Government of Rwanda, 2020). With its foundation of Vision 2050, the nation's economic development program has accelerated labor mobility throughout the East African Community (EAC, 2021). Opportunities in industries like construction, agriculture, and services make Rwanda a desirable destination for migrants from nearby nations like Tanzania and Uganda. The same is true for Rwandans who migrate to other EAC nations for trade, work, and education. By harnessing the Rwandan diaspora's contributions to national development especially through remittances and investments in real estate, technology, and entrepreneurship the Rwanda Diaspora Global Network has been vital.

On the other hand, because of its advantageous position, diversified economy, and regional political clout, Kenya is a major migration hub in East Africa (IOM, 2020). Refugees, labor migrants, and expatriates are among the many foreign migrants that call the nation home. About 500,000 refugees and asylum seekers, mostly from South Sudan, Somalia, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo, reside in Kenya, according to UNHCR (2021). These people are mostly found in urban places like Nairobi and refugee camps like Dadaab and Kakuma. Although refugee flows are frequently linked to conflict and instability in nearby nations, Kenya also faces substantial internal mobility as a result of differences in access to services and economic opportunities between rural and urban areas (Zetter et al. 2016).

One important aspect of Kenya's migration patterns, both inside and outside the nation's boundaries, is labor migration (ILO, 2019). According to report by United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UN DESA, 2020), the country is a destination for laborers from Ethiopia, Tanzania, and Uganda who work in domestic, construction, and agricultural industries. At the same time, a large number of Kenyans migrate to the Middle East and Europe in search of work, especially in skilled occupations and domestic work. With diaspora contributions making up around 3% of GDP, remittances play a key part in Kenya's economy (World Bank, 2022). Notwithstanding their economic significance, labor migrants frequently encounter difficulties like unfavorable working conditions and a lack of legal protection.

According to EAC (2010), agreements like the Protocol on the Establishment of the East African Community Common Market, which permit the free flow of people, products, and services between member states, help to promote intraregional mobility within the EAC. These migrant networks depend heavily on nations like South Sudan, Tanzania, and Uganda, where there are substantial cross-border flows for job, education, and trade. Cross-border traders, for instance, are essential to regional economies, especially in unofficial marketplaces where women are heavily represented (IOM, 2018).

Similarly, the African Development Bank (2021), report that environmental issues, especially resource shortages and the effects of climate change, have a major impact on migration in East Africa. Particularly in arid and semi-arid areas, problems including land degradation, flooding, and protracted droughts have prompted population shifts and increased competition for scarce resources. In northern Kenya, for example, pastoralist groups regularly migrate seasonally to find

pasture and water for their cattle (IGAD,2019). This practice is vital to their livelihoods but frequently results in resource-based disputes (Nzau, 2020). In a similar vein, population constraints and the scarcity of arable land in Rwanda have led to a rise in rural-to-urban migration, with many people relocating to cities like Kigali. This urban movement reflects larger development issues associated with migration and places additional pressures on infrastructure and services (Nsengiyumva et al., 2022). The complex connection between migration and regional development challenges is highlighted by these environmental dynamics.

Also, political factors including regional cooperation, security, and governance also affect East African migration trends (Lindley,2014). Conflicts in locations like South Sudan and Somalia have led to large-scale refugee movements to neighboring countries like Kenya and Uganda (Kleist & Thorsen, 2017). Regional initiatives like the IGAD and the African Union's Migration Policy Framework aim to address these problems in the interim by promoting regional integration and coordinating responses to forced migration. However, disparities in how member states allocate money and implement policies frequently hinder the success of these initiatives (IGAD, 2020).

Although migration offers opportunities, it is very challenging to control migratory patterns and their broader impacts in East Africa. Promoting regular, safe, and orderly migration is severely hampered by inadequate infrastructure, fragmented legislation, and low institutional ability. In Rwanda, for instance, integrating migrants into local communities is still difficult, particularly in urban areas where there is intense competition for resources like housing and social services (UNHCR, 2021). In a similar vein, tensions between host communities and refugees may periodically surface in Kenya as a result of heightened security concerns and perceived unequal resource allocation, particularly in regions with substantial refugee populations such as Dadaab and Kakuma (Ochieng, 2020).

In conclusion, a complex interaction of political, social, economic, and environmental factors shapes migration flows in Rwanda, Kenya, and the larger East African region. The region's resilience and diversity are reflected in these migrations, underscoring the necessity of policies that strike a balance between the advantages and disadvantages of migration.

## **3.2 Institutions**

Discourses concerning migration and its relationship to development are created and performed by institutions and actors. The government, corporate companies, civil society organizations, NGOs, and intergovernmental organizations are among the actors. They influence the policy, public opinion, and the discursive environment surrounding migration by framing these concerns.

### **Kenya**

#### **3.2.1 Governmental Actors**

One of the governmental actors is the Ministry of Interior and Coordination of National Government also popularly known as Ministry of Interior is given the mandate to oversee migration governance in Kenya through its State Department for Immigration. It regulates immigration policies which include visa issuance, work permits and border control. It also enforces the Kenya Citizenship and Immigration Act (2011) which governs migration in Kenya (Republic of Kenya, 2011). Another important actor in the context of migration is the Refugee Affairs Secretariat (RAS). This is a body under the Ministry of Interior that is responsible for registrations, managing and welfare of refugees and asylum seekers. It collaborates with UNHCR to manage refugee camps such as Kakuma and Dadaab (UNHCR Kenya, 2022). And lastly is the National Coordination Mechanism on Migration (NCM) which was established to coordinate migration management activities across government ministries and agencies. Its functions include, facilitating collaboration on migration governance between inter-agencies and stakeholders' engagement to ensure a unified response to migration challenges (IOM, 2015).

#### **3.2.2 Regional and International Organizations**

International organization such as IOM is an international body that operates worldwide including in Kenya. It is one of the leading organizations in migration issues. Its mandates include supporting the Kenyan government in developing migration policies and frameworks, facilitating voluntary return of refugees and reintegration programs, assisting in addressing human trafficking and providing technical support for border management (IOM Kenya, 2021). Next body in this context is the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) that operates in Kenya and collaborates with the government to protect refugees and asylum seekers, managing refugee camps and urban refugee programs. It also advocates for the rights and

integration of displaced persons as the number of displaced persons raised especially after the Kenyan post-election violence in 2007. Last but not least is the African Union (AU) and Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) that work with Kenya to implement policies aimed at promoting regional integration and mobility (IGAD, 2020).

In addition to regional organizations, there are Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) which include the Kenya Human Rights Commission (KHRC) and Refugee Consortium of Kenya (RCK). The Kenya Human Rights Commission and Refugee Consortium of Kenya are CSOs registered and operating in Kenya. While KHRC focuses on protecting the rights of migrants, refugees and asylum seekers, RCK offers legal, psychosocial, and advocacy support to refugees and asylum seekers. In addition, KHRC also provides legal aid, advocates for fair migration policies and sensitization of communities about migrant rights. On the other hand, RCK also conducts research on refugee protection and work on policy advocacy for human rights (RCK, 2020). Similarly, there's Haki Africa which is one of the many grassroots organizations that works with migrants. It works more specifically in the coastal regions of Kenya where there are many migrant populations and also the coastal regions are migratory route for many migrants. Its main roles include addressing human rights violations affecting migrants and promoting social inclusion and migrant empowerment (Haki Africa, 2021).

### **3.2.3 Private Sector and Diaspora Organizations**

Private sector and diaspora organizations often collaborate to drive economic development and social progress. These partnerships can leverage the resources, expertise, and networks of both sectors to create impactful initiatives. One of these bodies is the Kenya Private Sector Alliance (KEPSA) & Kenya Diaspora Alliance (KDA) that supports labor migration initiatives through developing ethical recruitment guidelines for Kenyan workers abroad and partners with the government on labor migration policies (KEPSA, 2019). Meanwhile, KDA is a diaspora organization that promotes diaspora engagement by advocating for policies to streamline remittance flows and encouraging investments in real estate, technology, and entrepreneurship (KDA, 2020).

Another organization is the African Migration and Development Policy Centre (AMADPOC) that conducts research on migration and its developmental impact including labor migration and

remittances and on diaspora engagement strategies (AMADPOC, 2021). Similar to this is the universities such as Kenyatta University and University of Nairobi play a big role in migration studies through research on migration and displacement and by hosting academic programs focusing on migration and development (UON, 2020).

## **Rwanda**

### **Governmental Actors**

Just like Kenya Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation (MINAFFET) is one of the governmental actors In Rwanda in the context of migration. This body leads Rwanda's engagement in international and regional migration issues. Its functions include overseeing bilateral and multilateral agreements on labor migration, promoting remittances and diaspora investments to contribute to national development. It also engages the Rwandan diaspora through initiatives such as the Rwanda Diaspora Global Network (National Diaspora Policy, 2021).

Another governmental actor in the context of migration is the Directorate General of Immigration and Emigration (DGIE). This body is responsible for regulating immigration and emigration processes, including issuing visas and residence permits. Furthermore, it facilitates cross-border mobility within the East African Community (EAC) and manages the implementation of Rwanda's open visa policy, which has enhanced regional and international mobility (DGIE, 2022).

And lastly is the Ministry of Emergency Management (MINEMA) that manages refugee and asylum issues in collaboration with international organizations. Its key functions include; coordinating humanitarian responses to refugee influxes, developing strategies for refugee integration and self-reliance and managing refugee camps and settlements in Rwanda, such as Mahama Camp (UNHCR Rwanda, 2022).

### **Regional and International Organizations**

International Organization for Migration (IOM) is one of the bodies that supports Rwanda in migration governance by assisting with capacity-building initiatives for migration management, addressing human trafficking and irregular migration challenges and promoting labor migration programs and ethical recruitment practices (IOM Rwanda, 2021).

Another important body is the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (*UNHCR*) that collaborates with MINEMA to provide protection and support to refugees and asylum seekers, support livelihood programs for refugees to promote self-reliance and facilitate voluntary repatriation, resettlement, and integration of refugees (UNHCR, 2022).

And lastly under regional actors is the African Union (AU) and East African Community (EAC) which emphasizes mobility and integration and also the EAC's Protocol on the Free Movement of Persons, promoting regional mobility and labor migration (EAC Secretariat, 2020).

Additionally, Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) such as the Rwanda Civil Society Platform (RCSP) advocates for migrants' rights and provides support for vulnerable migrant populations. Its activities include sensitizing communities on migration-related issues and engaging in policy advocacy for inclusive migration governance (RCSP, 2020). Similarly, there is Faith-Based Organizations such as Caritas Rwanda play a significant role in supporting refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs) through humanitarian aid and promoting community integration and social cohesion (Caritas Rwanda, 2021). And African Migration and Development Policy Centre (AMADPOC) that conducts research and advocacy on migration and development in Rwanda and the region. Its focus areas are labor migration trends and the role of remittances in economic development.

#### **Private Sector and Diaspora Organizations:**

Just like Kenya, private organizations such as Rwanda Development Board works by encouraging diaspora investment and innovation by streamlining processes for diaspora entrepreneurs to invest in Rwanda and promoting programs to attract skilled migrants for the country's development goals (RDB, 2022). Similarly, the Rwanda Diaspora Global Network (RDGN) works to mobilize the Rwandan diaspora to contribute to national development. It facilitates remittance flows and investments and promotes cultural exchange and diaspora participation in policymaking (RDGN, 2021). And Academic and Research Institutions such as University of Rwanda conducts research and training on migration and development topics such as diaspora contributions to national development and refugee integration and self-reliance (University of Rwanda; Migration studies, 2020).

Additionally, there's Institute of Policy Analysis and Research (IPAR-Rwanda). The IPAR conducts policy-oriented research on migration trends, focusing on labor migration and skills transfer and migration's impact on economic development and social cohesion (IPAR-Rwanda, 2021).

In both countries Kenya and Rwanda, there are many actors that are involved in the issue of migration and development.

### **3.3 Policies and Legal Frameworks**

National policies and legal systems have inherent effects on the migration processes and their developmental consequences (Boswell, 2007). They determine who a migrant is and whom they are allowed to be; who the receiving communities are and what they are allowed to do to newcomers; how either is allowed to control their borders; who has the right to migrate to which country for what reason and who has the right to refuge (Carling et al. 2016).

#### **3.3.1: Kenya**

Kenya has legal frameworks that govern migration and influence migration and development. The frameworks are comprehensive addressing diverse aspect which include labor migration, refugee protection and diaspora engagement. These frameworks are strengthened by Kenya's commitment to regional and international agreements with it has signed.

For instance, the Constitution of Kenya (2010) is the main legal foundation for the protection of human rights, including that of migrants enriched in Chapter four of the Bill of Rights which guarantees the protection of fundamental rights and freedom for all persons including non-citizens. Moreover, Article 39 provides for the freedom of movement and residence, ensuring citizens can migrate within and outside Kenya. Also, Article 43 guarantees economic and social rights such as access to education and healthcare, which extends to migrants living in Kenya.

In addition, Kenya has immigration laws that govern the entry, stay and exit of migrants while balancing national security and development interests. The immigration laws include;

#### **The Kenya Citizenship and Immigration Act (2011):**

The Citizenship and Immigration Act (2011), defines the procedures needed for acquiring, losing or restoring Kenyan citizenship. Regulations on visas, work permits, residence permits and other

immigration related documents are enshrined there. It also establishes the mechanisms needed for preventing irregular migration and human trafficking.

*The Kenya Visa Regulations:*

This provides for details on visa categories which include student visas, work permits and investor visas which facilitates migration linked to education, employment and economic development.

Furthermore, Kenya hosts a large number of refugees primarily from neighboring countries of Somalia, South Sudan and Democratic Republic of Congo hence it was necessary to establish refugee laws that governs this influx of refugees.

Firstly, is the Refugee Act (2021), is a recent placement of the earlier Refugee Act of 2006. This change in the Act was made to align with the global and regional best practices. The Act strengthens the protection of refugees and asylum seekers while also fostering their integration in the local communities. In addition, it emphasizes the economic potential of refugees by allowing them to engage in work, trade and other livelihood generating activities.

Secondly, the encampment policy in Kenya mandates that refugees reside in designated camps such as Dadaab and Kakuma although the policy has not been relegated in the law. In the recent debates and pilot projects, have explores the possibility of transitioning from camps to urban integration (Refugee Act, 2021).

Another significant component of Kenya's migration and development landscape is labor migration both internally and externally. For instance, the Employment Act (2007), provides for legal protection for workers, including migrant workers getting fair wages, safe working conditions and do not face any discrimination. It also regulates employment contracts, which are critical for protecting Kenyans working abroad and foreign workers in Kenya. Similarly, Kenya has signed labor agreements with countries such as Saudi Arabia, Qatar, and the United Arab Emirates to protect Kenyan migrant workers in the Gulf region. Kenya is a major exporter of labor migrants to the Gulf regions. These agreements aim at ensuring workers' rights are upheld addressing issues like labor exploitation which has been reported with many cases of labor migrants dying due to torture, working extremely long hours and denial of payment of salaries among others (Ministry of Labor and Social Protection, 2012).

Kenya is also a source, transit, and destination country for human trafficking and because of this, the government has implemented legislation to combat trafficking and protect victims. For example, the Counter Trafficking in Persons Act (2010), provides for the criminalization of human trafficking and prescribes for stiff penalties for offenders. The National Assistance Trust Fund for Victims of Trafficking, which provides financial and material support to survivors has been established under this Act. It also promotes collaboration between government agencies, NGOs, and international organizations to combat trafficking.

Additionally, Kenya is a signatory to various regional and international agreements that influence its migration policies. East African Community (EAC) Protocol on the Establishment of the Common Market for instance facilitates the free movement of people, labor, goods, and services among EAC member states. Also, it allows for cross-border employment, trade, and education, contributing to regional integration and economic development.

On the other hand, African Union (AU) Migration Policy Framework guides African nations in creating comprehensive migration policies that balance development goals with human rights protections. In Kenya, the policies on diaspora engagement and labor migration align with this framework. In the same way, Kenya ratified the 1951 Refugee Convention and its 1967 Protocol, ensuring international protection standards for refugees. The country is also a party to the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families (UNHCR, 2021).

