Chapter 10
Malevolent Trespassers or Benevolent Guests:
A Meta–Analysis of Media Representation of African Migrants

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ABSTRACT

Migration, a phenomenon where different factors compel people to move from one location to a new location, has remained an intrinsic feature of the human world. Many studies have been conducted on media portrayal of migrants, little scholarly attention has been paid to the dominant image of African migrants in the news media. Therefore, this study, deploying agenda-setting and framing theories, attempted a meta-analysis of the existing studies on media portrayal of African migrants with a view to establishing the dominant image of the migrants as reported by the media. Twenty-five journal articles on portrayal of African migrants purposively selected through online search were analysed quantitatively and qualitatively. Findings reveal that the media portrayed African migrants via negative lens with the use of ubiquitous derogatory frames which include: aliens, foreigners, purveyors of social ills, vagrant, criminals, chaotic and hopeless. These dominant negative images of Africa and African migrants portend a great danger to globalisation and global economic integration. The realisation of comprehensive globalization and global economic integration will remain elusive as long as the media continue to give more prominence to the negatives of migration than the positives. Therefore, the media agenda, in all climes, should be used to positively influence public agenda and policies as regards migration.

INTRODUCTION

Human beings, by their nature, are itinerant: They constantly move from one place to another for many reasons, chief among which is survival. However, Africa is often seen as a continent of mass migration and displacement caused by poverty, violent conflict and environmental stress (Flahaux & De Haas, 2016). Expatiating more on the perceived general image of Africa by other continents, Harth (2009) observes that Africa is viewed as a place of danger, darkness, violence, poverty and hopelessness. The author states further that "many Westerners view Africa as primarily a jungle or desert landscape where the people speak unintelligible languages" (Harth, 2009, p. 5). Consequently, it has been argued and empirically established that the mass media, being the invention and tool of the Western world, are being deployed to portray the Black Race in manners that give legitimacy to the stereotypical ideas of Africa as a continent of poverty and conflict (Flahaux et al., 2016). Profoundly, Scott (2009), states that "the media coverage of Africa is understood to typify the very worst elements of media coverage of the wider world" (p. 535). Also, according to Hawk (1992), Africa is often presented in the Western media as a homogeneous continent and in a more specific observation, Brookes (1995) cited by Scott (2009) reports that the UK press uses frames such as presenting Africans as animals, as chaotic, brutal and wild, and Africa as a continent which is gravely dependent upon the West and a burden to it. Media, in umpteen times, frame Africa as a place of darkness (Alozie, 2007). However, scholars like De Haas (2007) have argued that despite media hysteria on the growth of African migration to Europe, the actual numbers seem quite small.

Significantly, the biased media portrayal of migrant groups is not particular to African continent. It is a common trend across different countries of the world. Buttressing this reality, Christoph (2012) aggregates some studies conducted on media portrayal of migration across the world and concludes that diverse migrant groups across all climes are often portrayed in a negative manner in the mass media, "usually referring to them as members of an ethnic group rather than as individuals, leading to the creation of a negative image of the entire group in the host society" (p. 97). The author, therefore, avers that the portrayal of ethnic minorities and migrants in the mass media is not likely to change in the near future (Christoph, 2012). Similarly, Pooley (2014) observes that "the global media cast migrants in a negative light and construe migration as a problem. In turn, such reporting can fuel discrimination against immigrants and can make their lives more difficult" (p. 3). This is in alignment with the assertion of Nolan, Farquharson, Politoff and Marjoribanks (2011) that numerous studies have demonstrated how migrants (refugees and asylum seekers) are frequently portrayed in a negative and problematic manner in the news media with labelling that borders on stereotypes, invocation of fear and danger.

Eberl, Meltzer, Heidenreich, Herrero, Theorin, and Strömbäck (2018) also lend their voice to the discourse of media portrayal of migrants when they state that migrants are generally under-represented and shown as delinquents or criminals. They further reveal that "while migrant groups are generally underrepresented, when they are in the media, they are often framed as economic, cultural, or criminal threats and thus covered in a highly unfavourable way" (p.13). Meanwhile, it has been discovered that humans are more interested in and more reactive to negative information which therefore implies that media firms, in a bid to enhance and sustain patronage of their contents, would tilt towards bias and negative style of reporting (Soroka & McAdams, 2015; Ibrahim, 2016). This can inform the reason for the biased negative portrayal of migrants by the media. Currently, the divisive impact of negative media reportage of migrants is pervasive across many countries and it is really affecting international diplomatic relations and economic integration. However, scholars like Scott, (2009); Georgiou, (2012)

and Anna, (2015) have also argued that the media have been a bit more balanced in the portrayal and coverage of migrants.

Many studies have been conducted on media portrayal of different migrant groups in different countries. For instance, media portrayal of Latin American migrants in Japan (Tsuda, 2003), minority migrants in Switzerland (Trebbe & Schoenhagen, 2011), Sri Lankan migrants in Canada (Bradimore & Bauder, 2011), Sudanese migrants in Australia (Nolan, Farquharson, Politoff & Marjoribanks, 2011; Budarick & Han, 2015), migrants in Romania (Georgescu, 2011), migrants in New Zealand (Gregory, Borell & McCreanor, 2011), African and Caribbean migrants in Canada (Baffoe, 2010), migrants in Britain (Blinder & Allen, 2014), African migrants in Australia (Horyniak & Lim, 2016), African migrants in Poland (Średziński, 2017), and African-Australians in Australia (Han & Budarick, 2018). Also, there have been various studies on the general discourse on media coverage of migration and migrants (e.g. Christoph, 2012; Georgiou, 2012; Lee, 2012; Pottie-Sherman and Wilkes, 2013; Silveira, 2015; Kosho, 2016 & Eberl et al., 2018). In addition, scholars have examined how African media portrayed African migrants within Africa, most especially South Africa (Crymble, 2010) – known for its rife racism and ethnic issues (e.g. Danso & McDonald, 2001; Crymble, 2010; Mawadza, 2012; Wessels, 2012; Manase, 2013; Banjo, 2014; Mbetga, 2014 & Mawadza and Banda, 2016).

