

**Remittance-Development Nexus: The Policy and Political Narratives of  
Migrant Remittances in Kenya**

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Submitted to

Central European University,

Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Masters of Arts

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Budapest, Hungary/ Vienna, Austria

Academic Year: 2019/2020

## **Declaration**

I hereby declare:

- That this thesis is solely my work with academic advice from my supervisors, family and friends;
- That, I have mentioned all used sources and that I have cited them correctly according to established academic citation rules;
- That this thesis is not used or submitted for graduation in another program.

This thesis was conducted under the supervision of Assistant Professor Andreas Dafinger and Professor Prem Kumar Rajaram from the Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology. Accordingly, I Consent to the utilization of my thesis in the Central European University (CEU) library, physical as well as online and for possibility of exploration and potential utilization by others.

## Abstract

Traditional remittances are funds transferred by migrants to their country of origin as a form of obligation to financially sustain their dependents back home. Remittances today however have gained increasing exposure from the international, regional and national communities when linked to development of nations. The purpose of this study is to bridge the existing knowledge gap with regard to understanding the ‘journey’ governments in the third world have walked to embrace what started as remittances by migrants to sustain their families in their origin country into a major resource input into the economic, social and political development of these countries. The focus of the study is narrowed down on providing a holistic policy and state representation of migrant remittances as perceived and understood by these developing countries and the remittances received where Kenya is selected as the geographical focus of the study. Utilizing discourse analysis to analyze key documents published by the Kenyan government and others by the Kenyan government in partnership with regional and international organizations where key features depicting and propagating the policy and political remittances narrative in Kenya were identified. That is, there is a continuous recognition and incorporation of Kenyan migrants into the Kenyan economic, social and political sphere, a created and continuously sustained bounded social space of interaction between Kenyan migrants and the Government of Kenya, and remitting obligations are seen to be changing from traditional moral obligations to market-based remitting. There is also identity creation for migrants by the state through migrant engagement policies, initiatives and national development projects and finally the role Kenya plays in sustaining the remittance – development rhetoric.

**Key Words:** Remittances: Remittances – development: Migrant engagement policies: Migrant Politics

## **Acknowledgement**

First and foremost, I am grateful to my supervisor, Assistant Professor Andreas Dafinger, who has offered a productive learning environment for me and for this I am grateful for his support, guidance, patience and encouragement. I would also like to thank Professor Prem Kumar Rajaram for his insights on my thesis and for providing different perspectives and proceedings with my thesis.

Secondly, I want to thank my family for their love, encouragement and guidance in the entirety of my studies; my father for his continued support and for reading every word of my drafts and guiding me on bringing out my arguments more clearly. His love and everlasting support has been a rock during my Masters program and thesis writing journey.

Lastly, special thanks to the special friends I made during my studies. For being a friendly, fun and academic rock through this whole process. Thank you, Galina Khegay, John Axl Palisoc and Amanda Lee Centeno.

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## Abbreviations

AIR	African Institute of Remittances
AU	African Union
ERS	Economic Recovery Strategy for Wealth and Employment Creation
GoK	Government of Kenya
IOM	International Organization of Migration
KDP	Kenya Diaspora Policy
KFP	Kenya Foreign Policy
NGOs	Non-governmental organizations

## Chapter 1: Introduction

### *1. Remittances, Kenyan Migrants and the Government of Kenya*

The basic understanding of remittances is that, these are funds transferred by migrants to their country of origin as a moral obligation of financially sustaining the dependents back home (Small 2019). With remittances for most, be it cultural, family, political, economic and/or sentimental reasons, there is the unwillingness of severing ties with one's home country even as they settle and adapt into the destination country (Kinuthia, Jonyo, and Godwin 2017). Scholars such as Kinuthia et al (2017) further argue that remittances are integral to migration – development ideologies. This is because to one of the basic motives for migrating is sustained by remitting a portion of one's earnings to dependents and communities of origin.

With the 21<sup>st</sup> century interest in remittances and its link to the development of developing countries, there has emerged increasing evidence that there is more to remittances than the treatment of the phenomenon as a basic moral obligation to dependents. It is acknowledged that for many developing nations, remittances provide an important source of much-needed funds (Beyene 2015; Gubert 2017; Aboulezz 2015; Kinuthia and Akinyoade 2012); Remittances is continuously being recognized as an emerging important source of external development finance (Aboulezz 2015; Gubert 2017; Waweru and Elly Ochieng 2017; Issahaku, Abor, and Harvey 2017) whereby in some cases, funds from remittances exceed funds designated as aid from the developed world (Kinuthia, Jonyo, and Godwin 2017; Williams 2018; Gubert 2017).

John N. Maara et al asserts that 'external remittances have become a vital source of financial flows to the Kenyan economy for the last decade' (Maara, Manda, and Kiiru 2019), indicating that the Kenyan state and non-state actors have no doubt identified remittances as integral to

their economic development agenda, It is in this regard that this study aims to bring out the incidence of remittances as seen from a policy and politically oriented narrative, a narrative that now seems to stretch beyond monetary remittances into social and political remittances as well. A policy narrative, in this study, is taken as the plans or statements of intent which the Government of Kenya (GoK) has adopted and in some cases implemented as a framework that informs their decision-making processes. While a political narrative, in the boundaries of this study, will refer to the activities, actions and language by political officials in an aim to maintain and sustain power and authority in a country or over a particular society.

### **1.1. Problem statement**

While the trajectory of remittances leads to a conclusion that it is a critical resource to the development of remittance recipient countries, there is a gap in available remittance-development studies literature focused on the policy and political narrative of migrant remittances. Much of available literature seems to lean on studies on the motivation, utilization, impact and cash flows / statistical analysis of remittances emphasizing on the overwhelming arguments that remittances are important to the economies of the developing countries. However, there is limited knowledge on the kind of social space of existence that is created within migrant policies and by governments embracing remittances as ‘a new mantra of development’.