In addition, Kenya recognizes the economic and social contributions of its diaspora, particularly through remittances, investments, and skills transfer. The Kenya Diaspora Policy (2014), provides a framework for engaging the Kenyan diaspora in national development. It encourages the flow of remittance by offering incentives for investments in sectors like real estate, technology, and agriculture and promotes the return of skilled professionals to support capacity-building in key industries.

### **3.3.2: Rwanda**

Rwanda has developed comprehensive legal frameworks and policies to govern migration and its relationship with development. Rwanda's migration and development policies are guided by a combination of national laws, regional agreements, and international treaties.

### **1. The Constitution of Rwanda (2003, Revised in 2015)**

The Constitution of Rwanda (2015), provides a foundation for governance, human rights, and development. It has provisions relevant to migration, emphasizing equality, human dignity, and non-discrimination.

#### *Human Rights Protections:*

The Human Rights Protections guarantees the protection of human rights and freedoms for all individuals, including migrants. Article 16 provides for equality before the law, ensuring non-discrimination based on nationality while Article 38 recognizes the right to work and the importance of labor as a means of development, relevant for both Rwandans and migrants (Constitution of the Republic of Rwanda, 2015).

### **2. Law Governing Immigration and Emigration**

#### *Law No. 57/2018 of 13/08/2018 on Immigration and Emigration in Rwanda:*

This law outlines the rules for entry, stay, and exit of foreign nationals and regulates Rwandan citizens' movement abroad. The key provisions in the law talks about the regulations for visa issuance, residency permits, and work permits. Provisions to prevent irregular migration and trafficking in persons and streamlined processes for investors, students, and skilled workers to attract foreign talent and investment are also included in the law.

#### *East African Community (EAC) Integration:*

Rwanda, as a member of the EAC, adheres to protocols that facilitate the free movement of people, goods, and services. This includes mutual recognition of work permits among member states.

### **3. Refugee Laws and Policies**

Rwanda is a key player in refugee protection in the East African region, hosting thousands of refugees from countries such as Burundi and the Democratic Republic of Congo.

#### *Law No. 13ter/2018 of 22/04/2018 Governing Refugees in Rwanda:*

The law aligns with the 1951 Refugee Convention and the 1969 OAU Refugee Convention. It provides refugees with the right to work, access education, and integrate into Rwandan society

and also emphasizes on durable solutions such as voluntary repatriation, local integration, and resettlement.

*Refugee Camp Management Policy:*

Although not codified into law, refugee camps like Mahama Camp are managed under this policy to provide basic services such as healthcare, education, and livelihoods for refugees. Rwanda also collaborates with the UNHCR to transition refugees from camps to urban areas for better integration (UNHCR, 2021).

**4. Labour Migration Policies**

Rwanda has positioned itself as a hub for regional labor migration within the EAC and beyond, focusing on skilled labor and diaspora engagement.

*Labour Law No. 66/2018 of 30/08/2018 Regulating Labour in Rwanda:*

The Labor Law (2018), Protects the rights of workers, including foreign workers in Rwanda and promotes for equal pay, safe working conditions, and non-discrimination in employment practices. It also sets regulations for employment contracts, work permits, and dispute resolution mechanisms.

*Bilateral Labour Agreements (BLAs):*

Rwanda has entered into labor agreements with countries in the Gulf region to ensure the rights and welfare of Rwandans working abroad. Like Kenya, Rwanda also exports labour migrants to the Gulf region and has also reported cases of mistreatment of the migrants hence the need to establish the agreements (ECDPM, 2021).

**5. Diaspora Engagement Policies**

Rwanda recognizes the importance of its diaspora in contributing to national development through remittances, investments, and knowledge transfer.

*Rwanda Diaspora Policy (2009):*

The policy encourages the Rwandan diaspora to invest in sectors such as real estate, technology, and agriculture similar to Kenya. It facilitates the reintegration of returnees through support

services such as tax incentives and business registration assistance while also promoting cultural and social links between the diaspora and the homeland through events like the Rwanda Day.

### **6. Anti-Trafficking and Irregular Migration Laws**

*Law No. 51/2018 of 13/08/2018 Relating to the Prevention, Suppression, and Punishment of Trafficking in Persons and Exploitation of Others:*

In accordance to this law, all forms of human trafficking are criminalized and prescribes to severe penalties for offenders. It provides for the protection and rehabilitation of victims, including access to legal aid and medical care.

*National Anti-Trafficking Strategy:*

This focuses on cross-border collaboration, public awareness campaigns, and capacity-building for law enforcement agencies (Constitution of Rwanda, 2015).

### **3.4. Key events related to migration in Rwanda and Kenya**

Migration trends are significantly impacted by major events, which also affect public opinion and political actions. International agreements, economic shifts, political upheavals, and natural calamities all have an impact on the dynamics of migration and the relationship between migration and development. Important local, regional, and global migration-related events are examined in this section, with a focus on Kenya and Rwanda.

#### **3.4.1: Rwanda**

*The Rwandan Genocide (1994):*

One of Africa's worst refugee crises resulted from the Rwandan genocide, which forced over 2 million people to flee their homes. Many refugees were taken up by nearby nations like Tanzania, Uganda, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. In order to handle forced migration and promote rehabilitation after a conflict, the episode emphasized the necessity of regional frameworks (UNHCR, 2000).

*Post-Genocide Recovery:*

Millions of refugees and internally displaced people (IDPs) returned after the genocide in 1994. To aid in the reintegration of returnees, the government put in place a number of policies,

including initiatives for land redistribution and reconciliation. This episode demonstrates how migration promotes national advancement and economic recovery (Relief web, 2014).

*Partnership with the United Kingdom (2022):*

The UK-Rwanda Migration and Economic Development Partnership, signed in April 2022, is a bilateral agreement aimed at addressing irregular migration by relocating certain asylum seekers from the United Kingdom to Rwanda for processing, settlement, or resettlement (HRW, 2022). This deal is part of the UK government's broader effort to deter dangerous and irregular migration routes, particularly those involving small boat crossings over the English Channel (BBC News, 2023). According to UNHCR (2022), the UK pledged an initial £120 million to Rwanda to support integration programs, accommodation, and other logistical needs with additional funding will cover operational costs like legal support, healthcare, and education. Vulnerable groups, such as unaccompanied minors, were excluded from the relocation program. Rwanda was to provide housing, processing, and integration services for relocated asylum seekers, including facilities like the Hope Hostel in Kigali.

**3.4.2: Kenya**

*Independence and Post-Colonial Migration (1963-1970s):*

Kenya gained independence in 1963, leading to shifts in migration patterns. The post-colonial period saw an influx of migrants from neighboring countries, particularly Uganda, Tanzania, and Somalia, who were seeking economic opportunities in Kenya's agricultural, manufacturing, and service sectors (IOM, Kenya, 2020).

*Somali Refugee Crisis:*

The Somali Civil War, ongoing since 1991, had profound effects on the Horn of Africa and has been a significant driver of migration, particularly into Kenya (Amnesty International, 2020). The fall of the Somali government in 1991 caused a massive influx of refugees into Kenya, particularly to border regions like Garissa. Refugee camps, such as Dadaab, were established to accommodate those fleeing violence. Initially designed for 90,000 people, Dadaab grew into one of the largest refugee complexes globally, hosting over 460,000 refugees at its peak (IOM, 2020).

### *The closure plans of refugee camps:*

Kenya has hosted hundreds of thousands of refugees for decades, particularly in the Dadaab and Kakuma camps (IOM, 2020). Kenya made multiple announcements about closing refugee camps over the years, primarily focusing on the Dadaab and Kakuma camps. In May 2016, the Kenyan government announced plans to close Dadaab, the world's largest refugee camp at the time, citing security concerns and economic strain (The Guardian, 2016).

The government linked the camp to threats posed by Al-Shabaab, the Somali militant group, alleging that the camp had become a recruitment and planning ground for terrorist activities. The closure was initially planned for November 2016, but it faced significant pushback from international organizations, including the UNHCR, due to concerns over human rights violations and the safety of returning refugees. The Kenyan High Court blocked the closure in February 2017, ruling it unconstitutional (The Guardian, 2016).

In March 2019, Interior Cabinet Secretary Fred Matiang'i reiterated the government's intention to close Dadaab and Kakuma refugee camps. The government set a six-month deadline for the closure of Dadaab, claiming that continued operation was unsustainable. In March 2021, Kenya gave the UNHCR a 14-day ultimatum to present a roadmap for the closure of both Dadaab and Kakuma camps (Daily Nation, 2021). A closure roadmap was agreed upon in April 2021, with a phased approach targeting the complete closure of the camps by June 30, 2022. As of 2023, the camps remain open, and closure plans have faced delays (Human Rights Watch, 2022).

### *South Sudan War:*

The South Sudanese civil war, which began in December 2013, has had significant repercussions on migration patterns in East Africa, especially in Kenya, which has been a major destination for refugees fleeing the conflict. According to IGAD (2022), by 2021, more than 4 million South Sudanese had been displaced, with over 2.3 million refugees fleeing to neighboring countries, including Kenya. As of 2023, Kenya hosts approximately 129,000 South Sudanese refugees. Most of these refugees reside in Kakuma Refugee Camp, one of the largest refugee settlements in the world, located in northwestern Kenya (UNHCR, 2023).

### *Terrorist Attacks:*

Kenya has been a target of terrorist attacks, primarily due to its geographical proximity to Somalia and its involvement in counter-terrorism efforts, including the deployment of troops in Somalia under the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM). The first major attack was on the U.S Embassy bombing in Nairobi in 1998 which was linked to Al-Qaeda this made migration tougher for many people from Islamic countries (Botha, 2014). The other major attack includes the 2013 Westgate Mall which killed 69 people and the 2015 Garissa University attack which has a close proximity to Somali where 148 students were killed (International Crisis Group, 2015). These attacks forced the government to put restrict measures in border controls and through checks of all migrants. For example, the Somalia community that are Kenyan citizens but have similar features and cultural ties to the country Somali are subjected to interviews when applying for passports to determine if they are truly Kenyans or imposters while the other Kenyan communities do not require an interview when applying for passports (Amnesty International, 2021).

In conclusion, these events influence migration patterns, policies, public perceptions and development creating complex interrelations between security, displacement, and economic stability.

## **CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY AND ANALYSIS**

### **4.1. Description of the Dataset and Analytical Approach**

#### **4.1.1. Data Collection Process for Kenya and Rwanda**

This study used a systematic and structured approach in collecting the secondary data with a view of compiling a wide range of literature on migration and development discourses in Kenya and Rwanda. These steps included selection and specification of terms to use in the search, categorization of academic and nonacademic sources, and particular search methodologies to use in identifying the relevant materials. All these processes were done systematically to ensure that the information retrieved is accurate, credible and relevant to the environmental context.

##### **i. Defining Keywords for Data Collection**

The first step in the data collection process was the identification and definition of the keywords and terms to be used in the search for data on migration and development discourse in Kenya and Rwanda. Being that the migration and development discourse is discussed from different perspectives by various actors, it became necessary to define key terms that reflect various perspectives such as political, economic, security, and humanitarian definitions of the terms. The subject headings formulated here reflect the most widespread concepts identified in the field of migration research, government documents, media sources, publications of NGOs and international organizations.

Based on the study topic, the research used key terms such as *'Migration'*, *'Development,'* and *'Frames'*. These key words formed the basis for data collection. Additional terms were also considered to widen the scope of data collection. The other key terms included; *'diaspora engagement'*, *'labor migration'*, *'remittances'*, *'refugee policy'*, *'border security'*, *'migration governance'* and *'economic migration'*. Diaspora engagement for instance refers to government policies and programs intended to involve diaspora communities in national development, while migration discourse was defined as the way migration is framed and discussed in political speeches, media reporting, and policy texts whereas, remittances are transfer of money made by the migrants back home, lastly labor migration is considered to be the movement of workers from one region or country to another usually to seek for job opportunities. Further identified

were the narratives on migration control, refugee rights, and the socio-political impacts of migration which were coded with additional terms, like *border security* and *refugee policy*.

After determining the key terms, Boolean operators were employed to formulate search queries to generate specific, relevant, and filtered results. This step helped to refine the search process and ensured that the sources found were relevant to the objectives of the study. The Boolean search terms used included ‘*Kenya AND migration policy*’, ‘*Rwanda AND diaspora engagement*’, ‘*labor migration OR economic migration*’, ‘*remittances AND economic development*’, ‘*refugees AND border security*’, ‘*migration in Kenya NOT in Rwanda*’. These turned into structured search queries and, which enabled more targeted and accurate source retrieval across multiple data platforms.

## **ii. Identifying Data Sources**

The next step after the definition of key words was to search and classify data sources into academic and non-academic materials to ensure that the final data set is expansive enough to include both academic literature as well as real-world migratory discourse. Some of the data sources identified by the study included:

### **a) Academic Sources**

An academic source is any piece of work that contributes credible and scholarly information to the conversation of a topic. These are used in academic writing to support claims, hypotheses, and study results. Hence, to ground the study in theoretical and empirical work on migration and development, academic (scholarly) sources were a key data source for the study. Empirical data and comparative analyses provided by these sources also facilitated the contextualization of migratory governance in Kenya and Rwanda. The main sources from the academic sources are Google Scholar, online journals databases and catalogue, institutional repository, and scholarly e books. For instance, the study used Google Scholar and journal databases, such as Springer, Taylor & Francis, JSTOR, and ResearchGate data repositories, for targeted searches of peer-reviewed research articles and scholarly papers. Some of the search queries included ‘*Migration governance in East Africa*’, ‘*Economic impact of Kenya diaspora remittances*’, ‘*Rwanda skilled labor migration policy*’ and ‘*Border security and refugee management in Kenya and Rwanda*’. Institutional online repositories were also searched for studies, government policy analysis, and

academic theses on migration from the University of Nairobi and the University of Rwanda. The academic e-books were, in addition searched on the internet on the basis of such phrases as '*migration studies in Africa*' and '*political economy of migration*'. These academic sources provided a theoretical and empirical foundation for analyzing migration and development in the two countries.

#### **b) Non-Academic Sources**

Since migration discourse also covers areas outside of academic research, the study also engaged non-academic sources of the topic to get an insight of how migration is presented in the political arena, media and other institutions. These entailed political speech, government documents, international publications, media articles, NGO documents and documents from the private sector and organizations from the diaspora.

In order to obtain data concerning migration and development, the following search terms were used to retrieve political speeches from official press releases, government websites, and YouTube videos; '*Kenya migration policy speech*', '*President Kagame on migration and development*' and '*Kenya parliament refugee debate*'. In addition, official government websites, such as Rwanda's Ministry of Foreign Affairs ([www.minaffet.gov.rw](http://www.minaffet.gov.rw)), Kenya's Ministry of Interior ([www.interior.go.ke](http://www.interior.go.ke)), and regional organizations like IGAD ([www.igad.int](http://www.igad.int)), were used to access government reports.

For the scholarly papers and grey literature such as IOM, UNHCR, World Bank, and the African Development Bank publications, search terms such as '*IOM migration report Kenya Rwanda*', '*World Bank remittances and migration Kenya Rwanda*', and '*UNHCR refugee statistics East Africa*' were used to accessed the information. The policy reports were both statistical as well as policy-oriented, apart from showing migration movements relevant to the research.

In identifying media reports, the study also relied on Google News, online newspaper archives, and YouTube videos. The data was retrieved using the following search strings; '*Migration coverage in Kenyan media*', '*Rwanda migration policy in news*', '*Kenyan government response to refugee crisis*' and '*Rwanda diaspora engagement strategy in media*'. In addition to this, Kenyan media sources like the Daily Nation, The Standard, the Citizen TV Kenya and KTN News were also included as were Rwandan sources like the New Times Rwanda and the Rwanda Broadcasting Agency (RBA).