From the foregoing studies, it is evident that migrants are portrayed through a negative lens by the media and most usually as a homogenous group, as asserted by Hawk (1992) and Christoph (2012). While it is not impossible that some individuals among a migrant group can be malevolent to their host, this does not generally mean that there is no sizeable degree of benevolence that migrant groups afford their host countries. In the meantime, despite the vast scholarship across the world on the portrayal of migrants in the media, there is a dearth of systematic analysis of literature providing a detailed situation and picture of overall findings and trends about the dominant image of African migrants in the news media. Therefore, the core question that this paper answers is: What is the dominant image of African migrants as reported by the news media across different countries? This article, thus, attempts a meta-analysis of the existing studies on media portrayal of African migrants with a view to establishing the dominant image of the migrants as reported by the media.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Migration and Development

Migration is a broad term which underlines that there are different kinds of migration; but this article focuses on human migration. Human migration is the movement of people from one place to another. This can suggest movement from one country to the other and it also can include movement within a country (Anna, 2015). Notably, migration is a phenomenon that has contributed to shape the history of mankind (Kosho, 2016) and it transcends the linear function of global disparities in life perspectives (De Haas, 2007). This foregrounds that migration (Kosho, 2016) is more than the mere movement of people from their country of origin to another country which can be precipitated by myriad of factors such as war, economic constraint, terrorism, greener pasture syndrome (Castles, Cuba, Kim & Ozkul, 2012; Anna, 2015 & Flahaux & De Haas, 2016). Expounding on the factors that can necessitate migration, Anna (2015) notes that "people who migrate, i.e. migrants, move for different reasons, for instance, to work or to study. Sometimes they are looking for a better life with more opportunities, and sometimes

they are forced to leave" (p. 10). The author states that the former is often called voluntary migration and the latter forced migration. Forced migrants are people who have forcefully been displaced from their homes. If they have been displaced within the country in which they resided, they are usually called 'internally displaced persons' (Anna, 2015).

Explaining further the complexity of migration, De Haas (2007) notes that it is both the cause and effect of broader development processes with which it is intertwined. The author asserts that as far as continued globalisation and global economic integration is concerned, it is unlikely to expect a general decrease in mobility and migration because it will, in all likelihood, remain an intrinsic feature of our world. This is in consonance with the assertion of Ochola (2016) that migration is a continuous process in an increasingly globalised world. It should be noted that human mobility is an integral part of human development as articulated by Sen (1999). More so, mobility is a basic freedom which has the potential to lead to greater human capabilities, in the words of Castles et al. (2012). In fact, international migration is driven by "development, demography and democracy" (GCIM 2005, p. 12). Castles et al. (2012) actually nail it by stating profoundly that globalization creates the conditions for increased human migration. Arguably, migration is a concomitant element of globalisation.

Relating his view on the interconnectedness of migration and development, Sen (1999) cited by Castles et al. (2012) posits that development represents the "process of expanding the real freedoms that people enjoy" (p. 3). By implication, true development encompasses the intra and inter-movements of people from one geographical domain to another. As a matter of fact, it has been established that migration has the potential to bring benefits for origin and destination countries and for migrants themselves (UNDP, 2009). So, the current dominant views on migration and development summarise that migration can bring benefits in various ways such as financial remittances, social remittances (transfer of development-friendly attitudes to origin areas by migrants), technology transfer, and brain circulation (Castles et al., 2012). Therefore, reducing migration restrictions and ensuring that people can move safely and legally help enhance human rights and can also lead to greater economic efficiency and social equality (UNDP, 2009). However, irregular migration is thus unlikely to have positive development benefits and the development benefits of irregular migration may be much more limited than those of regular migration (Castles et al., 2012). By irregular migration, we mean the unauthorised movement of people into another sovereign territory. This underscores the fact that migration can either be regular or irregular depending on the modalities of migrants' transition into another country.

Scholars like Castles and Van Hear, (2011) have argued that facilitating development in migrants' countries might decline international migration and on this basis, many governments have defined development policies to be the way of addressing the root causes of migration. However, recent migration research has shown that development actually increases migration, by giving people the resources to move (Castles et al., 2012). This makes scholars such as De Haas, (2007), Banjo, (2014) & Ochola, (2016) to conclude that migration (especially irregular) will continue to be a global phenomenon as long as there is marked global economic inequality. In fact, Castles et al. (2012) assert that "no amount of border regulation or return policies will stop people moving, when the potential rewards are so high" (p. 135).

In the same vein, Banjo (2014) posits that globalisation and the cross-border movement of people have made issues surrounding immigration a very important topic that often generates heated debates and there is no likelihood of a decline in migration as it an essential element in the phenomenon of globalisation – a posture which the present world is assuming. Notably, it is impossible to dissociate migration from the course of development of a people. Migration is both the result of development and underdevelopment. In other words, lack of development in a particular country can make the inhabitants want to move to

another socio-economically viable domain and development (availability of resources) can also spur people to move into another place to explore new environments with its accompanying opportunities.

Expounding more on the importance of migration to globalisation, Kosho (2016) posits that migration is an issue with high sensitivity, not only for the policy makers, but also for the citizens of the host or source country. This denotes that any misrepresentation of migration can pitch the citizens of the host country against migrants and inform policies that are anti-migration which, in turn, will affect global integration. In fact, scholars like Pooley, (2014); Kosho, (2016) and Eberl *et al.*, (2018) have posited that the description and labelling of migrants in the media greatly influence public attitudes towards migrants and affect the policies on migration.

Media Portrayal of Migrants: Implications for Public Opinion and Policy Making

Migration and the media are two inevitable phenomenon and tool (respectively) in the course of globalisation (De Haas, 2007 & Georgiou, 2012; Nassanga et al., 2014). Arguably, it is nearly impossible to alienate the media from the course of migration globally as long as migration remains an intrinsic feature of the human society (De Haas, 2007) and the media also maintain its indispensability to the human social fabric (Georgiou, 2012).