The purpose of this study is to bridge the existing knowledge gap with regard to understanding the ‘journey’ governments in the third world have walked to embrace what started as remittances by migrants to sustain their families in the origin country into a major resource input into the economic development of the countries. This study focuses on the narrative of the Government of Kenya (GoK) regarding remittances as a case study. I have selected Kenya

because it is a country I am fairly familiar with and I can be able to contextualize the information drawn from this target country. A deep analysis and knowledge on the remittances in the case of Kenya will be useful to policymakers particularly with regard to policy formulation on 'diaspora' and remittances. It will generate further understanding and insight on engagement of migrants and incorporating them in the development of their origin country. Besides, Kenyan migrants will contextualize their role in development and reposition the application of their resources.

This research, therefore, investigates the attention that has been accorded to remittances by the GoK and clearly bring out the narrative as embedded in the political and policy attention accorded to migrant remittances. An in-depth analysis of state and non-state (regional and international organizations) published public policies, national legal documents (Constitution) and development projects documents may reveal social identities and social expectations generated around remittances which are then accorded upon Kenyan migrants as the source of these remittances by GoK. Furthermore, through these state and non-state published public documents the interaction between GoK and Kenyan migrant remittances may point out how this interaction is created, sustained and continuously justifies the remittance-development rhetoric by Kenya and the developing countries at large.

## **1.2. Contextual Background**

Kenyans have migrated from Kenya for a number of reasons majorly in such of better and/or higher income earning opportunities, better living and learning environments, and even fleeing harsh political regimes as was the case in Kenya 1980s and 1990s (Kinuthia, Jonyo, and Godwin 2017). Migration from Kenya also has strong links to the pursuit of higher education so as to increase ones economic and social capital. The education-development rhetoric was

introduced by Kenya's first president, Jomo Kenyatta in the 1960s whereby the government actively encouraged and sent young Kenyans abroad particularly to Britain, United States, and the Soviet Union to learn medicine, agriculture, engineering and economics (Nyamwange 2013; Kinuthia, Jonyo, and Godwin 2017). Upon return to Kenya these graduates were guaranteed employment which could be a contributing factor that influenced migrant mentality.

However, during the reign of Kenya's second President Daniel Arap Moi many Kenyans left the country due to the poor economic performance experienced in the country and also the harsh political reign of President Moi's regime (Nyamwange 2013; Kinuthia, Jonyo, and Godwin 2017). Furthermore, Kinuthia et al and Nyamwange argue that, the influence of the Cold War era (between 1948 and 1991) did not prove favorable to migrants. This was an era where distrust and espionage gripped the world and migrants became deserters and unpatriotic citizens who gave up on their country; an era where migrants became enemies of the state. Similarly in Kenya, migrants were excluded from participation in national matters as they were considered absconders however with the collapse of the Soviet Union the air changed from 'enemies of the state' to 'potential partners of the state' (Kinuthia, Jonyo, and Godwin 2017; Nyamwange 2013). And with the change of perception of migrants in the world migrants have continuously gained solid ground in developing countries' state operations as an alternative source of funding for state-centered projects.

There are approximately three million Kenyans living abroad with 1, 296,679 Kenyans migrating to sub-Saharan Africa while 365,630 migrating to North America. Hence, a considerable portion of Kenyan citizens live and work abroad, and it is this population who are targeted by GoK in its development agenda. See Table 1 and Figure 1 for data on the regions Kenyans have migrated to since 1960 till 2013 (Kinuthia, Jonyo, and Godwin 2017).

**Table 1: Distribution of Kenyans in the Diaspora, 1960 -2013**

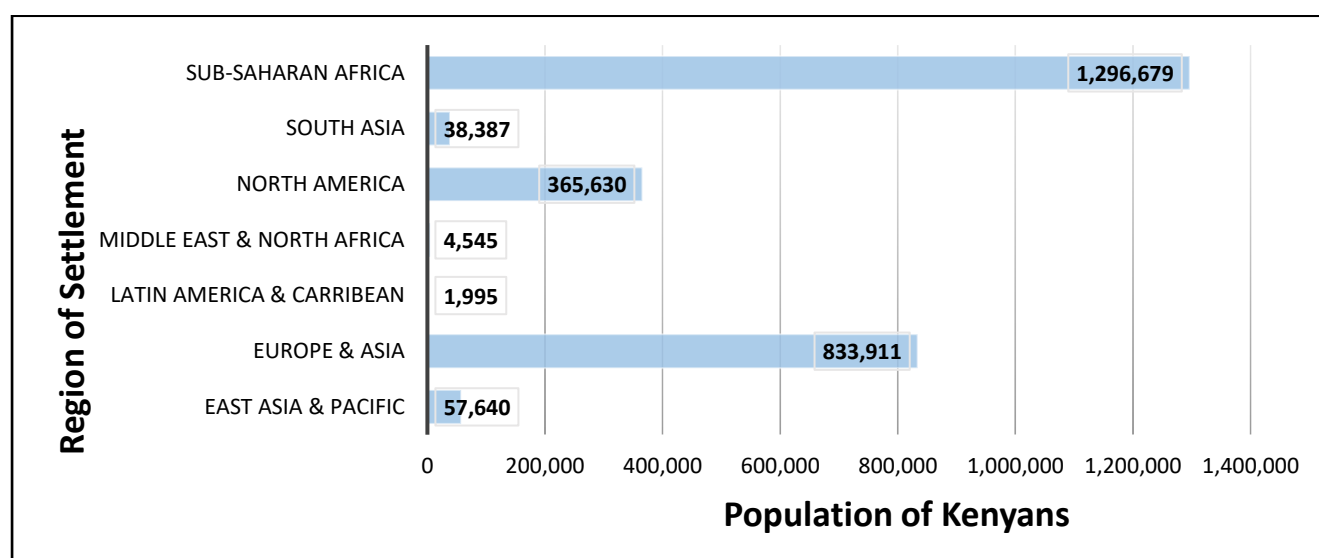
<b>Region</b>	<b>1960</b>	<b>1970</b>	<b>1980</b>	<b>1990</b>	<b>2000</b>	<b>2010</b>	<b>2013</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>East Asia &amp; Pacific</b>	725	2,565	4,360	5,895	9,540	15,556	18,999	57,640
<b>Europe &amp; Asia</b>	14,343	76,212	106,742	129,283	151,340	177,501	178,490	833,911
<b>Latin America &amp; Caribbean</b>	57	134	144	509	385	276	490	1,995
<b>Middle East &amp; North Africa</b>	194	369	746	1,111	1,604	0	521	4,545
<b>North America</b>	1,348	4,570	14,807	30,060	64,220	111,287	139,338	365,630
<b>South Asia</b>	3,341	4,690	9,345	8,652	7,457	2,477	2,425	38,387
<b>Sub-Saharan Africa</b>	283,640	301,293	182,723	129,254	139,685	133,634	126,450	1,296,679
<b>Total</b>	303,648	389,833	318,867	304,764	374,231	440,731	466,713	2,598,787