Furthermore, for NGO reports from organizations like the Refugee Consortium of Kenya (RCK), Amnesty International, and Legal Aid Forum Rwanda, Google searches like *'Kenya human rights and migration'*, *'Rwanda refugee integration policy'*, and *'East African NGO migration reports'* were conducted to obtain them. Finally, access to reports from private sector and diaspora groups was provided by Kenya Diaspora Alliance (KDA), Rwanda Diaspora Global Network (RDGN), and Rwanda Development Board (RDB). The search terms included aggregates of terms such as: *'Kenya diaspora investment contributions'*, *'Rwanda skilled migration economic impact'* and *'Private sector role in migration Kenya Rwanda.'*

### **iii. Search Strategy and Source Retrieval**

The final step in the data gathering was the application of a methodical search approach to find relevant sources in the data collection process. Boolean operators, search filters, and site-specific searches were for instance used in the search process to merge academic and non-academic sources because the discourse surrounding migration and development encompasses a variety of players and viewpoints. Additionally, the inclusion of recent and extensively cited research was ensured by refining Google Scholar searches for academic sources using date criteria such as sources from the previous ten years and citation-based recommendations. Moreover, AND/OR Boolean operators were employed to expand or restrict search results when looking for journal articles. The search terms *'Kenya AND migration policy AND diaspora remittances'* and *'Kenya OR Rwanda AND migration governance'* yielded specific results, but the latter broadened the scope to include both nations.

On the other hand, Google searches were refined using filetype filters (e.g., filetype:pdf to locate government reports) and site-specific searches (e.g., site:.go.ke OR site:.rw to focus on Kenyan and Rwandan government documents) for non-academic sources. Likewise, News sources were accessed through Google News, while YouTube videos were retrieved through keyword-based searches. A search for *'Kenya refugee crisis speech 2023'* or *'Rwanda migration development debate'* for example, pulled up relevant video footage from government briefings, press conferences, and discussions between experts.

In conclusion, the data collection procedure of this study was systematic and intended to ensure the inclusion of diverse perspectives on migration and development in Kenya and Rwanda. Key phrases, academic and non-academic sources and structured search techniques allowed the study

to extract reliable and pertinent data from a variety of sources. The texts ensured a diverse representation of views, through a combination of policy papers, foreign reports, media narratives, NGO publications, and private sector studies which provided a solid foundation for further enquiry.

#### **4.1.2. Key Components of the Dataset**

For this study, data was gathered from academic and non-academic sources, providing a wide and comprehensive study of migration and development discourse in the contexts of Kenya and Rwanda. Whatever research existed on migration was often opposed to the at least partly factual accounts of migration developed by policy-makers, media and civil society actors.

Academic sources were predominantly identified from research articles, books and institutional reports, whereas non-academic sources were classified into five main streams of potential value including, but not limited to publications from NGOs, international organizations, media reports, policy documents, and publications from the private sector and diaspora groups. These sources were combined, where possible, in order to provide a holistic and multi-angled approach to migration governance, discourse and policymaking in the two countries.

#### **Academic Sources**

Academic publications constituted one of the core building blocks for this study, which were used to provide theoretical frameworks, historical context, empirical findings and comparative perspectives on migration and development. The sources were extracted from peer-reviewed journal articles, academic books, university-level research papers, as well as reports published by universities, research institutions, and international think tanks.

The study independently assessed its academic sources for credibility and relevance based on multiple databases such as Google Scholar, JSTOR, Springer, Taylor & Francis, Wiley Online Library and ResearchGate. These sources offered access to the latest publications on migration studies, policy frameworks, and economic migration trends. In addition, the study also searched the websites of the institutional repositories from the University of Nairobi, Kenya, Kenyatta University, Kenya and the University of Rwanda for doctoral dissertations, master's theses, and faculty research papers related to migration governance, diaspora engagement and regional migration policies. Moreover, the search strategy employed Boolean search operators and targeted keywords related to migration governance in East Africa, Kenya diaspora remittances

economic impact, Rwanda skilled labor migration policy, border security and refugee management in Kenya and Rwanda and the role of remittances in development. Furthermore, to ensure relevance to contemporary migration patterns, publication date filters were used to limit searches, and only sources published within the last nine years were retained.

Additionally, the data set was supplemented by consultations of academic literature focusing on migration governance and relevant international migration and economic migration theories. The e-books for instance offered new theoretical arguments and historical perspectives about migration policies beyond the African continent as well as linkages and dysconnectivity with patterns of global migration. Specifically, authors like Stephen Castles, Hein de Haas, Oliver Bakewell, and Alexander Betts were particularly helpful in identifying the utility of the analytical framework that the study sought to employ. In a similar vein, there is a wider research landscape around the structural forces shaping migration policy and governance, with relevant conversation, for example, in *'The Age of Migration'* (Castles, de Haas & Miller, 2020) and *'Refugees and Migration Policy'* (Betts, 2013).

To summarize, the pursuit of academic sources enhanced the anchor of the project in to existing theories and scholarly debates giving itself a rigorous methodological and conceptual framework through which to read migration discourse in Kenya and Rwanda. They were particularly useful to us as we worked to set a broader context around the political economy of migration, labor mobility, remittances, refugee management and policy frameworks in countries across East Africa.

## **Non-Academic Sources**

### *Policy Documents and Government Reports*

By examining policy documents, the study learned how governments express migration relations with development in official terms. This paper showed that manifestations of official state discourse were located in policy documents, wherein national objectives, laws, and plans about migration were specified. These sources were useful in establishing how Kenyan and Rwandan politicians construct migration narratives, especially around diaspora engagement, refugees and labor migration governance. The documents accessed are official government documents accessed using search strings. For instance, Kenya's official government documents can be

assessed at [www.interior.go.ke](http://www.interior.go.ke) and Rwanda's at [www.gov.rw](http://www.gov.rw) and other search engines including Google and Google Scholar.

To ensure the results were more accurate, specific keywords and Boolean operators were used in the Search, such as '*Kenya National Migration Policy PDF*', '*Rwanda migration governance framework*', '*Kenya refugee policy site: go.ke*' and '*Rwanda diaspora investment strategy site: rw*.' The documents evaluated were: Kenya National Migration Policy 2022; Rwanda Vision 2050 (Government of Rwanda, 2020); Kenya Refugee Act 2006; Rwanda National Migration Policy 2022 and African Union Migration Policy Framework 2018. Using QCA, these documents were assessed to categorize the dominant migration frames, evaluate tensions in policymaking, and establish linkages amongst migration, security and economic policy sectors. It also illustrated the level of policy adherence to the international standards of migration governance on the protection of refugees, Employment and labor migration policies, and Diaspora involvement.

#### *International Publications*

This selected both international publications of the IOM, the UNHCR, the World Bank and the IGAD for analysis, because as international bodies they provided both global and regional comparative statistics, analytical insights and comparative migration policy models relevant to Kenya and Rwanda. These reports positioned Kenya and Rwanda's migration policies within global migration governance architectures. They offered insightful commentary on how the rhetoric and practice surrounding migration and development develop at many levels, ranging from national to regional.

To identify these reports, research used Google Scholar and institutional databases to search terms like '*IOM migration governance Kenya Rwanda*,' '*UNHCR refugee integration East Africa*,' '*World Bank remittances Kenya Rwanda*,' and '*IGAD policy on cross-border migration*.' Some of the international source publications identified as influential include *IOM's World Migration Report (2022)*, *UNHCR Kenya Refugee Response Plan (2021- 2024)*, *World Bank's Migration and Remittances Factbook (2022)*, and *IGAD Cross-Border Mobility Report (2020)*. These reports offered overviews of the migration governance structures in the different regions, showed discrepancies in the national and regional policies, and compared the discourses in the study area to global discourses on migration and development.

## *Media Reports*

Media instruments duplicate public sentiments while transforming messages promoted by different participants into greater visibility. In the media coverage of migration, media reports became critical in establishing how nodes of migration stories are constructed in society. To capture as many sources as possible, searches were made using Google News, newspaper archives, and YouTube with the following keywords; '*Migration debate in Kenya AND Rwanda*', '*Kenya migration policies in media*', '*Rwanda asylum agreement public opinion*' and '*Diaspora investment policies in East Africa*'. The media selected for analyzing migration-related policies, political discourses, and public attitudes consisted of Kenyan Daily Nation, Rwandan New Times, British Guardian, Al Jazeera, and Sky News. Such media coverage was beneficial in analyzing how migration issues were portrayed in the articles, how politicians influenced the discourses on migration, and how people responded to migration policies.

Besides the media articles saved in the headline, the use of YouTube was valuable for reaching politicians' speeches, debates on migration, and experts' opinions that contributed to politicians' speeches and interest in learning more about their discourse. A few important videos were analyzed, such as CNBC Africa Rwanda Debate: *How the African Diaspora Can Contribute to the Continent's Future (2018)*, Sky News Rwanda on *What Does Rwanda Think of the Proposed Migrant Scheme (2022)*, and *The Square (2019)*. The Square Rwanda explored the role of the diaspora in Rwanda's development, featuring testimonies from Rwandans abroad who have invested in real estate, technology, and finance. Another video title was *Role of Diaspora in Developing Rwanda, Kenya migration policies explained; 'Kenya's refugee crisis and security concerns', 'Kenya-Somalia border migration issues', 'Diaspora remittances in Kenya and economic impact', 'Public opinion on migration in Kenya', 'Rwanda diaspora engagement policy', 'Rwanda's role in UK migrant resettlement', 'Rwanda skilled labor migration and development' and 'Political leaders on migration in Kenya and Rwanda'*. The search results led to several insightful videos, including a Citizen TV Kenya report on protests in the Kakuma refugee camp, highlighting how reduced humanitarian aid has affected refugees. Similarly, Al Jazeera English produced a report on the increasing number of Somali refugees in the Dadaab camp, exploring how conflict and drought push migrants into Kenya. These videos were

transcribed and coded to find typical patterns in the political coverage of migration, the portrayal of migration difficulties, and the rationalization of migration policies and policies.

### *Public Debates and NGO Publications*

This dataset's parliamentary discourses and debates were vital since they offered information on how political figures and government representatives talked about migration in official meetings. These debates were collected from legal databases and online repositories of official legislative records, research papers by renowned think tanks, and records of non-governmental organizations. Some of the most relevant debates included the *Kenya Parliamentary Debate on Refugee Policy (2021)*, which painted insight into how some members of parliament formulated issues to border security as well as humanitarian issues in refugee management, *Rwanda Migration Conference (2022)*, which revealed the Rwandan government's stance on diaspora engagement, and skilled migration policies.

Additionally, reports from Amnesty International, the Refugee Consortium of Kenya, the Danish Refugee Council, and Haki Africa provided useful insights on migration governance as they differed from those of the state by advocating for the rights of migrants and refugees. These reports were retrieved from the Google Scholar search engine and organizations' official websites using keywords including *Kenya refugee rights report*, *Rwanda migration policy analysis by NGOs*, and *East African migration humanitarian perspectives*. The NGO reports effectively anchored migration governance back to human rights and development approaches, enhancing an understanding of the plight of migrants, the gaps in policies that may be prevailing, and the dynamics involved whenever policies are being implemented.

### *Private Sector and Diaspora Group Reports*

To obtain relevant information on private sector and diaspora groups data, Google Dataset search, Google Scholar search, Search for official organization websites, and Search for international organizational reports in finance and economics was done. The Search involved examining news articles to determine how the two countries' private sector and diaspora groups promote migration and development discourses pertaining to remittances, labor mobility, and

investment policies. To enhance the precision of the retrieved data, certain search terms and Boolean logic were set to fine-tune the results to present reports from the government, businesses, financial institutions, and diaspora organizations. Similarly, social scientific databases used Google Scholar, ARI, and Research Gate using the keywords such as '*Kenyan diaspora investment and remittance*', '*Rwanda skilled labor migration policy*', '*Private sector in migration Kenya Rwanda*'. These searches resulted in articles from the Kenya Diaspora Alliance (KDA), Rwanda Diaspora Global Network (RDGN), World Bank Migration and Development Briefs, and Rwanda Development Board (RDB). Additionally, business organizations, the Kenya Private Sector Alliance (KEPSA) and Rwanda's Chamber of Commerce were also reviewed to understand migration's impact on the labor market, housing, and business development.

Also, the study used Google News search terms including *Kenya employment in agriculture and construction; Rwandan diaspora investment projects; brain drain effect on Rwanda's growth*. These searches yielded news stories, government policy papers, and financial analyses from media outlets such as Business Daily Africa, The New Times Rwanda and CNBC Africa. In addition, YouTube search terms shaped by the *Kenyan diaspora economic impact, Rwanda remittances and entrepreneurship*, and *Private sector and migration east Africa* led to expert discussions and forums for business sectors and stakeholders which included policy makers and economists. In a nutshell, this initiative enabled the study to incorporate a range of publications on policy implications, economic statistics, media stories and business perspectives surrounding migration and assess the perception of migration as an economic resource from a Kenyan and Rwandan lens.

In summary, policy papers, intuitional reports, media coverage, public debates, NGOs, private sector representation and diaspora group reports were able to engage with and cover the theories on migration and development as outlined in Kenya and Rwanda. With available data sources and their mix, the study was able to pay attention to how migration is framed and emphasized by the various actors including governments, International Organizations, NGOs and the media. This was positively impacted by the systematic data collection process along with the employment of robust and relevant information sources from Google, Google Scholar, YouTube, and government databases, which ensured that the study as a whole was valid and reliable, and was aimed towards an evidence-based approach to the study of migration governance. This wide

and plural dataset of official state policy documents, international legal instruments, news articles and press releases, speeches and debates of parliamentarians, and advocacy papers was essential to identifying the trends, gaps, and changes behind the understanding of migration governance in East Africa.

#### **4.1.3. Analytical Approach**

The analysis of this study was focused on systematically classifying migration and development discourse, and to analyze the data from both Kenya and Rwanda. Because migration narrative aspect is diverse, Qualitative Content Analysis (QCA) was used in a systematic way for exploring, identifying and analyzing relevant patterns and themes on policy documents, media articles, NGO and international organizations publications and private sector analyses. QCA method was selected because it enables systematic coding and categorization of textual data for analytical purposes, which makes it possible to explore how actors define and approach migration and discuss these issues in the public domain. According to Schreier (2012), QCA delivers the best results when applied to complex phenomena, which presuppose close thematic analysis of text data. Therefore, analysis for this study was conducted a step-by-step to guarantee that the information collected would be thoroughly reviewed and categorized without prejudice, and the steps included the following:

##### **i. Defining Themes and Categories**

Prior to dataset analysis, the first step involved determining key themes and variables that capture discourses of migration and development. Since migration is a concept that is defined in several ways by different actors, it was important to design thematic areas capable of identifying the main issues of migration management, economic impacts, security issues, and policies. The initial stage of the analysis involved looking at the documents and reports chosen for review in order to identify the most commonly-used terms, phrases, and arguments. This was useful in testing patterns and comparing these with a range of themes that kept coming up several times, in different governmental policies, media articles, and NGO briefs.

Furthermore, the analysis focused on themes such as diaspora engagement, labour migration, the sending and receiving of remittances, refugee policies and security. The coding process then

brought the themes down to sub-themes on investment policies, skill transfer and, financial remittances on diaspora engagement; border control measures, irregular migration and refugees integration challenges on the security aspect. These subcategories helped to refine the research and made it possible to pay attention to some of the more subtle ways in which migration was being discussed, by the various actors under study.

## **ii. Coding of the Data Using Qualitative Content Analysis (QCA)**

The next step after defining themes and subcategories was to code the texts in order to detect patterns within the given topics and subcategories. The QCA was used to analyze the qualitative data of the documents, reports, and media in a manner that categorizes the textual content. This entailed going through all the texts several times, underlining key passages, and coding the statements with respect to the pre-defined themes. The process of coding was conducted manually. The initial manual review facilitated identification of guiding concepts, replicate concepts, and important debate elements of migration in Kenya and Rwanda. Additionally, discourse in government policy documents highlighted whether migration was broadly described as an opportunity or a threat, while media coverage was examined to understand reporting on refugees, migrants and, diaspora contributions. The coding process also entailed sorting the statements in terms of who said them, whether it was government authorities, media, NGOs and other international agencies. This categorization was considered helpful in mapping out the specific actors in the migration discourse and how they contribute to the narrative and formation of the policies.

## **iii. Comparative Analysis Between Kenya and Rwanda**

Regarding the analysis of the migration discourse in the two countries, it was pertinent that a comparison be made between Kenya and Rwanda to ascertain the disparities and/or similarities in stance taken on migration and development. This split was to draw references separately, contrasting the various policies as well as media portrayals and governmental agendas about migration regulation.