Notably, media organisations do not exist in isolation; they are equally influenced by public opinion (Banjo, 2014). Meanwhile, while information dissemination is a major function of the mass media, it has been established that the mass media also create ideologies and discourses that support power relations (Smith, 2002). It is therefore important not only to look at the media as a means to measure public perceptions of foreigners, but also the manner in which perceptions are created. To a large extent, the news agenda of the mass media influences the agenda of the public (Banjo, 2014). The manner in which the media packages a particular story can also determine how it is received by the public. It is not simply about whom the press quotes or gets to comment on migrant issues, but it is also "the way in which these comments are framed and presented that is also significant" (Harris, 2001, p. 169). It is worthy to note that the interpretation of the news by the audience is also influenced by factors such as each individual's standpoint, socio economic condition and outlook (McQuail, 2000).

Explicating the relationship between media portrayal of migrants and public perception about migration, Pulliam (2018) submits that the media outlets have the potential to influence public perceptions about refugees because the general public in a host country receives its information primarily from the media. In addition, Eberl et al. (2018) reveal that media coverage plays a significant role in the development of public opinion on immigration. In addition, Pottie-Sherman and Wilkes (2013) posits that the media is widely held as a force that both shapes and reflects how citizens think about immigrants and immigration. Media thus perform a crucial role in defining how different groups experience rights in multicultural societies. Media performance shapes how different individuals and groups gain representation as actors with equal rights and capacities to contribute to collective debates surrounding national identity or, alternatively, are represented as 'problems' for the polity, as objects rather than subjects of governance (Nolan et al., 2011).

Expounding on the effect of negative portrayal migrants by the media, Blinder and Allen (2014) aver that the mostly negative coverage of immigration can lead to activation of stereotypical cognitions of migrant groups. When the audience is repeatedly exposed to negative media messages over time, this effect might be reinforced and, in the long run, influence perceptions of political actors and even audiences' voting behaviour. This is congruent with the submission of Silveira (2015) that "the representa-

tions of 'migrants' as natural disasters, criminals, victims and most importantly, as masses of people rather than individual humans, make it harder for the reader to identify with them" (p. 11). Invariably, the media, through its coverage and portrayal of migration, greatly determine the attitudinal disposition of citizens of host countries to migrant groups, government policies and the eventual treatment of such people by the host nations.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical orientations employed in this paper are agenda-setting and framing theories. These theories are considered relevant because they provide profound understanding to how the media set agenda for the public through the use of certain frames. In essence, the theories complementarily expound on how media agenda influences public agenda thereby foregrounding media effects.

Agenda-Setting Theory

The origin of agenda-setting is traceable to Walter Lippman's book published in 1922 titled: *Public Opinion* which begins with a chapter titled 'the world outside and the pictures in our head'. Weaver and Shaw (1972) used the 1968 U.S presidential election to test whether there was relationship between the priority issues of the mass media and the priority issues of the public. Their study established a nearly perfect correspondence between the two agendas. The degree of importance accorded the issues by voters paralleled the degree of prominence in the news the previous month (McCombs & Valenzuela, 2007).

The media set agenda in diverse ways, through focused news coverage, targeted editorial commentary, syndicated opinions and columns, cumulated messages, and consensus/consonance among journalists, widespread and penetrative advertising (Batta, Batta & Mboho, 2015). According to Baran and Davies (2003), agenda-setting theory stresses the notion that the mass media have a large influence on audiences by their choice of what stories to consider news worthy, and how much prominence and space to give such stories. The focus of the theory is on how media coverage could shape the priority given to objects of media content (issues, candidates, events and problems). Severin and Tankard (2001) state that agenda-setting means that, through repeated news coverage, the media heighten the importance of an issue in the receivers mind.

Aptly, agenda-setting theory is focused on the public's perceptions rather than on its attitudes. The media have the ability to emphasize certain issues and articles over others. Agenda-setting theory holds that if the mass media give an issue considerable attention, that issue will become more important to the public (Danker-dake, 2008).

Framing Theory

The major relationship that exists between agenda-setting and framing theories is that agenda-setting theory, through repetition of certain messages, constrains the public on what to think about, while framing theory, a build-up on agenda-setting, explicates that the media do not just determine public agenda but also create the frames through which different issues are viewed, defined, reacted to and interpreted. Framing research suggests that the media go beyond telling the public what is important and newsworthy, as agenda setting postulates; rather, they also tell the public what opinions, interpretations, and definitions of a controversial issue are most important (Andsager, 2000). In the same vein, Ardèvol-Abreu (2015)

states that for the agenda-setting theory, the central issue is not the way a particular event is reported, but the amount of attention given to the event or its attributes by the media and the time individuals have been exposed to the coverage of the event.

According to Entman (1993, p. 52) cited in Weaver (2007), "to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described." Furthermore, framing means that the media not only tell the readers what to think, but how to think about them. People acquire information about most public events from the news media. They also learn how much value to attach to a story, as a result of the emphasis placed on the story (Amenaghawon, 2016).

In the context of this study, agenda-setting theory enhances explanation on what issues are given prominent coverage as regards African migrants while framing theory helps in understanding how media framing of issues about African migrants really affects their integration in their host countries and its general impact on globalisation.

Methodology

In order to establish the current dominant image (s) of African migrants in the news media, this study specifically employed meta-analysis as the method. According to Allen (2009) cited by Ahmed and Matthes (2017), meta-analysis is a systematic quantitative technique used to ascertain relationships among variables and it helps to elucidate misperceptions in literature, examine methodological arguments, and offer a comprehensive assessment of theoretical standpoints. Simply put in the words of Ojebuyi and Ojebode (2011), "meta-analysis permits quantitative findings of a variety of studies on the same topic or study area, which are converted to a common metric for the purpose of generalisation and replication" (p. 171). Specifically, this study primarily focused on the current research discourse on media portrayal of African migrants with a view to establishing the dominant image of African migrants in the news media. The focus of this study is precipitated by the dearth of scholarly investigation that foregrounds the pronounced image of African migrants in the news media.