Source: Global Bilateral Migration Database (2014)<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Table extracted from (Kinuthia, Jonyo, and Godwin 2017, 254).

**Figure 1: Distribution of Kenyans in the Diaspora, 1960 – 2013**

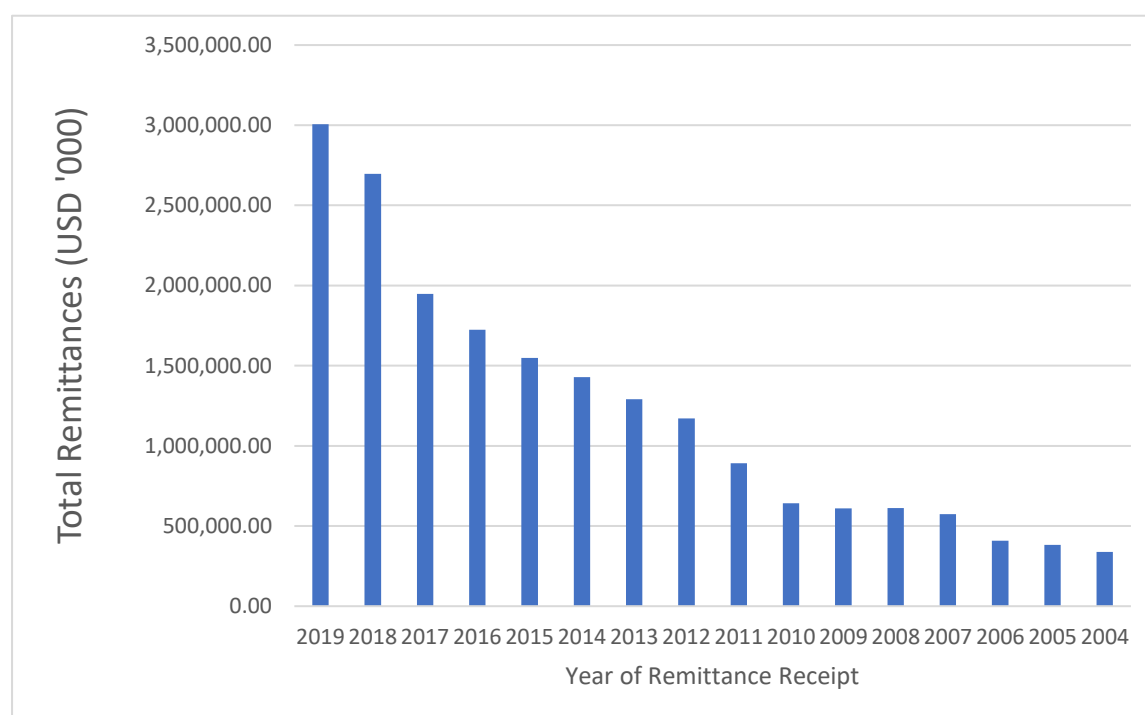


Source: Global Bilateral Migration Database (2014)<sup>2</sup>

Having received approximately three billion US dollars' worth of remittances according to the CBK 2017/2018 fiscal year financial report (Central Bank of Kenya 2018, 18) Kenya has been one of the countries receiving a considerable amount of remittances from Kenyans living abroad see Figure 2 below for remittance receipt data. With such high volumes of monetary inflows, GoK is bound to put in place strategies that would harness these funds.

<sup>2</sup> Graph generated from table extracted from (Kinuthia, Jonyo, and Godwin 2017, 254).

**Figure 2: Annual Remittance Receipts Kenya, 2004 - 2019**



Source: Central Bank of Kenya (2017)

GoK has placed Kenyan migrants as one of its key growth and development drivers for the country's development and goal towards Kenya's Vision 2030 agenda of being a globally competitive country (The Government of Kenya 2007a; Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade: The Government of Kenya 2014). With traditional external sources of national income, external foreign aid, and exports on tea and tourism, being pushed into the background and monetary migrant remittances having taken the lead, migrants have proven to be a critical source of external national income to the country (Kinuthia and Akinyoade 2012).

Odipo et al illustrates how remittances are utilized in Kenya, showing Investments garnered towards the corporate sector and the financial market are at 24% for international remittances, 1% for regional remittances, and 5% for domestic remittances, see table 2 below for figures of remittance utilization in Kenya (Odipo et al. 2015).



**Table 2: Use of remittances by recipient households in Kenya (percent of total remittances)**

Use of Remittances	Source of Remittances		
	Remittances Outside Africa	Remittances within Africa	Domestic remittances
Food	12.8	14.5	29.7
Education	9.6	22.9	20.5
Health	7.3	5.8	7.0
Clothing	-	-	-
Rent (House, land)	5.7	0.4	7.4
Cars/Trucks	1.3	1.0	0.4
Marriage/funeral	3.1	0.9	1.7
Construction of new house	2.6	11.2	27.5
Rebuilding of house	5.3	3.1	1.3
Purchase of land	8.4	7.0	1.3
Improvement of farms	2.3	0.4	4.4
Business	3.9	8.4	13.0
Investment	24.2	0.6	4.7
Other	7.2	6.6	6.9

Source: (Odipo et al. 2015)<sup>3</sup><sup>3</sup> Adapted from 2011 World Bank, 'Leveraging Migration for Africa, Remittances, Skills and Investment', page 64.