Moreover, data gathered from Kenyan sources was matched to data gathered from Rwandan sources to easily compare and contrast trends of treatment of the subject of migration. This

allowed for identification of areas of divergence like border security and refugee policy in Kenya and diaspora and skilled migration in Rwanda. Additionally, the structure of the analysis facilitated the comparison since the study was able to identify the differences in a number of national priorities, historical backgrounds, and political culture that shaped the discourse and provisions on migration in both nations. And, comparing the two regions allowed the study to capture general regional differences in migration governance and get deep understanding of how policies and discourses influenced the media narratives.

#### **iv. Triangulation of Data Sources**

Data triangulation is a technique used in data analysis to enhance the credibility and validity of the results. According to Lauri (2011), several authors support the use of triangulation in the quest for validity and reliability in qualitative research, claiming that it enhances a study by mixing different approaches. Golafshani (2003) says that the methods used in triangulation to verify the validity and reliability of a study depend on the research criterion and suggests that triangulation may involve several methods of data collection as well as numerous methods of data analysis. A "fix for all researchers" does not exist. Johnson (1997) also addresses the problem of using triangulation in qualitative research and cites the writings of other authors that address methods to increase the reliability and credibility of qualitative research. Johnson compiled a list of these tactics, which include investigator triangulation (using multiple researchers to collect and interpret data), methods triangulation (using multiple research methods to study a phenomenon), theory triangulation (using multiple theories and perspectives to help interpret and explain the data), and data triangulation (using multiple data sources to help understand a phenomenon).

In a bid to establish validity in the study, this study employed data triangulation whereby data from different sources was cross-checked. As migration discourse is performed by different actors; governments, global organizations, media and civil society. It was important to compare the findings, exploring how different sources shape the same problems. Further, this triangulation process consisted of comparing official documents monitoring, media coverage, NGO reports and international reports to validate consistency and identify discrepancies in migration narratives. For example, a government document's claim that migration was an

engine of economic growth was verified by comparing it against World Bank remittance figures and news articles regarding investments made by people within the diaspora. Likewise, NGO reports which advocated for refugee protection and human rights, were for instance contrasted with mainstream media articles which depicted refugees as posing a security threat. Finally, drawing from a wide range of sources for the analysis minimized the risk that the study would have a heavy emphasis on a single type of narrative. Thus, this study was able to provide a well-informed analysis of the migration discourse in Kenya and Rwanda by relying on policy documents, media coverage and advocacy materials.

#### **v. Contextualizing the Analysis with Theoretical Frameworks**

In the final stage of the analysis, the findings were contextualized through relevant theoretical frameworks to better understand the broader implications of migration discourse. Migration is framed by political, economic, and ideological variables: thus, by employing framing and discourse analysis, the study sought to understanding how migration issues were framed and contested. For instance, using framing theory as a lens, it was possible to explore how different actors interprets migration issues in ways that make more sense for their public message and politics. The investigation focused on how language and the structure of arguments influenced public attitudes about migration and how those narratives translated into the formulation of public policy. The study employed a discourse analysis to analyze power relations in migration discourse, identify who controlled migration narratives, and if these narratives influenced stylists of migration policy. Furthermore, by using discourse analysis, the study provided deeper insights into why certain actors framed migration in particular ways by relating the empirical analysis of migration discourse to larger political and economic frameworks. This stage made sure that the study went beyond merely summarizing migration stories and instead critically examined the variables affecting migration governance in Rwanda and Kenya.

In summary, the structured, step-by-step approach of the analytical method applied in this study ensured that the discourse of migration and development in both Kenya and Rwanda was examined thoroughly and objectively. This study was able to capture the complexity of public discourse and migration governance through the use of QCA, by defining themes and categories, comparative analysis, triangulating data sources and theorizing findings.

The combination of governmental reports, media narratives, NGO publications, and

international analyses enabled the understanding of how migration is framed in both countries. By ensuring that every one of the stages was all encompassing, observational and methodical, this ordered approach established a strong establishment for information understanding in ensuing sections.

## **4.2. Actors in Migration and Development Discourses**

This finding was made through comparative data collection and analysis from the discourses of migration and development at the community, national, and international levels in Rwanda and Kenya, across government, international organizations, NGOs, media, the private sector, and the diaspora. Their interests, tropes, and priorities shape, in the end, how migration is portrayed and inserted into political debates. Migration governance is, above all, a multi-level work undertaken by state and non-state actors (Pettrachin, 2024.), which were taken into account in shaping migration narrative and development.

This section offers an educated analysis of the main actors active in Rwanda and Kenya's migration and development discourses, with appropriate and contextualized literature and illustrations from the dataset.

### **4.2.1 Government Institutions**

Through their policymaking, regulation, and engagement with diplomatic interlocutors, government institutions produce the discourses that configure migration and development. The state regulates migration flows, oversees refugee populations, and lays out policies for diaspora engagement. Migration in governmental discourses is framed to align with national priorities, security concerns, and economic strategies.

#### **Rwanda**

The Rwandan state has, in fact, actively framed migration as a development tool, with particular emphasis on diaspora engagement. This vision aligns with national policy documents like *Vision 2050*, which defines Rwanda's long-term development approach and acknowledges the contribution of its diaspora to the transformation of the economy (Muyombano, 2020).

One of the most important bodies as mentioned earlier is the *Directorate General of Immigration and Emigration (DGIE)*. Rwanda's migration governance is framed by a broad range of policies,

but at the center of its implementation has been the Directorate General of Immigration and Emigration (DGIE) to implement policies reflective of the government's development-oriented approach to migration (Munyegera, 2017). The research chose to analyze these two publications because the Rwandan state systematically frames migration as an economic asset across both domestic newspapers and high profile, international-level publications a particular focus here being on diaspora engagement, return migration, and skilled labour mobility. The DGIE structurally marshals this vision through its operations on border management and visa policies and investment promotion programs targeting Rwandans abroad (Bolt, 2024). It is tasked with the management of orderly, secure, and economically beneficial migration processes in the country, a narrative that is echoed and reaffirmed through government policy documents such as Vision 2050 (Government of Rwanda, 2020).

Also, a principal function of the DGIE is the facilitation of diaspora efforts, particularly through its work with groups including the Rwanda Diaspora Global Network (RDGN) and the Rwanda Community Abroad (RCA). These government efforts position Rwandans abroad as important drivers of economic transformation by promoting remittance flows, entrepreneurship, and knowledge transfer through these initiatives. The DGIE has also established reintegration interventions for returnees, such as investment incentives as well as business registration support via the Rwanda Development Board (RDB), designed to facilitate the establishment of enterprises by Rwandans who have returned home. Another key initiative, overseen by the DGIE, is Rwanda's liberal visa policy that gives visas on arrival to citizens of African Union member states, the Commonwealth, and La Francophonie further cementing Rwanda's open-border philosophy regarding economic migration.

Moreover, DGIE statements by leadership have actively framed public discourse on migration. In a 2022 press conference, the ex-DGIE Director General François Regis Gatarayihya underscored that migration should be viewed as an opportunity, not a challenge, restating that Rwanda will continue to work with an organized migration structure to efficiently manage the movement of people. These policies and narratives make Rwanda stand out from many African states, which securitize migration, instead presenting it as a means of economic advancement.

Another important body is the *Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation* that has been instrumental in designing Rwanda's diaspora engagement framework, embedding the state's construction of migration as an opportunity for national growth. As a result, through the

work of its diplomatic missions, policy frameworks and international forums, the ministry has actively facilitated for Rwandans abroad to invest in critical sectors of the economy like technology, real estate, manufacturing, and finance. The aspiration is in accordance with the Vision 2050 that emphasizes leveraging its diaspora resources to turn Rwanda into a high-income economy. RDGN aims to be a bridge to Rwandans in efficient engagements that matter, serving as an avenue for connecting them to meaningful business and investment opportunities in Rwanda.

The Ministry has further promoted investment-friendly policies that attract diaspora investment (Gayle et al., 2013). Tax incentives and simplified registration procedures for Rwanda's diaspora encourages direct participation in economic activities, the same goes for property ownership rights. The former Foreign Minister Richard Sezibera used to say often that the Rwandan government regards its members as key partners in economic growth and calls upon them to return back home, invest and get involved in governance. That work continued under his successor, Vincent Biruta, who signed bilateral agreements and positioned Rwanda as a stable and attractive destination for investment.

Through global diaspora conferences, diplomatic tours, and other targeted outreach programs, the ministry has managed to maintain strong links with Rwandans abroad, making sure that migration is perceived as not a loss but rather a motor for development. The diplomatic nature of this has allowed Rwanda's migration governance to stand out, giving it the role of a vanguard in Africa of diaspora-led economic development.

And lastly, the *Rwanda Development Board (RDB)* Under RDB, diaspora investors are encouraged through tax exemptions, investment incentives and business facilitation services. This strategy is consistent with the government's wider discourse on migration as a force for development, framing it as a resource for economic prosperity instead as a hindrance. The RDB, through its active outreach to Rwandans abroad, ensures the relevant capital, skills and networks of the diaspora are included in national development planning (Dickinson, 2022). Lessons from successful development experiences around the world show that early diaspora engagement is crucial for economic transformation, and the government acknowledges this fact.

The RDB helps returning Rwandans set up businesses, acquire land and access financing through initiatives like the Diaspora Investment Window. These efforts promote the establishment of businesses in important sectors, namely technology, real estate, manufacturing

and agribusiness, which echoes the government's narrative that migration should contribute towards driving industrialization and entrepreneurship. The RDB also holds investment forums and networking events, offering the diaspora direct connections to local businesses and policymakers. Through its incorporation of migration into its economic governance, Rwanda has developed a formal structure for converging diaspora contributions with national development priorities, entrenching its status as a clear leader in the integration of migration with the economy.

## **Kenya**

Kenya's government uses a dualistic migration model, recognizing the need for security while also embracing economic benefits. On the one hand, it is home to one of Africa's largest refugee populations, with more than 500,000 refugees living in the Dadaab and Kakuma camps and coming mostly from Somalia, South Sudan and the Democratic Republic of Congo (UNHCR, 2022). However, it does benefit immensely from diaspora remittances, which made up roughly 3% of GDP in 2022 (Chikanda, 2024). This duality in motivation, mirrors the competing and often mutually reinforcing interests at work in Kenya's migration governance: while the economic contributions of the diaspora are increasingly recognized as critical, it is also clear that the management of irregular migration and refugee flows must balance such interests with strict immigration controls.

*As earlier mentioned, the Ministry of Interior and Coordination of the National Government is a very useful body as far as migration is concerned. It is central to Kenya's migration policy, especially in border control and refugee management. The ministry sees migration mainly as a security issue, linking weak states and irregular migration to terrorism, human trafficking, and organized crime. Politicians like CS for Interior Kithure Kindiki have consistently reiterated the need to secure Kenya's borders against undocumented migrants, embedding the notion of migration as a national security threat (Daily Nation, 2023). The framing has underpinned policies like increased border surveillance, restrictions on refugee encampment and repatriation agreements with neighboring countries.*

Migration is an important sector in Kenya's economy, and the country recognizes this fact through diaspora remittances and labor migration, yet migration policy in Kenya remains fixated on security concerns. According to Robson (2023), migration is not managed in a 'pipeline'

fashion, but rather in piecemeal fashion between visas and controls, with the government's restrictive refugee policies and emphasis on national security shaping the way in which migration is managed: reflecting a contradictory, but pragmatically motivated, balancing of economic interests with migration control mechanisms.

Similarly, *Refugee Affairs Secretariate (RAS)* is another focal point for the implementation of refugee policy and coordination with international organizations like UNHCR. A key function of RAS is the registration of asylum seekers and refugees, camp management and asylum procedures and is established under the Ministry of Interior and Coordination of National Government in accordance with the Refugee Act (2006). This ensures Kenya upholds its international obligations as laid out in treaties such as the 1951 Refugee Convention, providing a legal framework for refugee protection, rights, and obligations. Yet the government's story around refugees tends to be a balancing act of competing priorities humanitarian commitments on the one hand, and national security concerns on the other (UNHCR, 2021).

Refugees are commonly presented as both people in need of protection and potential security threats in public and political discourse. The West's dual perception of refugees has shaped Kenya's restrictive encampment policies, curbing refugees' freedom of movement and access to work. For example, according to former Interior CS Fred Matiang'i, the settlements are blamed for harboring terrorists, especially "Al-Shabaab terrorists" who are known to be hiding in Dadaab and Kakuma camps. This narrative justifies the demand for camp closures and attests to the need for heightened border enforcement practices, underpinning a securitized approach to refugee management that nevertheless fails to provide displaced populations with sustainable integration opportunities.

Besides, the *Ministry of Foreign Affairs* is another important actor identified from the dataset. Kenyans abroad fall under the purview of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which is responsible for the country's diaspora relations and remittance policy, realizing the economic contributions of Kenyans abroad. Diaspora remittances also constitute almost 3% of Kenya's GDP and demonstrate its contribution to national development (World Bank, 2022). In sharp contrast to Rwandans, Kenya's institutional engagement with its diaspora is fragmented and siloed across government agencies. Despite the introduction of the National Diaspora Policy (2014) aimed at facilitating greater diaspora investment and skills transfer, implementation, outreach, and policy

coherence are ongoing challenges (Mwangi, 2020).

Conversely, Kenya's approach to migration governance differs from that of Rwanda, reflecting different national priorities and political contexts. Whereas Rwanda centralizes migration policies, framing migration as a tool of national development, Kenya's migration governance is bifurcated between security concerns and economic benefits. A contradiction arises in all the scopes of migration policies at the intersection between border control, refugee management and diaspora engagement, with some agencies encouraging remittances and labor migration, whereas others institute immigration controls and barriers. Such fragmented approach stands in stark contrast with Rwanda's coherent migration strategy, in which the state institutions proactively coordinate migration policy with national development strategies, contribution to an organized and development-driven migration discourse.

The migration governance of Rwanda, as opposed to Kenya, reflects different national contexts. Rwanda's centralization leads to a proactive development-oriented discourse on migration, whereas migration regimes in Kenya are shaped by clashing security and economic priorities.

#### **4.2.2 International Organizations**

Questions of migration governance, that is, how to effectively manage the flow of people across borders, are now global ones unable to be solved without international coordination. This sparked my interest in resembling the organizations that influence policy, lend technical assistance, or shape migration discourse. These organizations promote migration as a development tool while responding to challenges such as forced displacement and irregular migration.

One of the internal organizations is the *International Organization for Migration (IOM)*. The IOM is instrumental in shaping the narrative of migration as a stimulus for economic growth and regional integration. In Rwanda, IOM partners with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation and the Directorate General of Immigration and Emigration (DGIE) integrate migration in national development planning. This dovetails with the *Diaspora Engagement Frame*, which views remittances, skills transfer, and diaspora investments as critical to Rwanda's economic transformation. IOM supports initiatives like the Rwanda Diaspora Global Network (RDGN) and has supported reintegration programs for returning migrants, which allowed them to register businesses and access financial services (IOM Rwanda, 2022).

In Kenya, IOM aims to support the Government's efforts mainly towards capacity-building in migration governance by collaborating with entities such as the Ministry of Interior, the Refugee Affairs Secretariat (RAS) and the National Coordination Mechanism on Migration (NCM). IOM has assisted in the training of immigration officers and border security agents; an initiative aimed at improving Kenya's border management policies. It also facilitates the Kenya Labour Migration Policy, facilitating the Ministry of Labour to negotiate safe labour migration agreements with Saudi Arabia, Qatar and the UAE. The IOM has also extended technical support for the revision of the Refugee Act (2021) to be consistent with international standards. In contrast, while diaspora engagement is a priority for Rwanda, IOM's approaches in Kenya are predominately geared towards institutional strengthening and reforms in migration policy.

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) is another actor identified in the dataset. With over 500,000 refugees from Somalia, South Sudan and the DRC settled in camps in Dadaab and Kakuma, the UNHCR is a key actor in the management of refugees in Kenya (McAteer et al., 2023). UNHCR endorses the Humanitarian Frame to bolster refugee protection, self-reliance and sustainable solutions. The organization is in collaboration with Kenya's Refugee Affairs Secretariat (RAS) in establishing the Kalobeyei Integrated Settlement, which essentially aims to create brand new integrated economic independence among refugees where they can invest in small business and agricultural products. UNHCR also negotiates repatriation programs with the Kenyan government, host countries to ensure that the rights of refugees are balanced against national policies regarding encampment and repatriation.