Sampling and Sample

To collect data for this study, the following databases were searched: SAGE Journals Online (http://online.sagepub.com), JSTOR Archives online (http://www.jstor.org) and Google Scholar (http://www.scholar.google.com). The following combination of keywords were used to access relevant journal articles: 'media', 'media portrayals', 'media representation', 'media coverage', 'media stereotype' AND "African migrants' and 'migration.' Through the websites, communication-based journals such as *The International Communication Gazette, Comparative Migration Studies, Media, Culture and Society, Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies, Journal of Intercultural Studies, and International Journal of Communication* were accessed. Book reviews were ignored. The abstract of each article was read first to see if it investigated or discussed media portrayals of African migrants. Only articles focusing on African migrants and published within 2010-2018 were purposively selected. The period was considered significant because migration within Africa and from Africa to Europe and Gulf countries was on the rise due to the escalation of terrorism, prevalence of bad leadership and economic hardship in most African countries (Bakewell & De Haas, 2007 cited by Castles *et al*., 2012). So, it is believed

that media coverage of African migrants would be more pronounced during the period from which the dominant pattern of discourse on media coverage and portrayal of African migrants can be established.

A total number of 25 articles were examined for this study. The articles examined were selected with the following criteria: full-text articles and year of publication. Relevant articles whose abstracts alone were accessed were not considered because the researcher was particular about exact frames used in portraying African migrants which are normally presented in the discussion sections of research reports. This decision accounts for fewer articles reviewed for this study. In addition, to complement the small number of relevant studies accessed, textual analysis was employed to provide qualitative data support for the quantitative data.

Procedure

This present meta-analysis was conducted in two steps. First, for the quantitative data analysis, the important and needed characteristics of the sampled studies were analysed; this is discussed in detail below. Second, a qualitative analysis was done to identify the common and dominant themes (images) in studies conducted on media coverage and portrayals of Africa and African migrants.

Analytical Categories for the Quantitative Analysis

At the quantitative stage, each of the accessed articles was coded for (1) research methods (2) theoretical application (if there is any), (3) Authorship, and (4) media frames of African migrants employed in the study. For publication with more than one theory, dual or multiple entries were made. A greater number (13) out of the 25 articles used mixed method while 3 articles had multiple theoretical frameworks. The data analysis was presented in tables using frequency counts and simple percentages. The categories are explained as follows:

1. **Methodological Approaches**: These are sub-categories created for the major categories under research methods – quantitative and qualitative methods. For quantitative method, survey; content analysis; experiment and multi-quantitative methods study were generated, while under qualitative method, the sub-categories generated are critical discourse analysis, textual analysis, observation, Focus Group Discussion (FGD) and interview.
2. **Theoretical Application**: This has to do with the exact communication theories or models the authors used to generate research questions, form hypotheses, and question or support their findings in the articles studied for this review. The following theories (agenda-setting, framing, and media representation) were identified and coded under appropriate sub-categories.
3. **Authorship**: The authorship category was coded for the first author's country of affiliated university.
4. **Media Frames of African Migrants**: The two sub-categories (positive and negative frames) are used to show the dominant frame in media portrayal of African migrants in the articles studied. Positive frame is a good media presence with unbiased language use in the portrayal of African migrants while negative frame is the malignant description of African migrants by the media. The neutral frame is coined to represent an in-between media judgement in the coverage and portrayal of African migrants.

Qualitative Analysis

The articles accessed were carefully studied and some dominant frames about African migrants were highlighted and discussed in order to establish the dominant pattern of media portrayal of African migrants. Therefore, the following themes were identified as the predominant media frames of African migrants: Aliens, foreigners, victims and purveyors of moral decadence and negative social ills, chaotic and hopeless, criminals and law-breakers and poverty-stricken and vagrants.

Presentation of Findings

We first present findings from the quantitative analysis. Then, we present the qualitative finding and discuss the two categories of findings as they address the research question: What is the dominant image of African migrants as reported by the news media across different countries?

Results of Quantitative Findings

In this section, the results of findings on the predominant research methods, theories, authorship, and media frames from the reviewed articles on African migration are presented and concisely discussed. The findings are presented in Tables 1 to 4.

Research Methods

The Table 1 below shows the quantitative and qualitative research methods employed in the empirical studies analysed for this study.

The results in Table 1 show the frequency of the use of the research methods in media portrayal of African migrants. A larger percentage (52%, n = 13) of the 25 articles examined combined both qualitative and quantitative methods. Articles that used quantitative method accounted for 20% (n = 5), while only 28% (n = 7) articles employed qualitative method.

This finding presents another angle to previous studies and findings that most communication researchers use more frequently quantitative and qualitative research methods. Specifically, Ojebuyi et al. (2011) found out that communication scholars employ more frequently qualitative method than quantitative method, but this study has established that communication scholars now prefer a mixed method approach because of its ability to yield more robust data and comprehensive findings. Evidently, quantitative approach yields data in numbers and figures while qualitative method produces data in texts. The

Table 1. Research Methods Employed in Studies reviewed on Media Portrayal of African Migration

Research Method	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Quantitative method	5	20
Qualitative method	7	28
Mixed methods	13	52
Total	**25**	**100**

adoption of mixed methods by researchers is due to its comprehensive data generation and open-ended opportunity to explore diverse angles to any topical issues at hand.

Theoretical Application

The predominant theories (framing, agenda-setting, media representation and critical discourse analysis models) used in the existing literature meta-analysed are presented in the Table 2.

The results as presented in Table 2 show the predominant communication theories employed in the articles analysed for this study. Among the communication theories used by the theory-driven studies, Framing Theory (40%, n=10) was the mostly applied communication theory, followed by Agenda-setting Theory, Critical Discourse Analysis Models and Media Representation Theory which accounted for 20% (n=5), 12% (3) and 8% (2) respectively. Meanwhile, articles with mixed theories are 3 which represent 12% of the entire articles reviewed while 8% (n=2) of the studies did not apply any theory.