### 1.3. Rationale of the study

The rationale for this study is premised on the fundamental recognition of the transformation of the incidence of remittances. Growing from a mere act of seeking livelihood in a foreign land and sending some savings to support one's family back in the origin country to a recognized major player in the economic and socio-political development of third world countries justifies the need for the study. Remittances are no longer confined to economic or monetary benefits, but rather political and social benefits are tied into the remitting as well. The study will inform the nexus between remittances and development as persuaded by the recipient countries.

The study, therefore, seeks to *identify the policy and politically oriented remittance narrative in Kenya as propagated by the Government of Kenya in state and non-state published public documents.*

To answer this main research question, the study will explore the following sub-research questions:

- a) identify the development of the recognition of remittances in Kenya;
- b) analyse the Government of Kenya's perspective on remittances and the contextualization of remittances (spaces where remittances are discussed by the government)

## Chapter 2: Literature Review

### 2. *Introduction*

Through remittances, migrants acquire visibility to their dependents, community, state and the world. And through remittances migrants participate in the survival and development of themselves, their dependents, their community and state of origin (Beyene 2015). Remitting is a transaction and connection involving migrants and their dependents, but a process facilitated by several actors, beyond and within the state. Where governments, international organizations, financing institutions, and non-governmental institutions are also involved and benefiting from this transaction and connection (Beyene 2015; Gubert 2017; Williams 2018).

Before delving deeper into core theories and literature guiding the study it is important to define key terms used frequently and throughout the study.

‘Migrant’ is a term that has several definitions depending on where one is standing. However, the International Organization of Migration (IOM) provides an umbrella layman term of who a migrant is; A migrant is a person who has moved from their usual place of residence, regardless of whether they remained within the borders of their country or across international borders, and whether this move was temporarily or permanently, for one reason or the other (IOM 2019, 132). ‘Migrant’ as a term is a politically and legally charged term with varying definitions which if one specific definition is given prominence in this study then the study aim would be compromised. Therefore, the common layman umbrella definition as offered by the IOM would act as a sufficient definition of a migrant in the boundaries of this study.

In a similar suit remittances is a term that has been fragmented from a purely economic term into other descriptions in the social, political and cultural field. The IOM provides an economic definition of migrant remittances as “Personal monetary transfers, cross border or within the same country, made by migrants to individuals or communities with whom the migrant has links (IOM 2019, 180). With the categorization of remittances scholars such as Levitt and Lamba-Nieves who contend that remittances are not just economic but social as well (Levitt and Lamba-Nieves 2010, 1–2).

Where, social remittances are the “ideas, know-how, practices and skills” attained by the migrants and which they send to their origin countries so as to stimulate and promote development. Political remittances on the other hand are described as the active role played by migrants in domestic politics and the influence they wield in shaping political debates and the political leverage they obtain in their origin community and nation by economically and socially remitting (O’mahony 2012, 799–805).

Remitting has been addressed by a number of scholars from several disciplines concerned with economic growth and capital inflows (Aboulezz 2015; Waweru and Elly Ochieng 2017), development strategies for developing states (Beyene 2015; Maara, Manda, and Kiiru 2019; Kinuthia and Akinyoade 2012), poverty reduction (Kiiru 2010), remittance utilization (Odipo et al. 2015), Banking industry and Stock Markets development (Issahaku, Abor, and Harvey 2017; Njoroge 2015), tourism (Kumar 2014), and real estate( Kagochi and Kiambigi 2012) among others, hence remittances proves to be a phenomena that peaks continued interest of varying disciplines.

This study aims to contribute to the vast and ever-increasing knowledge on remittances by bringing out the remittance understanding within policy and political spheres and the kind of reality generated from these policy and politically oriented remittance understanding. And to

be able to conceptualize the state's policy and politically constructed remittance narrative in Kenya there is need to lay down the theoretical framework and prior scholarly literature that would be guiding the study. The focused theories and literature guiding the study would be ones which engage with the discourse on remittance-development nexus, migration management and neocolonialism in developing nations

## **2.1. The Remittance - development nexus**

Is the link between migrants and development, remittances? With this question in mind, the study aims to engage with Ivan Small's argument in his (2019) article, *Currencies of Imagination* on understanding the internal and external nature of remittances and on how remittances are tied to the migrants themselves and the receivers of these remittances.

Small (2019) argues that migrant remittances are not just money but they are also gifts; Where remittances as money and as a gift form sufficient ground when it comes to influencing individuals and their imaginations of the world before them (2019, 6). To Small, remittances begun as a means of providing migrant dependents with basic needs for survival and as a means of creating an exchange value (2019, 2). Remittances, therefore, creates functional and pivotal bridges between the origin and the destination states, and between migrants and their dependents.

Small explores this strong connection and influence that remittances have over individuals; A look into remittances as money and how the general publics' perceptions and beliefs of money are molded by the state. These state molded perceptions and beliefs of money determine the value of money. Money, however, should not only be economic management or exchange but also as a tool for mediating social relations. Money expresses the connection between people,

acting as a representation of the relationship between people. Money in the end influences both value and peoples mind - money does shape and reflect us.

In addition, he argues that remittances being based on the gift concept not just one-way transmissions of money which once paid erases all debt and obligations (2019, 11). Rather, it's a complex exchange between parties which is mediated by money. Money which moves beyond being just an economic tool of exchange to further entangling the givers and receivers of remittances together. An exchange that constitutes continuous actions of giving and receiving which generates meanings from these transactions. Remittances affect and reflect sociality and relational identities; Remittances reflect relations of obligation which in turn complicates the relationship between givers and receivers.