In Rwanda, UNHCR partners with the Ministry in Charge of Emergency Management (MINEMA) to support resettlement programs and local integration efforts. Their organization runs programs to equip urban refugees in Kigali with job training and microfinance options. The UNHCR also helps implement Rwanda's asylum policies, which differ from Kenya's more restrictive approach by granting some refugees work permits and residency status. This collaboration is in line with Rwanda's development-led narrative on migration, framing refugees as economic agents instead of recipients of aid.

Last on international organization is the *World Bank*. Its reports on migration and remittances help countries collect data on migration and remittance flows, and analyze the contribution of diasporas to economic development. Its papers point to the economic contributions of migration,

focusing on how remittances underpin household incomes, financial access and national progress. This provides an opportunity for the World Bank, in partnership with the Central Bank of Kenya (CBK) and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Kenya, to research how to facilitate financial access for remittance senders and receivers in Kenya. In 2022, remittances from the Kenyan diaspora hit nearly \$4 billion, which constitutes 3% of GDP (SYLVIE, 2023). The government, aided by the World Bank, has promoted mobile banking services like M-Pesa Global, allowing Kenyans working abroad to transfer money more easily.

In Rwanda, the World Bank has supported the Rwanda Development Board (RDB) and the Ministry of Finance to increase diaspora investments. While remittances in Kenya largely support household consumption, Rwanda channels diaspora capital into national development initiatives that target real estate, manufacturing, and tech. Efforts supported by the World Bank include the Diaspora Investment Window, which offers tax breaks and business facilitation services to returning Rwandans. These initiatives are part and parcel of Rwanda's migration-motivated development strategy, reiterating the government's interest in identifying and mobilizing social and economic benefits from its nationals abroad beyond remittance flows.

#### **4.2.3 Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs)**

NGO organizations actively participate in forming migration and development discussions through their advocacy for migrant rights and delivery of humanitarian support and their work towards policy change.

Among these organizations is the *Refugee Consortium of Kenya (RCK)*. The RCK is Kenya's leading human rights NGO that challenges the government's dominant security-focused narrative on refugees, seeking to do so by advocating for a Humanitarian Frame which shifts the focus to refugee protection, integration and self-reliance. RCK offers legal assistance, policy advocacy, and community-based support for refugees around Kenya, most notably in Dadaab and Kakuma camps (Onyango, 2018). The organization has challenged the government's forced repatriation policies and restrictive encampment regulations, urging the government to adopt a more welcoming refugee approach. RCK's litigation, public awareness, and policy dialogues all work to shift the narrative away from seeing refugees strictly as security threats, and towards recognizing them as contributors to a society. Similarly, there's the *Danish Refugee Council (DRC)* which implements livelihood development programs, vocational training, and economic

empowerment activities for displaced populations in Kenya and Rwanda. Direct Relief works in DRC in the Kenya, Dadaab including in Kakuma and urban refugee settlements providing entrepreneurship training, small business grants and job placement services (Jacobsen and Fratzke, 2016). These programs reflect the Economic Opportunity Frame, which casts migrants as members who contribute to the economic development of their communities, instead of burdens (DRC, 2021).

DRC works with the Ministry in Charge of Emergency Management (MINEMA) to fund self-reliance programs for refugees in Rwanda, focusing on urban areas and refugee-hosting districts. The agency has said that migrants boost local economies by starting businesses and increasing consumer demand, bolstering Rwanda's migration system which is focused on economic advancement. DRC also engages with private sector actors and financial institutions to improve refugee access to banking services and microfinance to better integrate them into host communities and national economic systems.

Finally on the NGOs is the *Legal Aid Forum (LAF) – Rwanda*. LAF in Rwanda is involved in raising awareness and promotion of migrant rights, asylum seeker and refugee protections. It partners with the Ministry of Justice, DGIE and other international actors within Rwanda's development-focused migration policy to secure a legal framework and socio-economic rights for migrants, asylum seekers and returnees. LAF delivers legal assistance, policy research, and advocacy on migration laws, and provides support to Rwanda's aims to utilize migration as a means for national development (Doughty, 2016). It has also helped craft legislation that makes it possible for refugees to obtain work permits and residency status, in line with Rwanda's concern with the economic inclusion and self-reliance of displaced people. Through its engagement with civil society networks, government agencies, and international organizations, LAF consolidates a migration narrative that emphasizes human rights, legal protection, and integration policies driven by development. Ultimately, non-government organizations frequently question official government perspectives because refugee issues in Kenya experience strong political conflicts.

#### **4.2.4 Media and Civil Society**

Media play an important role in shaping how the public perceives migration by emphasizing certain narratives while framing migration issues in ways that reflect and produce political

meaning. *Rwandan Media*, especially those owned by the state, such as The New Times and Rwanda Broadcasting Agency (RBA), closely follow government narratives on migration, which reinforces the Diaspora Engagement Frame. Much of the news coverage also focuses on successful diaspora investments in technology, real estate or manufacturing, which it presents as a contributing process benefiting the nation's development (The New Times, 2022). Government initiatives aimed at Rwandans abroad, such as the Rwanda Diaspora Global Network (RDGN), are often reported to present return migration as an economic asset rather than a challenge. This allows for a controlled narrative, keeping the conversation around migration positive and development-oriented.

On the other hand, *Kenyan Media* has different stories relating to migration in the media, including security problems and economic benefits. Media organizations like Nation Media Group, The Standard, K24 and others frequently report on the cost of hosting refugees, with some framing them as a drain on the nation's resources and others focusing on their contribution to the economy (Onguny, 2021). Most coverage on diaspora remittances and investments is positive, framing these as contributing towards national development. On the other hand, migration stories associated with concepts such as border security, terrorism, and crime tend to perpetuate a narrative of restrictive migration, which influences public attitudes towards immigration policy, refugee management and border control efforts.

Media narratives are complemented by those activists and organizations that advocate for migrant rights and policy reforms.

#### **4.2.5 Private Sector and Diaspora Groups**

The private sector and diaspora communities now exert growing influence in migration-related development discussions. *Diaspora Investment Networks* is one of the actors identified in the dataset, structured initiatives supporting diaspora investments, like the Agaciro Development Fund (ADF) in Rwanda, strengthen a development-oriented migration narrative. Founded in 2012, ADF is Rwanda's sovereign wealth fund, promoting direct financial contributions from Rwandans abroad toward national development projects. It actively prompts the diaspora with investment forums, targeted outreach campaigns, and policy incentives that guide diaspora into the realms of real estate, technology, and manufacturing.

Other important initiatives are the Rwanda Diaspora Global Network (RDGN), which is a

mechanism that links diaspora investors to high-value business opportunities at home, and the Diaspora Investment Window, which provides tax holidays, simplified business registration processes and financial support for those returning to invest. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Rwanda Development Board (RDB) spearhead these investments, positioning migration as an asset not an economic drain. Rwanda incorporates diaspora capital into national economic planning further reinforcing its development-oriented approach to migration governance (Pellerin and Mullings, 2013).

Similarly, there's Kenya Business Associations such as the Kenya National Chamber of Commerce and Industry (KNCCI) and the Federation of Kenya Employers (FKE) that have already lobbied with the government for sustained work permit issuance and bilateral labour agreements with neighboring countries, (Uganda and Tanzania) and other states of the gulfs (Gulf states) in order to fill the gaps left by the labour shortages in key sectors.

These associations claim that migrant workers bolster economic growth by filling labor shortages and improving productivity. The Kenya Flower Council (KFC), which represents the agricultural export sector, has patronized labour mobility policies to ensure that Kenya remains competitively viable globally in floriculture. Business groups also use policy recommendations and engagement with stakeholders to legitimize a narrative of migration as an opportunity in terms of economic gains and regional labor integration.

Altogether, migration and development discourses are contested narratives in which demands and rights are formulated (Santos and Mourato, 2022). Where Rwanda affords a cohesive, development-oriented rendition of its narrative, Kenya's migration governance is much more fragmented, shaped by diverging security and economic incentives. International organizations, NGOs, and media fractals contribute to these narratives, entrenching or contesting the dominant state frames. A deeper knowledge of these actors is essential for understanding how the two countries' migration policies and discourses are shaped and evolved.

### **4.3 Identified Frames in Migration and Development Discourses**

The frame, concept, or idea is crucial to how migration and development are represented in discourse. As Entman (1993) states, frames work in that they select and emphasize certain elements of reality while galvanizing others in a way that determines the modalities through

which the issue becomes visible to the public and those that shape policy agendas. In Rwanda and Kenya, various actors produce migration and development narratives through discrete frames catering to their interests, priorities, and institutional mandates.

This section highlights and scrutinizes the migration, development, and migration-development nexus keyframes in Rwanda and Kenya. Such frames determine how migration is perceived and handled, informing policy choices, public sentiment, and international collaboration.

How migration is framed varies from actor to actor and from one policy or discourse to the next. The mainframes and patterns identified in the dataset relating to migration were:

#### **4.3.1 Humanitarian Frame**

Most prominent among this frame is the framing of migration as a humanitarian issue, framing migrants as vulnerable individuals who need protection. For example, it is commonly used in the context of UNHCR, NGOs, and human rights advocates in Kenya, where the issue of refugee management is of major importance. The humanitarian frame is more prominent in conversations about refugee protection in Kenya. Organizations, including UNHCR and NGOs like the *Danish Refugee Council*, promote policies that precede the legal protection, social inclusion, and economic empowerment of refugees living in Kakuma and Dadaab camps (Talukder et al., 2021). In Rwanda this frame is weaker because the migration discourse is centered on voluntary migration, diaspora engagement, and wealth generation rather than mass displacement. However, UNHCR and other humanitarian agencies use this frame when talking about refugee resettlement in Rwanda. Public opinions about migration heavily depend on the humanitarian frame of reference. However, as Betts (2021) notes, governments may selectively adopt humanitarian narratives to gain international support while simultaneously implementing restrictive migration policies.

#### **4.3.2. Security Frame**

The security frame portrays migration as a potential threat to national security, emphasizing concerns such as terrorism, human trafficking, and illegal immigration. Government actors, particularly in Kenya, predominantly use this frame.

In Kenya the government frequently frames migration, particularly irregular migration, as a security risk. Policy discussions often link refugee populations with threats posed by extremist

groups such as Al-Shabaab. This framing has influenced policies such as the proposed closure of Dadaab and Kakuma refugee camps (Baraza, 2022). In Rwanda migration is not commonly framed as a security issue, reflecting the country's s-controlled migration policies and lack of major refugee-related security concerns. However, discussions surrounding regional instability occasionally introduce security-related narratives.

The security frame can justify restrictive migration policies and increased border controls. However, scholars like Ortmanns (2023) caution that securitizing migration risks overshadowing humanitarian obligations and economic opportunities associated with mobility.

#### **4.3.3 Economic Opportunity Frame**

The Economic Opportunity Frame presents migration as a driver of economic growth, emphasizing labor mobility, remittances, and investments by migrants. This frame is prominent in Rwanda and Kenya but is more institutionalized in Rwanda's policy discourse.

In Rwanda migration is consistently framed as an economic asset. The government promotes policies that encourage diaspora investment and skills transfer, positioning migration as a tool for national development (Rwengabo, 2024). In Kenya while economic contributions from the diaspora are acknowledged, this frame competes with security and humanitarian narratives. Nonetheless, reports from the Central Bank of Kenya highlight remittances as a significant source of foreign exchange (World Bank, 2022). The economic opportunity frame aligns with Hollifield and Foley (2022), who argues that migration should be understood as a developmental strategy rather than a crisis to be managed.

#### **4.3.4 Frames on Development**

Development-related frames shape how migration is linked to national and regional growth. The key development frames identified include *Sustainable Development Frame* which presents migration as contributing to sustainable development, mainly through human capital mobility and diaspora engagement. It is prominent in Rwandan policy documents and regional frameworks such as the *African Union Migration Policy Framework*.

In Rwanda the *Vision 2050* explicitly integrates migration into national development planning, framing it as essential for achieving sustainable economic growth (Government of Rwanda, 2020). In Kenya while Kenya acknowledges migration's developmental role, sustainable

development narratives are more frequently linked to domestic economic policies rather than migration governance. This frame aligns with global development agendas such as the UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), particularly Goal 10 (Reducing Inequality through Safe Migration) and Goal 8 (Decent Work and Economic Growth) (United Nations, 2021).

However, *Resource Scarcity Frame* on the other hand portrays migration as a strain on limited resources, such as land, water, and public services. This frame is particularly evident in Kenya's refugee discourse, where host communities often perceive refugees as economic competitors. In Kenya the presence of large refugee populations in northern Kenya has led to tensions over resource allocation, with local leaders and media frequently citing overcrowding and service competition (Okello, 2024). In Rwanda this frame is less pronounced but emerges in discussions about urban migration, where rapid population growth in Kigali has increased demand for housing and infrastructure. The resource scarcity frame can fuel xenophobic attitudes and justify restrictive migration policies, reinforcing the argument by Drewski and Gerhards (2024) that economic concerns are often used to legitimize exclusionary practices.

#### **4.3.5 Frames on the Migration-Development Nexus**

The link between migration and development is framed differently depending on the actors involved. Identified in this context is the *Diaspora Engagement Frame* which emphasizes the role of diaspora communities in national development, mainly through remittances, investments, and skills transfer. It is the dominant migration-development frame in Rwanda and is also present in Kenya's diaspora policies. In Rwanda, the government actively promotes the *Diaspora Engagement Frame*, positioning Rwandans abroad as key contributors to economic growth. Programs like the Rwanda Diaspora Global Network encourage knowledge transfer and investment (IOM, 2022). In Kenya, the National Diaspora Policy acknowledges the diaspora's contributions but lacks the institutional cohesion observed in Rwanda's migration governance. This frame aligns with research by James (2021), which highlights the transformative potential of diaspora remittances in developing countries.

#### **4.3.6 Integration Challenges Frame**

The framing workout emphasizes the challenges migrants face in community assimilation, especially in environments that show high sensitivity to migration issues. The integration challenges frame in Kenya is frequently applied to refugee populations, emphasizing issues such

as unemployment, language barriers, and social tensions (UNHCR, 2021). The issue of urban migration and accommodation in growing populations in Rwanda uses this frame, but it remains less prominent than other perspectives. Bakewell (2008) explains that integration challenges originate from governance problems because successful policy coordination between the different sectors is needed.

An analysis of how frames are identified reveals how migration and development are construed in Rwanda and Kenya. Whereas developmental and diasporic considerations mainly dominate the migration discourse in Rwanda, the one in Kenya is more disaggregated, with competing humanitarianism, security, and economic framings. Familiarizing with these frames is important as it helps to analyze policy responses and public perceptions towards migration and evaluate the effectiveness of migration governance in East Africa.

#### **4.4 Analysis of the Dataset: Patterns in Migration and Development Discourses**

In this section, the study offers an in-depth contextual analysis of the dataset, highlighting trends in migration and development frame alignments across different actors in Rwanda and Kenya. Through the analysis of recurring themes, differences in how these themes are discussed, and diversity of frames, this analysis reveals some of the unexposed structures that govern migration policies and public perceptions in both nations. The comparative consciousness reminds us that migrations are not only framed differently in different places, and context is producing this difference in framing, but the ways you can understand migration through some optics either economic, political, or other vary depending on how, or even where, you are looking.

Based on Entman's (1993) framing theory, the dataset analysis discusses how migration issues are defined, what causes are attributed to them, what moral judgments are made, and what policy solutions are proposed. This methodology enables an in-depth comprehension of how these competing narratives impact migration policymaking and public opinion.

##### **4.4.1 Analyzed Frames**

###### ***The Preventive Development Frame***

The analysis of datasets from different actors revealed that migration is framed as a development tool in Rwanda whereas domestic discourse is less structured in Kenya and

vacillates between economic and security discourses. In Rwanda, politicians like Paul Kagame and institutions like the Rwanda Development Board (RDB) and Directorate-General of Immigration and Emigration (DGIE) actively invest in diaspora development and national development through the diaspora. The Vision 2050 policy paper, discourses from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and even some media outlets, including The New Times, support this framing, focusing on Rwandans abroad as economic assets controlling a significant portion of the external economy instead of fleeing unqualified labor. Initiatives such as the Agaciro Development Fund and Rwanda Diaspora Global Network (RDGN) incentivize Rwandans living abroad to invest in the economy's real estate, technology, and manufacturing sectors.