This finding reveals that generally, studies on media portrayal or coverage of any objects are always situated within theoretical frameworks which underlines that media coverage of migration requires theoretical orientation for better analytical presentation and explanation of findings. This finding contradicts Ojebuyi et al. (2011)'s finding that communication researchers do not frequently hinge their studies on theoretical frameworks as it is only 8% (n=2) of the articles reviewed that were not theory-driven. Significantly, the study reveals that Framing and Agenda-setting Theories are the predominant theories used in media coverage of migration. This is perceived to be so because the two theories explain the dynamics of media influence on the public by the setting of public agenda through the use of certain frames.

List of Countries by Research Ranking

Table 3 presents the authorship category which was determined by the first author's country of affiliated university. Authors from a total of 8 countries contributed to our data set. As shown in Table 3, authors from South Africa (N=10, 40%) were the most common, followed by those from the UK (N=4, 16%). Australian (N=3, 12%) and Ghanaian (N=3, 12%) scholars were the third largest group of contributors, authors from USA (N=2, 8%) while Kenya, Portugal and Dominican Republic have the least number of studies (N= 1, 4%), respectively.

Table 2. Classification of Communication Theories used in the articles reviewed on Media Portrayal of African Migrants

Predominant Communication Theories Used	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Framing Theory	10	40
Agenda-setting Theory	5	20
Media Representation Theory	2	8
Critical Discourse Analytical Model	3	12
Mixed theories	3	12
No theory used	2	8
Total	**25**	**100**

Table 3. List of countries by research ranking

Research Ranking	Research Country	Number of Studies	Percentage (%)
1	South Africa	10	40
2	United Kingdom	4	16
3	Australia	3	12
4	Ghana	3	12
5	USA	2	8
6	Kenya	1	4
7	Portugal	1	4
8	Dominican Republic	1	4
Total		**25**	**100**

Media Frames of African Migrants

This Table 4 shows the dominant frame in media portrayal of African migrants. Two sub-categories (positive and negative frames) are used to show the dominant frame in media portrayal of African migrants in the articles studied. The results in Table 4 present the dominant frames of African migrants in the studies reviewed. The finding show that African migrants are negatively portrayed by the media as 84% of the articles which account for 21 out of the total 25 articles establish it. It is only 8% (n= 2) of the articles that presented African migrants in a good light while another 8% (n= 2) neither framed African migrants as positive nor negative. For the negative frames, the media are found not to give African migrants widespread coverage and the number of times any news surfaces about them in the media, it is always with negative portrayal such as criminals, vagabonds, foreigners, carriers of deadly diseases and purveyors of social ills to their hosts.

This finding strongly validates the assertion of Scott (2009) who states that the media coverage of Africa is understood to typify the very worst element of media coverage of the wider world. This gives credence to the fact that Africa generally has always been a victim of unwholesome media coverage. Many scholars such as Wessels, (2012), Mueni, (2016), Ochola (2016) among others have also lent their voices to the discourse on the malignant portrayal of African migrants by the media. However, this finding does not necessarily suggest that African migrants have no significant positive contribution to their host countries; to corroborate this, Mawadza *et al.,* (2016) found out that Zimbabwe migrants in South Africa are highly skilled professionals in fields like medicine, engineering etc. but are robbed the necessary integration that could have help boost South African economy.

Table 4. Categorisation of Media Frames of African Migrants in Reviewed Studies

Media Frames	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Positive	2	8
Negative	21	84
Neutral	2	8
Total	**25**	**100**

Qualitative Findings

In this section, five of the most commonly re-occurring themes about/media frames of African migrants found in our sample are presented in order to buttress the quantitative findings. The following themes were identified as the predominant media frames of African migrants: Aliens and foreigners, victims and purveyors of moral decadence and negative social ills, chaotic and hopeless, criminals and law breakers and poor and vagrant. Each of these frames is discussed with relevant textual evidences that foreground them in the studies reviewed.

African Migrants as Aliens or Foreigners

One dominant image of African migrants evident in the studies reviewed is aliens or foreigners–which means that African migrants are seen as strangers in their host countries. Of course, an alien or a foreigner is one who is socio-politically, economically and structurally removed from a particular geographical location, though he/she may be physically present in such a place. By this finding, African migrants are completely alienated from their host countries and this portends threat to the integration of Africans amongst other continents of the world because they are not given any sense of belonging. Specifically, Mbetga (2014) and Banjo (2014), in their studies conducted in South Africa, points out that the South African print media constructed blacks as foreigners and aliens (unknown people with the pronoun refer-ence to them as 'they' and 'them'). Some examples of this frame of black migrants in the South African media as reported by Nolan *et al.,* (2011), Mbetga (2014) and Banjo (2014) include:

Sample 1: Too many aliens. We have millions of aliens and our population is smaller (Mbetga, 2014, p. 62)
Sample 2: Fleeing the violence that has been unleashed against them, foreigners are starting to go home. (Mbetga, 2014, p. 75)
Sample 3: Bloody end of alien lover (Banjo, 2014, p.36)
Sample 4: Later in the evening, displaced foreigners gathered at Laudium Police Station for safety (Mbetga, 2014, p. 68)
Sample 5: Sudanese people an undifferentiated group that is unlikely to integrate and thereby represents a problematic 'Other' within Australian... (Nolan et al., 2011, p. 669)
Sample 6: War against aliens! Thousands forced to flee Alex (Banjo, 2014, p. 36)

Evidently, in Samples 1and 2 above, African migrants are presented as aliens who are already taking over South Africa from the indigenes and this has continually caused the natives' war against them for their territorial sovereignty and security. Sample 6 also clearly shows that African migrants are being labelled as threats to the South African communities, hence, the rife phenomenon of xenophobia in the country aimed at annihilating the blacks (especially Nigerians) in South Africa. It can be seen in Sample 3 that the South African media portrayal of a deceased black migrant is malignant because of the use of the derogatory word 'bloody'. The word 'bloody' in qualifying a human being (whether dead or alive) is denigrating and it shows how malignant the media can be in portraying Africans which, in turn, affects how they are perceived by their host countries. In Sample 5 above, Sudanese migrants in Australia are portrayed as visibly the outsider 'other' who cannot integrate.