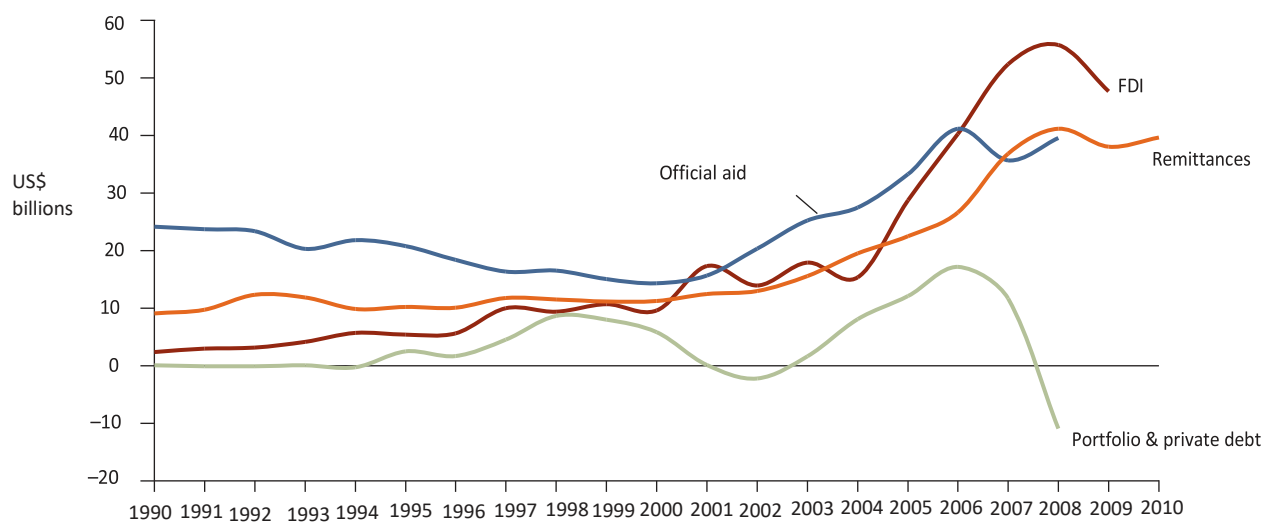
Remittances not being a new area of study continues to provide an ever rich area for research and this, many believe (Beyene 2015; Gubert 2017; Aboulezz 2015; Issahaku, Abor, and Harvey 2017), is due to the ever increasing remittance inflows to developing states and the continuing debates on the degree of remittance impact on the economy and development of states, specifically developing states. Thus, the need to gain understanding of the ever increasing amounts of remittances and what meaning or impact they have in economic, social, or political fields has proven to be genuine (Beyene 2015; Aboulezz 2015; Williams 2018; Gubert 2017).

It is argued that with the movement of labour many African countries have experienced an increase in remittance inflows as a source of state capital towards development (Gubert 2017; Williams 2018). According to Kinuthia and Akinyoade migration is a state resource or an extension of a nation; Where migration is a livelihood strategy for some households may prove to be beneficial to the state as an alternative source of capital inflow (Kinuthia and Akinyoade

2012). Some scholars argue that the justification for remittances as a source of capital inflows for the state is due to the fact that the increase in remittances flow has superseded other types of capital inflows (Abdih et al. 2012). Remittance inflows are three times the amount of Official Development Assistance aid (Amicelle 2018).

Compounded data on remittance receipts against other income inflows in Kenya seems difficult to locate in available published literature. However Ratha et al compounded varying forms of income inflows against remittances coming into Africa from 1990 to 2010, see figure 3 below (Ratha et al. 2011). Remittances are seen to have an upward trend from 1990 to 2010 while foreign aid and foreign direct investments (FDI) seem to be fluctuating and on a downward trend. Such data provides justification to the attention accorded to remittances and its potential, to a certain degree, for national sustenance.

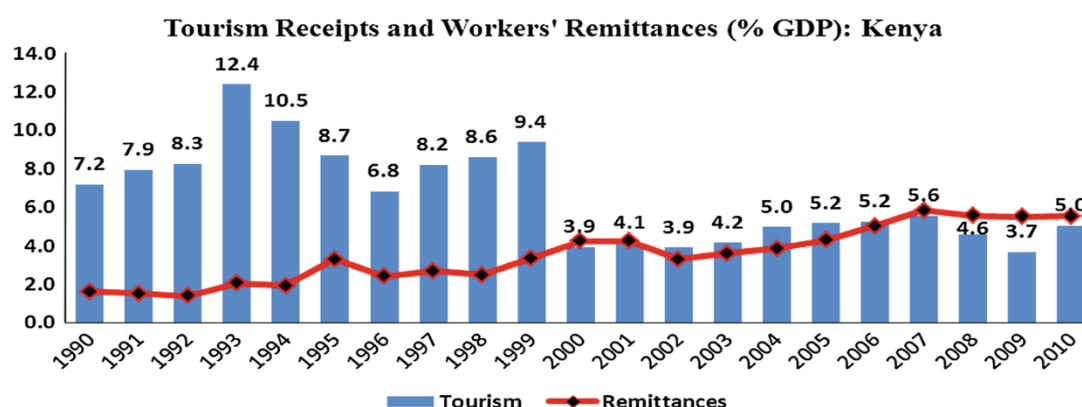
**Figure 3: Remittances and Other Resource Flows to Africa, 1990–2010**



Source: (Ratha et al. 2011, 5)

In Kenya Kinuthia and Akinyoade observe that the ascending trend of remittances to Kenya vis a vis traditional exports like Kenyan tea, coffee and tourism whose cash value has been on the decrease is what prompted the GoK's need for migrant participation in the economy (Kinuthia and Akinyoade 2012). A good case illustrating remittances as overtaking other sources of income is the decreasing tourism income receipts against the increasing remittances receipts from 1990 to 2010 as illustrated by Kumar (2014), see figure 4 below. Hence, there is an increasing focus on remittances which has made migrants an increasingly crucial piece in the sustainability of the social, economic and political sphere of developing states (Beyene 2015; Williams 2018).