On the other hand, Kenya acknowledges the economic value of its diaspora, but its engagement is less institutionalized and remains fragmented. According to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Central Bank of Kenya (CBK), remittances from both diasporas contribute 3% of Kenya's GDP (World Bank, 2022). Implementation bottlenecks impede proper engagement, as evidenced by the sluggish rollout of the National Diaspora Policy (2014) (Mwangi, 2020). Kenya's diaspora affairs are fragmented and handled by several bodies, including the Ministry of Labour, Kenya Investment Authority, and KNCCI, which has caused a lot of inconsistencies in policy compared to Rwanda's streamlined approach. A key difference is that Rwanda embeds migration as a driver through the economy overall; Kenya's migration debate is less integrated, with security barriers alongside economic opportunities. For instance, Foreign Affairs CS Alfred Mutua has pitched bilateral labor agreements to secure job openings abroad even as his Interior counterpart, Kithure Kindiki, has advocated for stricter border controls, deportations, and more burdensome refugee regulations. This dissonance dilutes Kenya's capacity to navigate migration solely as a tool for development, in contrast to Rwanda, where state-controlled media and policymaking work in harmony to reproduce a singular migration-development narrative. This enables Rwanda to draft a national development-oriented migration policy while indicating that Kenya would benefit from a more institutionalized diaspora engagement policy. This crucial inter-agency coordination is missing in Kenya, limiting diaspora contributions. In contrast, a centralized framework for diaspora migration policies in Rwanda guarantees that these policies are aligned with national development goals.

### ***The Restrictive Migration Frame***

Drawing on an analysis of data of actors, Kenya tends to frame migration in a security context, viewing irregular migration as linked to terrorism, crime, and economic instability. At the same time, Rwanda adopts a more selective and pragmatic view, aligning migration restrictions with economic and diplomatic points of interest. In Kenya, migration governance is mainly seen through the lens of the Ministry of Interior and Coordination of National Government, and it correlates with border control and national security. Political leaders often cast undocumented migrants as a threat, associating them with Al-Shabaab terrorist groups (Daily Nation, 2023), most notably Interior CS Kithure Kindiki. The restrictive discourse on migration is further articulated through policies such as increased surveillance at the Kenya- Somalia border, restriction of movement of refugees, and periodic threats to demilitarize Dhadab and Kakuma refugee camps. In this regard, the Refugee Affairs Secretariat (RAS) also securitizes migration through its strict encampment policies. *managing refugee camps through a security-focused lens* by former interior CS Fred Matiang'i, whose approach heavily relied on the existing camps as breeding grounds for radicalization, effectively strengthened the notion of migration as a security threat rather than an economic or humanitarian issue (UNHCR, 2021). To further entrench the security threat frame, Kenyan media, especially outlets such as The Standard and Citizen TV, consistently report irregular migration in terms of security threats. In conclusion, based on this perception, migrants receive fewer opportunities to integrate, and the public is more supportive of restrictive immigration laws. By contrast, Kenya securitizes migration become dramatically different than Rwanda. Instead, Rwanda uses and promotes restrictive migration laws to exercise political control and gain political and economic benefits. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, as well as the Directorate General of Immigration and Emigration (DGIE), exercise strict control over who can enter, stay, and work in the country; targeting skills must help boost economic investment and thereby restricting the entry of asylum seekers with skills that do not align with this economic strategy.

Rwanda's pragmatic approach to migration control is best illustrated through the UK-Rwanda Asylum Agreement, a deal made with the UK government to accommodate asylum seekers deported from the UK. The deal has been defended by Foreign Minister Vincent Biruta, who argued that it aligns with Rwanda's migration policies and economic interests (The Guardian, 2023). Whereas Kenya's outright securitization of migration, Rwanda's framing of similar agreements as diplomatic partnerships benefits both Rwanda and its international partners.

However, their critics label the deal as a form of migration externalization, "out-sourcing" the responsibility for asylum to poorer nations. A significant difference is that Kenya is very restrictive regarding refugee integration, whereas Rwanda has controlled inclusion policies. MINEMA has partnered with UNHCR and the Danish Refugee Council (DRC) to provide livelihood programs for refugees, which give some access to employment and financial services (UNHCR, 2022). That is in contrast with the restrictive approach of Kenya, where the vast majority of refugees are held in camps and face significant barriers in obtaining work permits or economic opportunities.

Despite these differences, Kenya and Rwanda upholds restrictive migration policies for different reasons. Kenya's restrictions are predicated mainly on security concerns, buttressing a fear-based narrative, while Rwanda's restrictions are both economically strategic and diplomatically high-minded. Whereas Kenya's migration policies are more reactive, responding to regional instability and perceived national security threats, Rwanda frames migration as migration used for growth that encourages skilled workers and economic migrants while containing non-contributory asylum seekers as much as possible. The findings indicate Kenya suffers from security risk hysteria, which denies the country economic advantages from refugee economic activity alongside skilled foreign workers. Rwanda implements selective migration policies which enable it to obtain economic and diplomatic advantages through migration. Due to its practical migration strategy, Rwanda faces ethical questions about its asylum and human rights practices.

### ***The National Interest and Security Frame***

This study of several datasets from political speeches, government policies, and media reports shows that Kenya and Rwanda frame migration in different ways in the context of national interest and security. Kenyan policymakers focus on migration as a national security threat, while Rwanda frames migration governance as a question of state sovereignty and diplomatic leverage. Kenya's stance on migration is primarily determined by its geopolitical position and previous experiences with threats of terrorism, especially from Al-Shabaab militants in neighboring Somalia. Government officials, including the Minister in charge of state security, currently the Interior CS Kithure Kindiki, have repeatedly articulated that irregular migration constitutes security threats thus the need for tighter border controls and augmented surveillance. This framing is bolstered by policies, such as the construction of a security wall along the

Kenya-Somalia border and frequent crackdowns on undocumented migrants (Daily Nation, 2023). Kenya's anti-terrorism laws have also been used to defend the periodic threats to close refugee camps, citing the risks of refugee settlements potentially being home to extremists (UNHCR, 2022).

However, in Rwanda's case, this national interest-oriented migration regime appears more strategic and contained. Rather than overtly securitizing migration, Rwanda regulates entry and residence permits, ensuring that migration fits economic and political priorities. Asylum seeker's social policy: The DGIE implements a rigid policy restricting asylum seekers but enabling diaspora engagement through various skilled migration programs. While Kenya broadly frames migration as a national security issue, Rwanda includes migration within its diplomatic and economic umbrella to position itself as a partner in international deals such as the UK-Rwanda Asylum Deal. Examining political statements more closely highlights these differences. President Paul Kagame has framed rules on migration governance as an issue of state sovereignty, suggesting that it was important for Rwanda to decide who should come to the country and stay in it based on its development ambitions. By contrast, Kenyan political leaders frequently frame migration control as a defense against external threats, with little attention paid to the economic or diplomatic benefits it offers. For example, former Interior CS Fred Matiang'i argued in a speech that Kenya needs to strengthen its borders to secure national security, further entrenching the exclusive narrative on migration.

While both use migration governance as a national interest tool, the underlying motivations differ. However, this security-first approach has led to strict immigration, harsh refugee policies, and a securitized migration discourse. Rwanda is also restrictive but takes a measured approach, using migration to extract economic and foreign policy dividends rather than security and enforcement. These findings imply that although Kenya and Rwanda frame migration regarding national interest, Kenya's framing is defensive and reactive, while Rwanda's is strategic and proactive. Kenya's focus on guarding its borders and threats to national security create barriers to labor mobility and refugee inclusion in the region. At the same time, Rwanda's selective migration policies enable it to attract highly skilled workers and foreign capital.

### *The Migration as a Crisis Frame*

Kenya and Rwanda use migration as a crisis frame, evident in the analysis of data sourced from government statements, international organization reports, and media coverage. However, both countries employ it in different contexts and for different policy goals. Whereas Kenya often frames migrants as an urgent existential threat needing an urgent response, Rwanda strategically uses the same frame only when it serves the purpose of its asylum policies and refugee resettlement agreements. Kenya has historically portrayed refugee influxes as humanitarian and security crises, often employing this narrative to argue for international assistance and tighter migration policies. However, former President Uhuru Kenyatta said in an address to the UN General Assembly in 2016 that called on wealthier nations to take responsibility for hosting refugees, saying it was "carrying a disproportionate burden" of the regional displacement crisis. In 2021, Interior PS Karanja Kibicho justified the government's closure of the Dadaab and Kakuma refugee camps, stating that the costs of hosting refugees were no longer economically viable nor national security sustainable (UNHCR, 2022). This framing has resulted in occasional crackdowns on undocumented migrants and a tightening of Kenya's asylum policies, reinforcing the idea that migration needs to be controlled as opposed to manage as an opportunity.

Rwanda does not routinely refer to migration as a crisis in domestic debate, although the country is asked to use this frame in international diplomacy. A perfect case is the UK-Rwanda Asylum Deal, where Rwandan officials framed the deal as an answer to the European migration crisis. In response, Foreign Minister Vincent Biruta said that Rwanda was helping to find "a global solution to the refugee crisis," with the government portraying the country as active in humanitarian efforts (The Guardian, 2023). However, its framing, critics say, is politically expedient, locking in Rwanda's status as an attractive partner for diplomatic and economic leverage in return for accepting deported asylum seekers. A further key difference is how the two governments manage and react to migration crises in their backyards. Kenya routinely calls for international humanitarian assistance to handle refugee settlements, often painting them as overcrowded, underfunded humanitarian crises. Unlike Rwanda, crisis narratives serve as a part of broader migration governance that integrates their country's safety and stability to manage global migration issues. Kenya uses crisis framing to rationalize restrictive policies, while Rwanda wields it to selectively frame itself as a solution provider within global migration governance. The results show that the framing of Kenya's migration crisis is mainly reactive,

centered on managing refugees and securing the country's borders. In contrast, Rwanda has used this frame more diplomatically to expand its international position via migration partnerships. As a result, Kenya often pursues the path of more significant restrictions and dependence on international aid. Rwanda is expanding its role in global migration politics under a crisis while retaining strict control over its admission forms.

### ***The Economic Burden Frame***

Examining government policies, political leaders' statements, business associations' reports, and humanitarian organizations' reports show how Kenya and Rwanda use the Economic Burden Frame differently. Kenya's government routinely invokes a narrative linking refugees and low-skilled migrants to a drain on national resources. In contrast, this frame is applied more selectively in Rwanda and tactically to control migration inflows while promoting investments from the diaspora.

Kenyan decision-makers, especially in the Ministry of Interior and the RAS, have traditionally highlighted how hosting refugees' places enormous pressure on national resources, public services, and local economies. In 2017, then Interior CS Joseph Nkaissery defended Kenya's restrictive refugee policies, saying the country "simply does not have the resources to accommodate large numbers of refugees indefinitely." Current Interior CS Kithure Kindiki echoed this sentiment when, in 2023, he argued that irregular migration was straining Kenya's social services and fueling economic instability (Daily Nation, 2023). These declarations reinforce the sentiment that migrants, especially refugees, compete with residents for resources, jobs, or public services, which influences public support for restrictive migration laws and encampment policies.

Rwanda, at least, while managing the most challenging area of migration policy, does not regularly present migration as a drain on public resources in public discourse. The Economic Burden Frame, for example, is embedded low-profile in conversations on asylum policies and international agreements. Rwandan officials have raised concerns about the potential cost of hosting deported asylum seekers under the UK-Rwanda Asylum Agreement if the promised economic incentives are not provided. However, this narrative is seldom extended to refugees living in Rwanda, with the government promoting their economic inclusion via labor market integration initiatives and private sector partnerships (UNHCR, 2022).

One difference is that Kenya portrays the presence of low-skilled migrants as hampering their economy but also acknowledges the economic potential of skilled labor migration and remittances from the diaspora. The Central Bank of Kenya (CBK) and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs show a proactive attitude in the promotion of remittance inflows that account for 3% of GDP as part of an *Economic Opportunity Frame* of Kenyans in Diaspora while remaining restrictive towards incoming migrants (World Bank, 2022). Rwanda, in contrast, has a much more coherent economic narrative that encourages generations of the diaspora to invest in the native soils while attracting skilled migration and curtailing low-skilled migration, which does not fit with the national development goals.

The results show that Kenya's migration discourse is ambivalent, welcoming financial remittances from skilled workers while limiting migration channels for lower-income communities. Rwanda's model, while restrictive, is strategic and development milieu-oriented, ensuring that migration is aligned with national economic priorities. Ultimately, Kenya's framing leads to inconsistencies in its policies, as some institutions advocate for migration to increase economic growth while others perceive it as a drain on resources, in contrast to Rwanda's more consistent focus on economic migration.

#### **4.4.2 Patterns in How Migration is Framed**

The dataset demonstrates three main patterns through which migration receives its treatment in both Rwanda and Kenya that is; Rwanda's Proactive and Development-Oriented Framing vs. Kenya's Reactive and Fragmented Approach, the Politicization of Refugee Narratives in Kenya vs. the Institutionalized Diaspora Discourse in Rwanda and the Divergence in Media and Civil Society Narratives Between the Two Countries.

The following analysis provides a detailed exploration of these three critical patterns.

#### **4.4.3 Pattern 1: Rwanda's Proactive and Development-Oriented Framing vs. Kenya's Reactive and Fragmented Approach**

One of the most striking patterns in the dataset is Rwanda's proactive and structured approach to migration. Government documents, policy frameworks, and official statements consistently frame migration as an *opportunity* rather than a *challenge*. The Rwandan government, through institutions such as the Rwanda Diaspora Global Network (RDGN) and the Rwanda

Development Board (RDB), promotes the *Diaspora Engagement Frame*, portraying Rwandans abroad as integral to the country's economic development (IOM, 2022). *Vision 2050*, Rwanda's long-term development plan, explicitly highlights migration as a tool for economic growth. The government's narrative control ensures that discussions on migration are mainly positive, future-oriented, and tied to national development goals (Government of Rwanda, 2020). Policy incentives, such as tax breaks and investment schemes for diaspora members, reinforce this framing. The government actively seeks to attract skilled Rwandans abroad to contribute to key sectors, aligning with global discussions on 'brain gain' rather than 'brain drain' (De Haas, 2020). The framing is consistent with worldwide best practices because countries like India and China have achieved successful national development by utilizing their diaspora populations. Migration in Rwanda strengthens both host nations through this approach within the Economic Opportunity Frame.

In contrast, the Kenyan migration discourse is reactive, fragmented, and defined by competing interests. Narratives around Kenyan migration policy oscillate between three prevailing frames, as evidenced by the data. The Security Frame stresses the dangers of irregular migration and refugee handling. The portrayal is apparent in government comments on border security, the existence of Al-Shabaab, and discussions around the closure of the Kakuma and Dadaab refugee camps (Daily Nation, 2022). The Economic Opportunity Frame highlighting the contributions of the Kenyan diaspora through remittances, especially in reports by the Central Bank of Kenya (CBK) (World Bank, 2022). However, in the case of Kenya, this frame is more individualized than in the case of Rwanda, resulting in weaker policies for diaspora engagement. Inevitably, these modalities lead to ignoring the very people it aimed to assist; 'the refugees' which forms the humanitarian frame, the most popular among refugee rights conversations, advanced by international agencies like UNHCR and NGOs such as the Refugee Consortium of Kenya (RCK) (UNHCR, 2021).

Kenya's migration discourse is shaped by short-term political considerations, which create inconsistencies in implementation and a narrative at odds with Rwanda's (Barkley, 2022). The government recognizes that migration has economic benefits but has failed to articulate a coherent, long-term policy vision like Rwanda's. It's worth noting that Rwanda's migration

framing is centralized, development-oriented, and proactive, while Kenya's is fragmented, reactive, and shaped by competing political and security concerns.