Finding in Sample 5 suggests that Africans in Australia are not seen as people who have the intellectual ability and moral structure to get well-incorporated into their host country – underlining that Africans are not essentially seen as benevolent guests but malevolent trespassers in the Australian community. Generally, finding, in this section, strongly underscores that the integration of African migrants into the host country's' social setting will remain an onerous task as long as their media portrayal remains biased and malignant.

African Migrants as Victims and Purveyors of Moral Decadence and Social Skills

Examples of media portrayal of African migrants as victims of their own greed and purveyors of negative social ills are evident in Samples 7 to 9. We conceptualise a victim as an unfortunate person who suffers loss or damage from an adverse circumstance while a purveyor is a custodian, carrier or symbol of a value or virtue. With respect to our contextual conceptualisation of victim and purveyor, African migrants are represented as people who have only left their countries because of their avariciousness to unnecessarily burden their host countries and because they are perceived to be a highly disadvantaged race, they are the major carriers and transmitters of moral decadence in the host countries. But this is not always the truth because the Western world is even the origin of most of the grave social vices globally.

Sample 7: Suppliers of sexual services, un-motherly, victims, and purveyors of decadence and other negative social ills in the society (Mawadza et al., 2016, p. 2).
Sample 8: Modern-day 'slavery' in Mid-east as Kenyans return in Coffins (Mueni, 2016, p. 31).
Sample 9: I already bought you! It's a rat's life for Kenyans sold into bondage (Mueni, 2016, p. 31).

Sample 7 vividly foregrounds that Zimbabwean women migrants in South Africa are depicted, by the media, as caricatured and stigmatised as people without voice and individuality (Mawadza *et al.*, 2016). The media portray them solely as suppliers of sexual services, victims of all sorts of assault, un-motherly to their children and symbols of decadence and other negative social ills in the South African society. While it is not impossible that some of these Zimbabwean women are social sex workers and thereby contributing to moral decadence, there would still be some of them that are very useful to the economic boom and have positive contribution to social development in South Africa. This negative portrayal of African migrants has bellied any good contribution they may be adding to their host countries. In essence, the media ought not to amplify the negatives of these migrants while downplaying their positives in the way they are portrayed (Mawadza et al., 2016).

In addition, Samples 8 and 9 as reported by Mueni (2016) reveal how Kenyans in the seven gulf countries are subjected to inhuman treatment but the media, ironically, portray them as victims of their own greed. They are maltreated by the natives because the media have always portrayed them as unrepentant opportunists who have no benefits to do their host countries. Ironically, it is these African migrants that are used as drudgers in many of their host countries because they are stronger and smarter yet the citizens of the host countries see them as threats to their social, economic and political wellbeing. Profoundly, it is revealing that the media, via its coverage, across many nations malign African migrants while the citizens of such nations need more Africans to do drudgeries for them.

African Migrants as Criminals and Law Breakers

We define criminals and law breakers as people who notoriously and defiantly contravene established rules and regulations of a social setting and so they are abhorrent and undesirable in any social context. Across the studies reviewed, African migrants are implicitly and explicitly portrayed as criminals and law breakers in a dominant way. As shown in Samples 10 and 11, migrants are portrayed as criminals who are associated with law-breaking activities and so they abuse the social and legal systems of South Africa. Also, the excerpts in Sample 12, underlines the dominant image of African migrants as violent and intolerant of the citizens of their host countries. The excerpts that foreground the frame of Africans as criminals and law breakers are presented below:

Sample 10: Black foreigners as aggressors or abusers of social and legal system in South Africa (Mbetga, 2014)

Sample 11: One of the key features of all publications analysed is the association of African migrants with nefarious activities such as crime, law breaking activities and citizens of impoverished nations. (Banjo, 2014, p. 48)

Sample 12: Black 'foreigners' as counter-attackers who are at war with locals (Mbetga, 2014, p. 87).

Interestingly, the labels above are from studies conducted on South African media portrayal of African migrants and this implies that even African media are also part of the bandwagon of unwholesome portrayal of migrants from Africa. It can be explained out that South Africa is dominated by whites and so the fight is still between whites and blacks in a black domain. It could be inferred that there seems to be the universality of negative portrayal of African migrants across climes. In fact, in a study conducted by Adjeley (2018) on Ghanaian media coverage of Liberian migrants, it is also established that the Ghanaian media negatively portrayed Liberian migrants in Ghana and this is foregrounded by this excerpt: Liberians are perceived as treacherous lawbreakers, private armies, infectious patients, HIV-carriers, drug addicts, who took advantage of Ghanaians kindness by draining the tax base to sustain their horde of communal events (Adjeley, 2018, p. 36).

African Migrants as Poverty-Stricken and Vagrant

Samples 13 to 15 show another dominant news media frame of African migrants in the studies reviewed. The frame is that Africans are poverty-stricken and vagrant. To be poverty-stricken is to be extremely poor without any means of ensuring a good standard of living while to be vagrant is to be directionless, erratic and unsettled in life because of lack in ensuring a stable livelihood. By this frame, African migrants are essentially represented and presented to the world as extremely poor and unsettled people. The excerpts are:

Sample 13: Citizens of impoverished nations (Banjo, 2014, p. 48)
Sample 14: Vagrants, vagabonds, wanderers and bogus asylum-seekers (Mbetga, 2014, p. 94)
Sample 15: Africa is a 'continent on the move' (Flahaux et al., 2016, p. 1)

As shown by Sample 13, African migrants are portrayed as extremely poverty-stricken, while Samples 14 and 15 show that Africans are vagrants, vagabonds, wanderers and bogus asylum-seekers and Africa

as a continent on the move. Of course, Africa may be viewed as a continent on the move because of the irregular migration of its denizens due to war, economic hardship, bad leadership etc. but this does not suggest that Africans are of no benevolent value to their host countries. In Sample 14, the use of words like vagabonds and vagrants to describe African migrants are not pleasant at all. They can best qualify valueless objects or entities. As a matter of fact, there is practically no human being that is totally value-less; so even if African migrants appear to be much of a burden to their host countries, it should be noted that they are not completely irrelevant to their host countries. Hence, the language use of the media in portraying African migrants underline an exaggerated representation of ills associated with migration, especially for the host countries.