**Figure 4: Tourism Receipts and Workers' Remittances (% GDP): Kenya**



Source: (Kumar 2014)<sup>4</sup>

Waweru and Ochieng while investigating the impact of various forms of capital flows on economic growth in Kenya found that diaspora remittances, as part of 'Other investments capital flows', proved to be more worthwhile due to their positive impact on Kenya's gross

<sup>4</sup> World Bank: World Development Indicators (WDI) and Global Development Finance (GDF). World Bank, Washington, DC (2012)



domestic product (GDP) growth rate (Waweru and Elly Ochieng 2017). A lag in the ‘Other investments capital flows’ proves to be detrimental to the Kenyan economy proving the importance of ensuring continued high remittance inflows in the aggregate percentage of the ‘Other investments capital flows’.

In addition, according to Abdih et al remittance transactions have gained much popularity in the past years due to, especially in some developing countries, its stable character as a source of funding state based projects (Abdih et al. 2012). It is further claimed that remittances have exceeded the amounts generated by export of goods and services or even financial inflows from donors (Amicelle 2018; Kinuthia and Akinyoade 2012). Furthermore, this trend is further justified by several states and international financing organizations who now consider remittances to be of high policy interest and wish to analyze their impact on economic development and security (International Monetary Fund 2009).

It is worth noting that this interest in remittance high volumes has opened a window of opportunity for states and international financing institutions to engage in an economic and political transaction using migrants as the foundation of this transaction. With the aforementioned exceptional quality of continued high volumes and stable quality of remittances the International Financing Organizations developed a criteria which enables states to acquire loans at low borrowing costs and with longer maturity periods; the World Bank and International Monetary Funds’ Debt Sustainability Framework take into consideration the level and stability of remittances when determining whether the country is able to repay for an applied loan (Nurse 2019).

Remittances as money has proven to be an economic tool of power for the developing nations in propagating their national development agendas. Furthermore, it is not surprising that with

remittances portraying its unique qualities of stability and high volumes it has become a hunting ground for different actors. This recognition has brought the spotlight on migrants and their remitting practices and it is these remitting practices that the developing nations governments and international actors are seeking to control.

## **2.2. Migration Management: Creation and sustenance of Migrants as Development Agents**

How does the state and nonstate actors create development agents out of migrants? And more importantly, how do they perceive /conceptualize them?

With these questions in mind the study aims to utilize Thomas Lacroix's communicative framework on remittances and Antoine Pecoud on Migration management to explore how migrants become development agents and how they are held accountable in these state, regional and globally defined role.

### **2.2.1. State Expectations of Migrants**

Lacroix's communicative framework on remittances could be used to understand the interactional aspect of migrants and the state (Lacroix 2014). In his article, he argues that through remittances migrants and non-migrants (family, community and the state) can communicate and express themselves socially, economically and politically. And it is through this communication and expression by use of remittances that a reality is created for both the migrants and non-migrants.

He focuses on the multipolarity of migrants whereby migrants exist simultaneously in multiple social fields and each of these fields have expectations for the migrants to perform. One of these fields is the state. The state expects migrants to maintain their allegiance to the state

which is shown through remitting which includes both economic and social remittances. Migrants through remitting are dubbed as the nation's development agents and it is through remitting, as a form of expressing allegiance to the sending states, that migrant engagement policies and programs emerge from the states so as to ensure continuous expression of allegiance from migrants.

The communicative dimension of remittances provides a tool to analyze the Kenyan migrant engagement policies and programs to understand what is being communicated by the GoK to Migrants to ensure high and continuous remittance in-flows. And to also understand as well who or what has informed the governments communication towards Kenyan migrants. As mentioned before, governments in remittance receiving states aim to acquire and utilize these remitted resources, whether monetary or social. Hence, in the political sphere, remittance utilization and strategies adopted towards political agenda are of paramount importance.

In January 2005 the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund through a consensus saw a need for a clear process of understanding remittance transaction and how to guide different state and non-state institutions in proper utilization of these funds from diaspora (International Monetary Fund 2009). This understanding brought in an emphasis on data collection and management of remitted amounts and the subsequent need to formalize remitting behavior of migrants.

With formal and informal channels of remitting, international financing organizations together with economists researching on remittances pointed out that the lack of a standard method of acquiring and measuring the remittance data as problematic to their endeavor of understanding remittance transactions and the development of measures for effective utilization of these remittances (Aboulezz 2015; Gubert 2017). With the problem of remittance data management

came the publications of guide books on how developing states can ‘productively’ utilize remittances through proper remittance statistics (International Monetary Fund 2009).

Notwithstanding that there are contradicting arguments on whether there is a positive relation between remittances and economic growth there are still numerous actors who are centered in this remittances niche and are concentrated on how to efficiently exploit it through ‘productive strategies of remittance utilization’ (Beyene 2015; Gubert 2017; Aboulezz 2015). Hence, to be able to exploit and direct migrant remittance sending and remittance receivers consumption behavior state and non-state organizations have developed policies and initiatives that act as empowerment and incentivizing approaches to encourage remitting and proper utilization of these remittances by the senders and receivers of remittances respectively (Orozco 2002; Beyene 2015; Aboulezz 2015; Gubert 2017).

From the aforementioned literature, it is clear that the connection between migrant remittances and development has been propagated and institutionalized by the state and non-state organizations. The involvement of the state and non-state organizations in formalizing migrant remittances shades light on the understanding of the way the GoK has approached the issue of migrants. Indeed, it is notable that the literature helps to understand how globalization trends have enabled the state and non-state organizations to develop information packages on migrant profiles and how these packaged profiles inform migrant engagement policies and initiatives.

### **2.2.2. Creation of migrant roles, identities and behaviors**

Pecoud argues for a framework whereby migration is disciplined by nation states and non-state entities like international organizations whereby, disciplined mobility is the imposing of particular behaviors on migrants and to be migrants (those who might migrate in future) so as to shape and direct their agency before, during and while on the move. An imposition facilitated

and administered by states and nongovernmental agencies (2013, 4–5). Hence, in disciplining mobility these states and non-state organizations create and maintain migrant identities and behaviors.