#### **4.4.4 Pattern 2: The Politicization of Refugee Narratives in Kenya vs. the Institutionalized Diaspora Discourse in Rwanda**

The dataset highlights that refugee management in Kenya is deeply politicized, with narratives oscillating between humanitarian concerns and security threats. The Security Frame dominates government discussions, particularly about the Dadaab and Kakuma refugee camps. Official statements frequently link refugee populations to national security threats, a framing strategy to justify restrictive migration policies (Muluka, 2021). Electoral politics influence refugee policy in that political leaders often invoke anti-refugee rhetoric during election periods, associating refugees with crime, unemployment, and terrorism (Androff, 2022). This framing is reinforced by host community grievances, where refugees are seen as economic competitors for limited resources.

In contrast, international organizations and NGOs push back against this security framing, employing the humanitarian frame to advocate for refugee rights and inclusion. Reports from UNHCR (2021) and Danish Refugee Council (2022) highlight the economic contributions of refugees, particularly in self-reliant communities within the camps.

Unlike Kenya, Rwanda does not frame migration through a security lens. Instead, the dominant narrative focuses on the economic and developmental contributions of the diaspora. The Rwanda Diaspora Global Network operates as a formal institution to advance the Diaspora Engagement Frame by maintaining focused and goal-oriented discussions about migration (IOM, 2022). Migration discourse in Rwanda persists consistently because the country focuses on economic development and national unity without electoral influences. The discourse regarding refugees in Kenya shows strong political influence related to election cycles and national security priorities, while Rwanda maintains a structured approach toward migration through developmental policies.

#### **4.4.5 Pattern 3: Divergence in Media and Civil Society Narratives**

Kenyan media reflects the country's diverse and contested migration discourse. Some outlets reinforce the security frame, emphasizing the risks of irregular migration (Mohamed, 2023). Others promote the economic opportunity frame, focusing on the diaspora's role in development

and Kenya's position as a regional labor hub. Civil society organizations, particularly NGOs, challenge dominant state narratives, advocating for a rights-based approach to migration (Başaran, 2023). The multiple voices participating in media discussions regarding migration policy result in greater political dispute because Kenya maintains pluralistic and democratic media systems.

In contrast, the media operations in Rwanda maintain close loyalty to official government positions regarding migration. The New Times and other state-owned Rwandan media outlets present migration as an essential national resource as part of their Diaspora Engagement Frame. The organizations in Rwanda maintain support for government policies instead of voicing opposition like Kenyan civil society institutions do (Douglas, Political and Civil Society Elites). Kenya's migration discourse is contested and pluralistic, while Rwanda's is state-controlled and uniform.

Altogether, the dataset analysis shows obvious differences in the framing of migration and development in Rwanda and Kenya. While the migration discourse in Rwanda is centralized, structured, and driven by development, Kenya's discourse is fragmented, reactive, and shaped by political and security concerns. The policy implications of these patterns are significant, affecting the evolution of migration governance in each country. Grasping these variations is crucial for migration policymaking and for comprehension of the wider socio-political landscape of East Africa.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **CONCLUSION**

#### **5.1 Conclusion**

This study explored how government institutions, politicians, international organizations, NGOs, business associations, and the media construct migration and its nexus with development in Kenya and Rwanda. Using framing theory, six dominant migration frames were identified: Preventive Development Frame, Restrictive Migration Frame, National Interest and Security Frame, Migration as a Crisis Frame, Economic Burden Frame, and Global Responsibility-Sharing Frame. Such frames influenced policy choices, societal attitudes, and media discourses, revealing the complexity of migration governance, national-foreign interests, and international relations.

The first research question was: In what ways do actors in Kenya and Rwanda frame migration as a development concern? The findings reveal split discourses on migration policies in the Kenyan context, entangled in security-driven restrictions and economic incentives offered. In contrast, Rwanda exhibits a more integrated migration discourse that centers around centrally controlled, development-oriented policies. In Kenya, migration is constructed within a narrative of security threat, with institutions like the Ministry of Interior and the Refugee Affairs Secretariat (RAS) promoting border control and refugee encampment policies. Political leaders, such as the former Interior CS Joseph Nkaissery and current CS Kithure Kindiki, have further propagated this narrative by correlating migration with national security threats, terrorism, and organized crime. At the same time, institutions such as the Central Bank of Kenya (CBK) and the Kenya National Chamber of Commerce and Industry (KNCCI) highlight pay-off in terms of economics from labour migration and diaspora remittances, exposing a disconnect in terms of government policy between security fears and economic pathways.

In contrast, Rwanda embeds migration governance within its national development agenda, consistent with its Vision 2050 and policies that frame migration as an economic asset. That is where entities like the Rwanda Development Board (RDB) and the Directorate General of Immigration and Emigration (DGIE) are asked to advocate for diaspora investment, skilled migration, and balanced asylum policies. While migration in Kenya is framed as a crisis that

needs a rusty and tight security creak, Rwanda stood a new freshness of shrew-migration for economic and diplomatic recipience. One example includes the UK-Rwanda Asylum Agreement framed by Rwandan officials as a solution to Europe's migration crisis, positioning Rwanda as a global partner on migration whilst prevailing access to economic and political returns.

The other research question investigated how various agents comprehend and deploy migration frames. Kenya has two dominant government narratives the Restrictive Migration Frame and the Migration as a Crisis Frame. Political leaders such as President William Ruto and former Interior CS Fred Matiang'i have repeatedly argued for tightening borders and instituting tighter migration controls, thus reinforcing the notion that migrants, primarily refugees, pose a danger to national stability. However, Kenyan business groups and financial institutions, such as the Kenya Flower Council (KFC) and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, support labour migration policies that back the agriculture, construction and finance industries. Such a dual narrative gives rise to contradictions in migration governance, where migrants are positioned simultaneously as an economic asset and a security threat.

In contrast, Rwanda's migration narrative is more coherent, shaped by state-led narratives on migration that tend to align this issue with national development priorities. The diaspora is seen in this paradigm, promoted by President Paul Kagame, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Rwandan media, as critical to economic growth through contributions and skilled migration. Rwanda's Migration Narrative is dominated by the Preventive Development Frame, ensuring that migration policies are aligned with long-term economic transformation objectives.

The third research question focused on the variation of migration frames across actors in Kenya and Rwanda. The latest findings reveal that while both countries employ restrictive migration policies, the rationale differs. Kenya adopts a securitization approach to migration, associating it with terrorism, irregular migration, and economic burden, whereas Rwanda adopts strategic migration management and prioritizes economic and diplomatic benefits over serious security concerns. The Economic Burden Frame in Kenya is prominent, with politicians and government agencies claiming that refugees and low-skilled migrants overstretch resources. For example, former Interior PS Karanja Kibicho spoke in defense of government plans to close refugee camps, claiming they drain the economy and security agencies. Rwanda uses this frame

differently, attaching it to specific instances, often related to international agreements, like its Asylum Deal with the UK.

The study brings the notion of framing theory, showcasing how different actors generate narratives that shape the socio-political view of migration on the political scene. It thus also correlates with developmental migration theories, as it explains how Rwanda guides migration flows to economic development, in contrast to a reactive and fragmented policy direction in Kenya. The results indicate that migration governance is not only about economic or security concerns but is enmeshed in national political discourse, diplomatic engagements and historical backgrounds in a world of increasing mobility.

Practically, the research showcases how political rhetoric and policies impact migration outcomes. There is no coherent migration strategy in Kenya, and existing policies are contradictory: Kenya's immigration agency promotes the benefits of migration to the country's economy, while other agencies impose stricter restrictions on refugees and undocumented migrants. One of Rwanda's most restrictive approaches ties migration to national development strategies, emphasizing engaging diasporas and skilled migration programs. These contrasts underline broader global migration governance trends; some states prioritize security and restriction, while others optimize migration for economic and diplomatic gains.

The migration framing in both countries was also shaped by external geopolitical and economic factors, which had a role in this research. Furthermore, national-level instability affecting Somalia, South Sudan and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) significantly affects Kenya's refugee policies, resulting in the growing securitization of migration. Likewise, Rwanda's alliances with the West, including the UK asylum deal, inform its selective migration policies. Conversely, in Kenya, economic trends like diaspora remittance flows contribute to the migration narratives, while in Rwanda, the focus is on diaspora investments rather than remittances.

This study contributes to the research on migration governance in Africa by exploring migration framing in Kenya and Rwanda from a comparative angle. While existing studies have addressed migration securitization in Kenya, they overlook the country's migration discourse economic and policy contradictions. Research on Rwanda's migration policies has been similarly lacking, only examining the role of diaspora engagement and omitting how other actors have sought to frame

migration to influence public perception and policy outcomes. This study facilitates a broader map of migration governance across Eastern Africa by connecting migration narratives to framing theory, security discourses, and development strategies.

The results show that the fragmented nature of Kenya's migration governance hampers its capacity to leverage migration for national development fully. Rwanda's centralized, state-led approach enables it to wield migration strategically for economic and diplomatic gains. Kenya's dual migration narrative that welcomes economic contributions from the diaspora but restricts refugee and labour migration leads to contradictory policies and hinders effective governance. Rwanda's approach, while selective, is systematic and guided by its national development priorities.

Overall, this study highlights the politicization of migration in Kenya and Rwanda, demonstrating that migration is not just an economic or security issue but a deeply embedded political tool used to advance national interests. Kenya and Rwanda could benefit from more comprehensive, inclusive migration policies that balance security, economic growth, and human rights considerations.

## REFERENCES

### 1. Books and Journal Articles

Abdulloeva, N., (2023). DIASPORA AND TRANSNATIONAL IDENTITIES.

Adeniyi, D.A., Carciotto, S. and Dinbabo, M., 2024. African Migrations Research: An Annotated Bibliography. *The Strategic Review for Southern Africa*, 46(1 & 2).

Adeola, R., 2019. The African Union Protocol on Free Movement of Persons in Africa: development, provisions and implementation challenges. *Afr. Hum. Rts. YB*, 3, p.260.

Androff, D.K., (2022). *Refugee solutions in the age of global crisis: Human rights, integration, and sustainable development*. Oxford University Press.

Aniche, E.T., 2020. Migration and sustainable development: Challenges and opportunities. *Migration conundrums, regional integration and development: Africa-Europe relations in a changing global order*, pp.37-61.

Bakewell, O., 2008. 'Keeping them in their place': the ambivalent relationship between development and migration in Africa. *Third World Quarterly*, 29(7), pp.1341-1358.

Balakian, S., 2025. *Unsettled Families: Refugees, Humanitarianism, and the Politics of Kinship*. Stanford University Press.

Baraza, Y., (2022). *Print Media Coverage of the Refugee Crisis in Kenya: a Comparative Analysis of the Daily Nation and Standard Newspapers* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Nairobi).

Barkley, B., (2022). *Revisiting the Politics of Asylum in Africa: Explaining Kenya's Sub-National Policy Variation* (Doctoral dissertation, Carleton University).

Başaran, B., (2023). *The Role of International Organizations on Building State Capacity for Environmental Migration Management: A Case Study of Kenya* (Master's thesis, TOBB ETÜ).

Behera, J., Jain, A. and Sharma, R., 2024. The nexus between labour mobility and innovation: an empirical analysis. *Journal of Industrial and Business Economics*, pp.1-34.

Betts, A. (2021). Refugees and patronage: A political history of Uganda's 'progressive ' refugee policies. *African Affairs*, 120(479), pp.243–276.

Betts, A., 2013. *Survival Migration: Failed Governance and the Crisis of Displacement*. Cornell University Press.

Bolt, D., 2024. Inspection report on Home Office country of origin information on Rwanda.

Cannata, G., 2021. *Tackling the Migration and Refugee Crisis at EU Borders: Patterns of Policy Learning and Change*.

- Castles, S., 2010. Understanding global migration: A social transformation perspective. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 36(10), pp.1565-1586.
- Chikanda, A., 2024. Migration/diasporas. *Handbook of African Economic Development*, pp.167-182.
- Clemens, M., Postel, H. & Ratha, D., 2018. Migration as a driver of development. *World Development*, 105, pp.181-196.
- Coughlin, C.C., Chrystal, K.A. and Wood, G.E., 2002. Protectionist trade policies: A survey of theory, evidence, and rationale. In *International Political Economy* (pp. 303-317). Routledge.
- De Haas, H., 2020. *A Theory of Migration: The Aspirations-Capabilities Framework*. Oxford University Press.
- De Haas, H., 2020. Paradoxes of migration and development. In *Routledge handbook of migration and development* (pp. 17-31). Routledge.
- Dickinson, J., 2022. Youth entrepreneurship and heritage tourism: long-term thinking for diaspora engagement.
- Docquier, F. & Rapoport, H., 2012. Globalization, brain drain, and development. *Journal of Economic Literature*, 50(3), pp.681-730.
- Doughty, K.C., 2016. *Remediation in Rwanda: Grassroots legal forums*. University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Douglas, W.M., Political and Civil Society Elites, Governance, and Service Delivery: Lessons from Kenya and Rwanda.
- Drewski, D. and Gerhards, J., 2024. Frames and arguments on the admission of refugees: an empirically grounded typology. *Theory and Society*, pp.1-29.
- Dustmann, C. & Glitz, A., 2011. Migration and education. *Handbook of the Economics of Education*, 4, pp.327-439.
- Entman, R., 1993. Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm. *Journal of Communication*, 43(4), pp.51-58.
- Entman, R.M., Matthes, J. and Pellicano, L., 2009. Nature, sources, and effects of news framing. In *The handbook of journalism studies* (pp. 195-210). Routledge.
- Fischer, L. ed., 2024. *The Crisis-Mobility Nexus*. Springer Nature.
- Flahaux, M.L. and De Haas, H., 2016. African migration: trends, patterns, drivers. *Comparative migration studies*, 4, pp.1-25.
- Flick, U., 2014. *An Introduction to Qualitative Research*. Sage Publications.

- Gamson, W. & Modigliani, A., 1989. Media discourse and public opinion on nuclear power: A constructionist approach. *American Journal of Sociology*, 95(1), pp.1-37.
- Gaudreault, F. and Bodolica, V., 2024. Africanization of Developmental State Model: On Rwanda's Industrial Policy and Institutional Arrangements. *International Journal of Public Administration*, pp.1-17.
- Gayle, N., Navarro, D., Murekezi, P. and Barchue, A., 2013. Leveraging and tapping the Diaspora and remittances for development. In *Conference of International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD)*.
- Goffman, E., 1974. *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience*. Harvard University Press.
- Hartmann, C., (2023). *The Externalization of Eu Migration Policy: Development and Securitization Approaches and Their Critiques* (Master's thesis, Dokuz Eylul Universitesi (Turkey)).
- Hollifield, J.F. and Foley, N. eds., 2022. *Understanding global migration*. Stanford University Press.
- Huysmans, J., 2006. *The politics of insecurity: Fear, migration and asylum in the EU*. Routledge.
- Jacobsen, K. and Fratzke, S., 2016. *Building livelihood opportunities for refugee populations: Lessons from past practice*. Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute.
- James, G., 2021. *The role of Rwandan diaspora in the socio-economic transformation and reconciliation in Rwanda* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Rwanda).
- Kari, U., Malasowe, G. and Collins, O., 2018. A study of illegal migration trends and the pull and push factors in Nigeria, 2011-2017. *World Journal of Innovative Research*, 5(6), pp.53-60.
- Lauwers, N., Orbie, J. and Delputte, S. (2021). The Politicization of the Migration–Development
- Laux, M.C., 2021. *EXTERNALIZING MIGRATION MANAGEMENT-The European Union's Externalization of Migration Management to Niger and Its Challenges for Accountability* (Master's thesis).
- Lavenex, S. and Piper, N., 2019. Regional migration governance: Perspectives from above and from below. In *The dynamics of regional migration governance* (pp. 15-35). Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Makina, D. and Magwedere, M.R., 2023. REMITTANCES–DEVELOPMENT DEBATE IN. *Routledge Handbook of Contemporary African Migration*.
- Maria, C.O. and Ionuț, P.A., 2024. Economic security and Migration within the European Union. *Sivas Interdisciplinary Turizm Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 7(2), pp.18-38.