African Migrants as Chaotic and Hopeless

Another dominant media frame of African migrants as established by the meta-analytical approach of this study is the hopelessness and chaotic nature of African migrants. By definition, a chaotic situation of a group of people is an extremely disorganised or disarrayed circumstance of such group of people while hopelessness means that there is no ground for optimism. By implication, African migrants are portrayed as extremely disorganised set of people who have no hope for a dignified future. The excerpts that underline the frame discussed in this section are presented below:

Sample 16: African women and children are helpless (Danker-Dake, 2008, p. 15)
Sample 17: Africa is chaotic and hopeless (Fair, 1996 in Danker-Dake, 2008, p. 15)
Sample 18: Kenyan workers in Saudi must find the mistreatment familiar (Mueni, 2016, p.31)

Evidently, Sample 16 reveals the U. S media portrayal of African women and children as disadvantaged people who are helpless because of their living conditions; Sample 17 shows how malignantly African continent is portrayed by the American media – as a chaotic continent inhabited by extremely disorganised and disadvantaged people who have no hope of a promising future. In Sample 18, the media portrayed Kenyan migrants in Saudi Arabia as hopeless people who have to cope with the inhuman treatment meted out to them by the citizens of their host countries knowing full well that the home (Kenya) holds nothing promising for them. These linguistic representations of Africans outside of Africa as shown in samples 16 to 18 are mostly arrived at by the media generalisation of the misdemeanour or plight of one member of the migrant group. Meanwhile, most of the time, such negative media slant against the migrant group is not always representative of the entire group. This is in consonance with the position of Christoph (2012) that diverse migrant groups across climes are often portrayed in a negative manner in the mass media, "usually referring to them as members of an ethnic group rather than as individuals, leading to the creation of a negative image of the entire group in the host society" (p. 97).

The Trend of News Media Portrayal of African Migrants

According to the quantitative data presented in this study, out of total 25 articles examined, a greater number 84% (n=21) projected African migrants in negative light while a small number (n=2, 8%) were positive in the projection of the image of African migrants and 8% which is 2 out of the total number of the articles were neutral (that is, neither positive nor negative) in the portrayal of African migrants. From this quantitative analysis, it is evident that African migrants are not portrayed well by the news

media across climes. The most interesting aspect of this finding is that African migrants do not receive good coverage by African news media which naturally is averse to logic. For instance, 10 out of the 25 articles examined are studies conducted in South Africa but none of these studies reported a wholesome media coverage and portrayal of African migrants. This contradicts the position of Hawk (1992) that it is only Western media that are biased about the representation of African migrants. Generally, the finding of this study corroborates the assertion of Scott (2009) that media coverage of Africans is understood to typify the worst element of media coverage in the whole world. Of course, Africa's problem with the news media coverage has to do with the foundational negative image the West holds about her and her inhabitants. This is put in perspective by Harth (2009) who states that Africa is viewed as a place of danger, darkness, violence, poverty and hopelessness.

To buttress the quantitative data, the qualitative data present the exact words used by news media in portraying the African migrants. Samples 1-7 foreground African migrants as Aliens and foreigners; Samples 7 to 9 underline the portrayal of Africans as victims of their own greed and purveyors of decadence and other negative social ills; Samples 10-12 show Africans, in another man's land, as criminals and law breakers who are threat to the tranquillity and sanity of their host countries; Samples 13-15 reveal African migrants as poverty-stricken and vagrant and Samples 16-18 underscore that Africa and Africans are portrayed by the media as being chaotic and hopeless. These words are adjectives and nouns of negativity which are too obnoxious for the global image of Africa and Africans. As a recourse to agenda-setting and framing theories, it should be noted that the media, through the use of certain frames for a topical issue, set agenda for the public discourse and public attitudinal disposition towards the object framed (Andsager, 2000; McCombs et al., 2007 & Ardèvol-Abreu, 2015)). So, media have always been the architect of unwholesome disposition of host countries towards African migrants like the grave Xenophobia in South Africa (Banjo, 2014; Mbetga, 2014). More so, Han et al. (2018) aptly capture the woes of biased media portrayal of African migrants when they state that the "misrepresentation of African-Australians has adverse effects on the quality of their lives, employment opportunities, identity formation and everyday interactions between African migrants and the host community" (p. 10). Therefore, there is need for a global collective fight against media negative portrayal of migrant groups as it does more harm, even to the host countries, than the envisaged good. This is supported by the Chan (2013) who states that "as immigration debates continue to intensify, challenging the negative portrayal of immigrants in the media will be a vital part of resisting the punitive turn in immigration sentiment and policy" (p. 45).