In the case of this study, ‘Diaspora policies’ and migrant engagement initiatives which are organized and executed by the GoK together with non-state actors can be further elaborated from Pecoud’s disciplined migrant agency where the political and legal conceptualization of Kenyan migrants may be engaged with. That is, a look into the supposed behaviors and identities that Kenyan migrants are expected to portray by the GoK, and how these behaviors and identities are maintained by the GoK through state policies and projects.

It is not enough to only address the state conceptualization of Kenyan migrants but to also delve into the reality created from this conceptualization. Pecoud’s ‘Disciplining Reality: Categories and Discourses’(2013, 7–9) analyses the use of certain words and categories whereby when used in a certain manner enables discourses to frame reality in a particular way an instance is migration dichotomies such as ‘migrants vs refugees’ or ‘skilled vs unskilled migrant workers’ (2013, 7–8).

These rolled out categories and discourses bring to life certain realities. Reality in this study is taken to mean the creation of and the bringing to life certain types of individuals and/or groups and how the world (state, authorities and general public) perceives and treats these categorized and discourses persons and/or groups. Categories and discourses in shaping and ordering reality create certain representations and ‘shared views’ which in turn legitimizes and acts as a power tool in exercising the varying political interests and interventions on reality by states and non-state actors (2013, 8).

Migrant resources, monetary funds, experience, skills and knowledge, proves to be a goldmine for their states of origin and non-states actors as well; It is these resources that may have led to the branding of migrants as development agents, as their states of origin aim to extract and direct these resources towards national development projects. Migrant contribution, in present studies are largely focused on migrants as economic development agents (Beyene 2015; Abdih et al. 2012). However, to understand remittances and migrants in their entirety there is a need to understand the non-economic roles as propagated by state and non-state actors. There is therefore a need to look at the political dimension of remitting where migrant engagement policies are born. Williams advocates that the political dimension has been overlooked by economists who are largely concerned with the impact of remittances on economic growth (Williams 2018). And it may be this negligence to exploring the political environment of remittances that accounts for the mixed evidence on the impact of remittances on the economy (Gubert 2017; Aboulezz 2015; Williams 2018).

GoK, for instance, has taken keen interest in this socioeconomic niche by striving to engage and involve Kenyan migrants in the development agenda of the country and by extension the building of the African continent in accordance to the African Union ‘Diaspora’ declaration. Also, the Kenyan constitution proves favorable to the government’s endeavor by legalizing dual citizenship which allows migrant integration into investing in Kenya and to also exercise their right to vote regardless of where they are in the world (The Government of Kenya 2010; Kinuthia and Akinyoade 2012). These non-economic roles of migrants and the political implications of remittances is a key focus of this study. The study attempts to explore and determine how they are portrayed, if present, in state and non-state organizations’ policy formulations and engagement initiatives with migrants.

### 2.3. Neocolonialism: The weighing in and Influence of International Organizations

Power seems to be at the root of all social and structural interactions between people, institutions and states. Neocolonialism described by post colonialist and Ghana's first president Kwame Nkrumah as the continued resource exploitation of a post-colonized state in the age of independence and freedom whereby a sovereign state's economic market and policies are directed by non-state parties (Nkrumah 1966). Neo-colonial control, President Nkrumah further argues, is the unlimited quest for financial interests that targets not only states but groups and individuals as well.

Pecoud's disciplined mobility reflects President Nkrumah's neo-colonialism by arguing that developing states are imposed upon by developed states in the name of interstate cooperation on certain ideologies, representations, and discourses about the world. Due to interstate cooperation non-state organizations tend to be involved in the policy-making process and the production of numerous reports on migration(2013, 8–9).

Ferguson on the 'place' of Africa in his 2006 book, *Global Shadows: Africa in the Neoliberal World order* argues that the global membership concept whereby different nations have occupied a sort of membership and place in the world while Africa is an absent participant in this global membership (Ferguson 2006). Further he engages on Africa's need for acceptance and membership into the 'world' leading to the compliance to rules and/or requirements of membership that have been put forth by powerful developed states.

Remittances is an area laden with structural suggestions of standardizing remittances by receiving states from non-state actors who put the said suggestions forward, for instance the International Transactions of Remittances: Guide for Compilers and Users (2009) funded and published by the IMF and World bank as a way to provide "best practices and a compilation

guide to remittance statistics” (International Monetary Fund 2009). “Whatever your connection is to Kenya, your love for home is the reason, that you are a key resource in the country’s development”(Ministry of Foreign Affairs: The Government of Kenya 2017, 8). This is a sentence extracted from a remittance guide for Kenyan migrants on remittances and investment, *Send Money and Invest in Kenya: A guide for Diaspora Remittances and Investment*.

Published in 2017 the guide is an intergovernmental cooperation between the GoK through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, International Organization for Migration (IOM) and the European Union Commission as the key funding party of the project. The guide’s goal is towards the ‘empowerment’ of migrants in investing back into Kenya and the strategies to be adopted by the GoK in acquiring and utilizing these remittances channeling them towards national development (2017, 6).