- McAteer, B., Amado, P.G., Krisciunaite, A. and Owiso, M., 2023. Somali refugees in Kenya.
- Mikulewicz, M. and Taylor, M., 2020. Getting the resilience right: climate change and development policy in the ‘African Age’. *New Political Economy*, 25(4), pp.626-641.
- Mohamed, M.H., (2023). *Contested notions of ‘radicalization and youth vulnerability in Mombasa County, Kenya: an analysis of national and local discourses* (Doctoral dissertation, Dublin City University).
- Muluka, B.O., (2021). *Forced Migration And The Dialectic Of Home And Return: The Case Of South Sudanese Refugees In Kakuma Refugee Camp And Kalobeyei Integrated Settlement In Kenya, 1991–2019* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Leicester).
- Munyegera, G.K., 2017. Assessing the Net Fiscal Contribution of Labor Migration in Rwanda Policy Paper for OECD/ILO/EU Commission.
- Muyombano, I.A., 2020. *Analysis of the Contribution of Foreign Development Strategies on Economic Development of Rwanda* (Doctoral dissertation, JKUAT-COHRED).
- Njau, V.M., 2021. *Kenya’s Policy, Response and Implication on International Refugee Law on Influx of Somali Refugees* (Doctoral dissertation, Kenyatta University).
- Njoroge, G.K., 2019. *Influence of Refugee Affairs Secretariat in the Delivery of Services in Dadaab, Kenya* (Doctoral dissertation, KENYATTA UNIVERSITY).
- Okello, A.O., (2024). Refugee Welfare in Kenya: Challenges and Solutions.
- Onguny, P., (2021). The politics of impunity and the shifting media landscape in Kenya. *Athens Journal of Mass Media and Communications*, 7(1), pp.61–78.
- Onyango, B.L., 2018. *The Effectiveness of Legal Instruments of the Child Refugee: a Case Study of Dadaab in Kenya* (Doctoral dissertation, university of nairobi).
- Owen, A.S., Olawunmi, O.M.I.T.O.G.U.N., Kelly, O.S.I.F.O. and Kisugu, O.B.U.N., 2023. CONFLICT AND REFUGEES CRISIS IN THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM. *Journal of Public Administration, Finance & Law*, (29).
- Owen, C., et al., 2023. Forced migration and public policy: Current debates. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 36(1), pp.78-102.
- Pécoud, A., 2021. Narrating an ideal migration world? An analysis of the Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration. *Third World Quarterly*, 42(1), pp.16-33.
- Pellerin, H. and Mullings, B., 2013. The ‘Diaspora option’, migration and the changing political economy of development. *Review of International Political Economy*, 20(1), pp.89-120.
- Penninx, R., 2005. Integration of migrants: Economic, social, cultural and political dimensions. *The new demographic regime: Population challenges and policy responses*, 5(2005), pp.137-152.

- Petrachin, A., 2024. The politics of multi-level migration policymaking: a network-centered perspective. *Policy Studies*, 45(1), pp.89-112.
- Ratha, D., 2021. Migration and development: A revisited perspective. *Migration Studies*, 9(2), pp.134-158.
- Ratha, D., 2021. Staying the course on global governance of migration through the COVID-19 and economic crises. *International Migration (Geneva, Switzerland)*, 59(1), p.285.
- Ratha, D., et al., 2011. The impact of remittances on economic growth and poverty reduction. World Bank Publications.
- Reslow, N., 2019. Horizontal and vertical diversity: Unintended consequences of EU external migration policy. In *Unintended consequences of EU external action*. Taylor & Francis.
- Robson, L., 2023. *Human Capital: A History of Putting Refugees to Work*. Verso Books.
- Rwengabo, S., (2024). Return Migration to Africa and Its Development Potential. In *Routledge Handbook of Contemporary African Migration* (pp. 246-272). Routledge.
- Sabates-Wheeler, R. and Waite, M., 2003. Migration and Social Protection: A concept paper. *Institute of Development Studies, Sussex, December, 1645*, pp.1980-2000.
- Santos, C. and Mourato, J.M., 2022. Voices of contention: the value of development narratives in the age of climate (change) migration misconceptions. *Climate and Development*, 14(1), pp.13-24.
- Scheufele, D. A., 1999. Framing as a theory of media effects. *Journal of Communication*, 49(1), pp.103-122.
- Schreier, M. "Qualitative content analysis in practice." *Jacobs University Bremen* (2012).
- Serraglio, D.A. and Adaawen, S., 2023. International Organization for Migration (IOM).”.
- SYLVIE, W., 2023. An Analysis of Diaspora Experiences and Diaspora Engagement Practices of Ghanaian and Kenyan Migrants in Japan.
- Talukder, M.N., Shohag, A.A.M., Haque, E., Hossain, M.I., Falcone, J. and Rob, U., 2021. Economic opportunities for refugees: Lessons from five host countries.
- Taran, P.A., 2009. *Economic migration, social cohesion and development: Towards an integrated approach*. Council of Europe.
- Triandafyllidou, A., 2018. Globalization and migration: An introduction. In *Handbook of migration and globalization* (pp. 1-14). Edward Elgar Publishing.

Ullah, A.A., 2024. International Migration, International Relations, Security in Asia. In *Handbook of Migration, International Relations and Security in Asia* (pp. 1-15). Singapore: Springer Nature Singapore.

Van Gorp, B., 2005. Where is the frame? Victims and intruders in the Belgian press coverage of the asylum issue. *European Journal of Communication*, 20(4), pp.484-507.

Van Riemsdijk, M., Marchand, M.H. and Heins, V.M., 2021. New actors and contested architectures in global migration governance: continuity and change. *Third World Quarterly*, 42(1), pp.1-15.

VICTOR, S., 2024. *Effect of diaspora remittances on household livelihoods in Kericho County Kenya* (Doctoral dissertation, Kenyatta University).

World Bank, 2022. *Remittances and Migration Trends 2022*. Washington, D.C.: World Bank.

## 2. Government and Policy Documents

Government of Kenya (2014) *National Diaspora Policy*. Nairobi: Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Migration Data Portal (2021) *Migration Governance Profile: The Republic of Rwanda*. <https://www.migrationdataportal.org/overviews/mgi/rwanda#0>.

Government of Rwanda (2020) *Vision 2050: The Development Agenda for Rwanda*. Kigali: Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning.

Refugee Affairs Secretariat (Kenya) (2021) *Annual Report on Refugee Management in Kenya*. Nairobi: RAS.

Rwanda Government, 2021. *National Diaspora Policy*. Kigali: Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The East African, 2021. *Regional integration and migration trends in East Africa*. Nairobi.

Kenya Government, 2006. *The Refugee Act*. Nairobi: Government Press.

Kenya Government, 2020. *Kenya National Migration Policy*. Nairobi: Government Press.

Kenya Diaspora Alliance (KDA) (2020) *Strengthening Diaspora Engagement: Policies for Remittance Flows and Investment Opportunities in Kenya*. Nairobi: KDA.

Directorate General of Immigration and Emigration (DGIE) (2022) *Cross-Border Mobility and Rwanda's Open Visa Policy: Enhancing Regional and International Movement*. Kigali: DGIE.

Migrants & Refugees (2022) *Rwanda - Migrants & Refugees Section*. <https://migrants-refugees.va/country-profile/rwanda/>.

Kenya's draft national migration policy integrates global compact commitments (2018). <https://www.iom.int/news/kenyas-draft-national-migration-policy-integrates-global-compact-commitments>.

*Kenya's draft national migration policy integrates global compact commitments* (2018b). <https://www.iom.int/news/kenyas-draft-national-migration-policy-integrates-global-compact-commitments>.

*Kenya Gazette Vol. CXIII-No. 47* (2011). <https://new.kenyalaw.org/akn/ke/officialGazette/2011-05-27/47/eng@2011-05-27>.

National Council for Law Reporting and Authority of the Attorney-General (2011) *THE KENYA CITIZENSHIP AND IMMIGRATION ACT, 2011, LAWS OF KENYA*. <https://admin.theiguides.org/Media/Documents/ImmigrationCitizenshipAct2011.pdf>.

### **3. International and Regional Organizations and Reports**

International Organization for Migration (IOM) (2022) *World Migration Report 2022*. Geneva: IOM.

IOM Rwanda (2024) In Rwanda, female cross-border traders find solidarity. <https://rwanda.iom.int/stories/female-cross-border-traders-find-solidarity-face-adversity>.

IOM Rwanda (2024) In Rwanda, female cross-border traders find solidarity. <https://rwanda.iom.int/stories/female-cross-border-traders-find-solidarity-face-adversity>.

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) (2021) *Kenya Refugee Response Plan 2021-2024*. Geneva: UNHCR.

United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UN DESA), 2020. *International Migration Report 2020*. New York: United Nations.

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), 2022. *Global Trends: Forced Displacement in 2022*. Geneva: UNHCR.

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) (2022) *Rwanda Country Report on Refugees and Migration*. Geneva: UNHCR.

World Bank (2022) *Migration and Remittances Factbook 2022*. Washington, D.C.: The World Bank Group.

East African Community (EAC) (2021) *East African Community Vision 2050: Regional Development Strategy for Economic Growth and Integration*. Arusha: EAC Secretariat.

East African Community (EAC) (2010) *Protocol on the Establishment of the East African Community Common Market*. Arusha: EAC Secretariat.

International Organization for Migration (IOM) (2018) *The Role of Cross-Border Traders in Regional Economies: Challenges and Opportunities*. Geneva: IOM.

African Development Bank (AfDB) (2021) *Climate Change, Resource Scarcity, and Migration in East Africa: Trends and Policy Responses*. Abidjan: AfDB.

Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) (2019) *Pastoralist Mobility and Climate Resilience in Northern Kenya*. Djibouti: IGAD.

Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) (2020) *Regional Integration and Migration Governance: Challenges and Policy Responses in East Africa*. Djibouti: IGAD.

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) (2021) *Urban Refugee Integration in Rwanda: Challenges and Opportunities*. Geneva: UNHCR.

International Organization for Migration (IOM) (2015) *Inter-Agency Coordination and Migration Governance: Strengthening Institutional Responses in Kenya*. Geneva: IOM.

International Organization for Migration Kenya (IOM Kenya) (2021) *Migration Governance and Policy Development in Kenya: Institutional Mandates and Implementation Strategies*. Nairobi: IOM Kenya.

Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) (2020) *Regional Integration and Mobility Policies in East Africa: Collaboration with the African Union and Member States*. Djibouti: IGAD.

East African Community Secretariat (EAC Secretariat) (2020) *Protocol on the Free Movement of Persons: Advancing Regional Mobility and Labor Migration in East Africa*. Arusha: EAC Secretariat.

Caritas Rwanda (2021) *Humanitarian Aid and Community Integration: Supporting Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons in Rwanda*. Kigali: Caritas Rwanda.

Rwanda Development Board (RDB) (2022) *Diaspora Investment and Skilled Migration: Strategies for Economic Development in Rwanda*. Kigali: RDB.

Institute of Policy Analysis and Research (IPAR-Rwanda) (2021) *Labor Migration, Skills Transfer, and Economic Development in Rwanda: Policy Perspectives and Social Cohesion*. Kigali: IPAR-Rwanda.

International Crisis Group (2015) *Violence and Extremism in Kenya: The Impact of Terror Attacks on Security Policy*. Brussels: International Crisis Group.

Amnesty International (2021) *Discrimination in Citizenship and Documentation: The Case of the Somali Community in Kenya*. London: Amnesty International.

#### 4. NGO and Think Tank Reports

Danish Refugee Council (DRC) (2021) *Economic Contributions of Refugees in Kenya and Rwanda*. Copenhagen: DRC.

Legal Aid Forum (2022) *Migration and Human Rights in Rwanda*. Kigali: Legal Aid Forum.

Refugee Consortium of Kenya (RCK) (2021) *Legal Challenges Facing Refugees in Kenya*. Nairobi: RCK.

Refugee Consortium of Kenya (RCK) (2020) *Refugee Protection and Human Rights Advocacy in Kenya: Policy Challenges and Recommendations*. Nairobi: RCK.

Haki Africa (2021) *Migrant Rights and Social Inclusion in Kenya: Addressing Human Rights Violations and Empowerment Strategies*. Mombasa: Haki Africa.

#### 5. News Articles and Media Reports

Sky News (2022c) *Why are migrants being sent to Rwanda and how will it work?* <https://news.sky.com/story/where-is-rwanda-why-are-migrants-being-sent-there-and-how-will-it-work-12589831>.

IOM - UN Migration (2019) *Contribution of the diaspora to Kenya's development*. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jmPDPK3Q2il>.

KTN News Kenya (2023) *Shifting of Kenyans development from the West to the East*. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7UsxxAxXSU>.

WMTW-TV (2018) *Kenyan immigrant speaks out against human trafficking*. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DImRuFX-0Mo>.

Daily Nation (2023) 'Interior CS Kindiki on border security and illegal migration', *Daily Nation*, 15 June. Available at: [www.nation.africa](http://www.nation.africa) (Accessed: 10 December 2024).

The Guardian (2023) 'UK-Rwanda asylum deal: What does it mean for migration?', *The Guardian*, 5 April. Available at: [www.theguardian.com](http://www.theguardian.com) (Accessed: 8 December 2024).

The New Times (2022) 'Rwanda's diaspora investment and national development', *The New Times*, 20 August. Available at: [www.newtimes.co.rw](http://www.newtimes.co.rw) (Accessed: 5 December 2024).

Daily Nation, 2022. Kenya's migration policies and economic implications. Nairobi.

The New Times, 2022. Rwanda's diaspora engagement and economic growth. Kigali.

BBC News (2023) 'UK-Rwanda asylum deal aims to curb illegal migration', *BBC News*, 12 April. Available at: [www.bbc.com](http://www.bbc.com) (Accessed: 03 January 2025).

The Guardian (2023) 'UK-Rwanda asylum deal: What does it mean for migration?', *The Guardian*, 5 April. Available at: [www.theguardian.com](http://www.theguardian.com) (Accessed: 8 December 2023).

CNBC Africa (2018) 'Rwanda Debate: How the African diaspora can contribute to the continent's growth', *CNBC Africa*, 15 November. Available at: [www.cnbc.com](http://www.cnbc.com) (Accessed: 5 January 2024).

University of Nairobi (UON) (2020) *Research and Academic Programs on Migration and Development in Kenya*. Nairobi: University of Nairobi.

University of Rwanda (2020) *Migration Studies: Diaspora Contributions, Refugee Integration, and Self-Reliance in Rwanda*. Kigali: University of Rwanda.

Nation Africa. (2022, October 2). *Enact national migration policy to address plight of Kenyans in diaspora*. <https://nation.africa/kenya/blogs-opinion/blogs/enact-national-migration-policy-to-address-plight-of-kenyans-in-diaspora-3970460>

DW News (2024) *Germany-Kenya migration deal prompts brain drain fears* | *DW News*. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zUzrEVMez6s>.

Sippy, B.P. (2024) *Kenya ETA: President Ruto's vision of visa-free entry proves tricky for some*. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-68093488>.

CNBC Africa (2018) *Rwanda Debate: How the African diaspora can contribute to the continent's growth*. [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=a\\_CM4z0Rk-A](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=a_CM4z0Rk-A).

The Square (2019) *The Square S2E20: Role of Diaspora in developing Rwanda*. [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fvvdNfy9\\_Ug](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fvvdNfy9_Ug).

Center for Strategic & International Studies (2024) *Rwanda's Strained Relations with Neighbors*. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nxEFebqJ968>.

Sky News (2022) *What does Rwanda think of the proposed migrant scheme?* <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hFtTVgLTUb0>.

Sky News (2022a) *What do refugees face in Rwanda?* <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FA6JR8gNIs8>.

Al Jazeera English (2022) *Rwanda struggles with about 130,000 refugees, migrants*. [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yjI\\_vAhbHBM](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yjI_vAhbHBM).

NBC News (2022) *Watch: Inside a Rwandan transit center for refugees and migrants*. [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dFreZE\\_hyv8](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dFreZE_hyv8).

Guardian News (2022) *'Why Rwanda?': government immigration policy fiercely condemned*. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qon1k1wAI9Q>.

OHCHR. (2021). *In Dialogue with Rwanda, Committee on the Rights of Migrant Workers Welcomes Adoption of Progressive Legislation and Asks about Migrants in Irregular Situations*. [online] Available at: <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2021/09/dialogue-rwanda-committee-rights-migrant-workers-welcomes-adoption>.