Media Portrayal of African Migrants: Implications for Globalisation and Global Economic Integration

The untoward media portrayal of African migrants definitely has implication for global integration and diplomatic relations between Africa and the rest of the world. In fact, scholars like (Banjo, 2014 & Eberl *et al.*, 2018) have argued that there is no likelihood of a decline in migration as it is an essential element in the phenomenon of globalisation. In the words of Ochola (2016) "migration is a continuous process in an increasingly globalised world" (p.1). So, if migration is a phenomenon that has shaped human history (Kosho, 2016) and is both the cause and effect of broader development processes (De Haas, 2007), the media is supposed to responsibly cover and portray any migrant group in a balanced and fair manner. By implication, unfavourable representation of a migrant group can portend danger to the cause of migration and, in turn, affect globalisation. Furthermore, it has also been established that

migration is an essential part of the human development (Sen, 1999; Castles et al., 2012). According to International Organisation for Migration cited by Castles et al. (2012), it has been noted that more people live outside their country of birth today than in any other period of human history, and these levels are expected to continue to rise in the future. Therefore, it is impossible to dissociate migration from the course of development of a people. Migration is both the result of development and underdevelopment. In other words, underdevelopment in a particular country can make the inhabitants want to move to another socio-economically viable domain and development (availability of resources) can also spur people to move into another place to explore new environments with its accompanying opportunities. In the light of the inevitability of migration to the realisation of globalisation, global economic integration and healthy diplomatic relations, the media should be deployed to positively influence public agenda, behaviour and policies through a balanced presentation of migration issues and fair representation of migrant groups across the globe (Pooley, 2014; Kosho, 2016).

With respect to the finding of this study, the media are supposed to be holistic in its approach of covering and portraying African migrants because they, largely, determine their acceptance and integration in their host countries which, in turn, affects the feasibility of globalisation. It should be noted that Africans are not the only race of people who migrate to other continents, though they may constitute a greater percentage of world migrants (Castles, 2012, p. 131), as there is no country in which there are no migrants because migration is a global phenomenon which cannot be eschewed from the evolving globalised world (Ochola, 2016). Foregrounding the intricacies of the unwholesome portrayal of African migrants, Banjo (2014) notes thus that "the negative language and metaphors targeting African migrants have serious social implications. Once a group of people is dehumanised, either through representations of disease, threat or burden; it is easier to treat them with hostility" (p. 161). This assertion aptly explicates the impact of the media language on migration violence like the xenophobia in South Africa and the general public's attitude towards African migrants in all of the countries they can be found. Knowing full well that the media is widely held as a force that both shapes and reflects how citizens think about immigrants and immigration (Pottie-Sherman et al., 2013).

Similarly, it has been observed that media performance shapes how different individuals and groups are presented either as 'problems' for the polity or as objects rather than subjects of governance (Nolan et al., 2011). So, the media are a major determinant of the manner in which African migrants are viewed and treated by the host countries all the while. Blinder et al. (2014) buttress this point by stating that when the audience is repeatedly exposed to negative media messages over time, this effect might be reinforced and, in the long run, influence perceptions of political actors and even audiences about migration. This is in tandem with the position of Silveria (2015) that "the representations of migrants as natural disasters, criminals, victims and most importantly, as masses of people rather than individual humans, make it harder for the reader to identify with them" (p. 11).

To sum up, the realization of globalisation and global economic integration is greatly dependent on media coverage and portrayal of migrant groups across the world as it should be noted that migrants in any country should not be seen as malevolent trespassers of another people's territory but as benevolent guests who can contribute a great deal to the socio-economic and political development of their host countries. A fundamental change in attitudes would be an important step toward fairer and more effective migration policies and media representation of migrants. Migration should not be seen as a threat to the sovereignty of a host nation, but as a phenomenon requisite for the evolving globalised world. This perspective could provide a new frame of reference when thinking about migrants, as well as about state policies and public attitudes towards migration and migrants (Castles et al., 2012).

CONCLUSION

In order to establish the dominant image of African migrants in the news media across the world, this study meta-analysed existing available studies conducted on the coverage and portrayal of Africa migration. Findings reveal that the general image of African migrants in the news media is unwholesome. Quantitatively, a greater percentage of the studies examined show that African migrants are underrepresented and when they are present in the media, they are portrayed in unfavourable manner. The qualitative finding reveals that Africans are negatively portrayed by the news media with the preponderance of derogatory words such as aliens, foreigners, purveyors of moral decadence and social ills, vagrant, victims, criminals, law-breakers, chaotic, poverty-stricken and hopeless. This unfavourable portrayal of African migrants is dehumanising and it has been informing a continuum of discrimination against and evolving trend of extirpation of the black race (like the rife xenophobia in South Africa which can be termed 'afro-phobia') in their host countries across the world. The realization of comprehensive globalization, global economic integration and better diplomatic relations among countries of the world will remain elusive as long as the media continue to give more prominence to the negatives of migration than the positives. Therefore, the media agenda, in all climes, should be used to positively influence public agenda and policies as regards migration.

Recommendations for Media Practitioners and Policy Makers, and Further Research Directions

Since media agenda greatly influence public agenda, media owners and practitioners should ensure that the media coverage and portrayals of Africa and African migrants are balanced and wholesome as this can channel the cause for a new narrative about the extant malevolent image of African migrants held across the globe. Similarly, as it has been established in this study that media framing of African migrants is somewhat biased and unwholesome; policy makers in different countries of the world should always investigate media reportage about African migrants in order to establish the truth before making anti-migration policies.

Further research should be conducted on media content and portrayal of migrant groups from other continents for better understanding of the complex factors that shape citizens' perception of migration and migrants. This, in the long run, can help position the media to be balanced in the portrayal of migrants for favourable state policies and public attitudes towards migration and migrants.

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KEY TERMS AND DEFINITIONS

Development: Development is not purely an economic phenomenon but rather a multi-dimensional process involving reorganisation and reorientation of entire and social system. It is a shift from an economic perspective to a more humanitarian and contextualised one.

Globalisation: This is the process by which the world is becoming increasingly interconnected as a result of massively increased trade and cultural exchange. It is the process of interaction or integration among people, companies and governments of the world.

Global Economic Integration: This is an arrangement between different countries/regions that often includes the reduction or elimination of trade barriers, and the coordination of monetary and fiscal policies.

Meta-Analysis: Meta-analysis permits quantitative findings of a variety of studies on the same topic or study area, which are converted to a common metric for the purpose of generalisation and replication.

Migration: Migration, a phenomenon where different factors compel people to move from one location to a new location with the aim of staying in the new location, permanently or temporarily.

News Media: This encompasses all the diverse forms/media (radio, tv, print and music) of communicating news to the heterogeneous public in a collective manner.