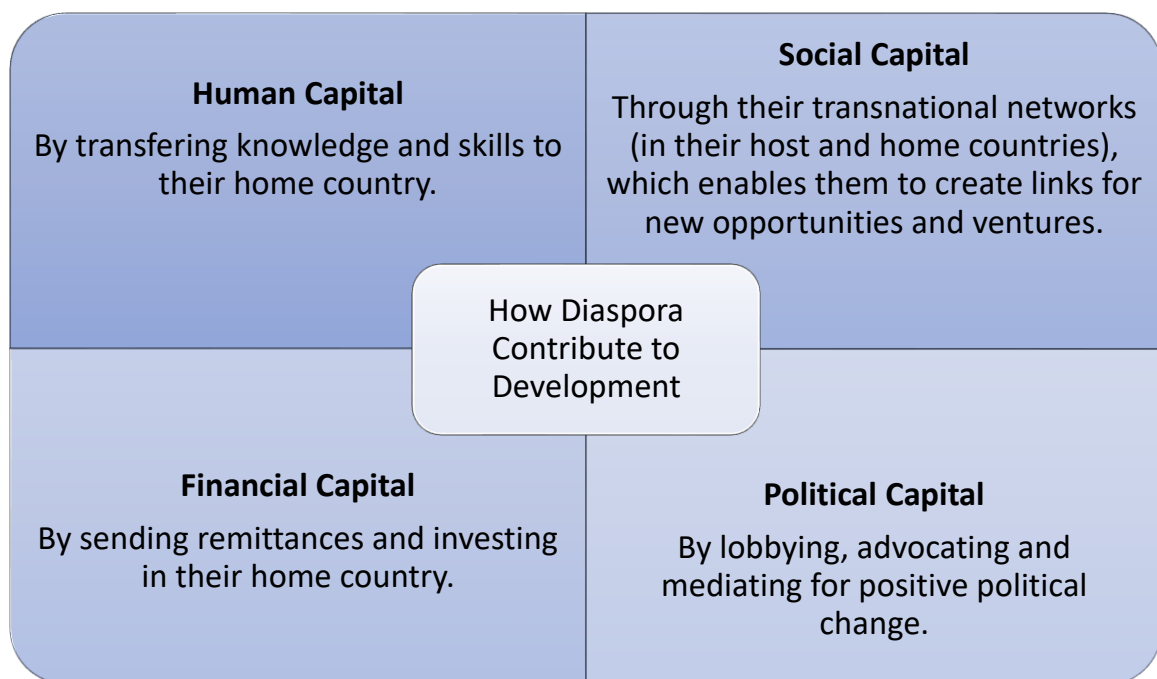
The remittance guide, a first of its kind, is aligned with the global UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) of reducing the transaction costs of migrant monetary remittances transfers, that is, “to reduce to less than three per cent the transaction costs of migrant remittances and eliminate remittance corridors with costs higher than five per cent by 2030”(2017, 6). The guide also aligns with the KDP and Kenya Vision 2030 agenda in engaging with Kenyan migrants to increase remittance in-flows and investments towards national development projects.

The guide booklet targets Kenyan migrants as an informational packet which assists Kenyan migrants to make well informed on the monetary remitting channels that are “safe, affordable and convenient”(2017, 8). The document stretches into advising Kenyan migrants on how to invest, save and donate to Kenya while living abroad. This provides further justification for the



recognition of migrants as development agents through their monetary remittances, investments, philanthropy and skills transfer (2017, 13) which explicitly carves out their roles not only to the global arena and the state arena but also to the general public and the Kenyan migrants themselves, see figure 5 below.

**Figure 5: How do the Diaspora contribute to Development**



Source: (Ministry of Foreign Affairs: The Government of Kenya 2017, 14)

Through a neocolonial approach of Ferguson's global membership concept in arguing towards Africa's need for acceptance and membership to the world as designed by developed states, remittances could be a new and overlooked area of domination. This is because the focus is mostly on how high the remittance amount is and its supposed impact on developing countries development and economic growth. There is however a need to understand power structures embedded within remittances.

## Chapter 3: Research Methodology

This chapter introduces the method utilized in the study to answer the study research questions, the rationale for the method and the rationale for the type of data utilized in this study.

### *3. Introduction*

This research focuses on identifying the policy and politically oriented remittances narrative existing in Kenya whereby the Government of Kenya (GoK) has created a social space enabling their interaction with Kenyan migrants. Hence, in order to extract and demonstrate the deliberate social space for migrant engagement adopted by the GoK with regard to remittances it was necessary to undertake an analysis of key published Kenyan government official documents, relevant newspaper articles and non-state documents. In this regard the study relied heavily on library research/ desk research.

The analysis of published government documents by the Central Bank of Kenya, Kenya Foreign Policy and Kenya Diaspora Policy, key national project documents – Kenya Vision 2030 and The Big 4 Agenda as well as newspaper articles providing public statements by key political/government officials provided insights into the GoK policy and political position with regard to remittances. Documents from the African Union and the International Organization of Migration (IOM) were also analysed to trace any regional and/or international influence on GoK's perspective on migrant remittances. The analysis of these documents provided a sociological perspective where the information in the documents are integrated and a social reality on remitting practices is confirmed.

### **3.1. Method of data gathering**

Given the nature of this research and the focus of the research question, data and evidence collection methods were limited to desk research whereby discourse analysis with a focus on document analysis proved to be a favourable method in answering the study research question. To understand the governments rationale in advocating increased remitting practices from Kenyan migrants', focus was placed on state published documents and newspaper articles to build a state perceived remittance narrative in Kenya. Regional and international documents were also utilized to investigate the influence of non-state actors on the GoK's perspective on migrant remittances.

Discourse analysis is a method introduced by Zellig Harris in 1952 while analysing speech and writing which soon became a widely used method of data collection in several discourses (Paltridge 2008, 2). Analysing discourse is taking a look at the use of language: what is portrayed as being reality by describing it in a particular way and not in another, and what identities are produced from the language use. Hence discourse is not only about language but the context in which the language is used (Rapley 2008, 2,4; Paltridge 2008, 2–12). Through discourse analysis researchers are able to investigate the specific identities produced, negotiated or sustained within texts; the role of texts in certain social, cultural and political situations.

By picking a social constructionist view of discourse analysis through state publications it was possible to outline the construction of Kenyan migrants as development agents, 'Diasporas', and how this identity of being 'development heroes' is sustained by the state through these key reference documents which are frequently and continuously used to justify the state's interaction with Kenyan migrants. The role and/or obligation of migrants to the state is

emphasized in these documents as well. See Table 3 below on rationale for documents selected for analysis.

***Table 3: Documents selected and rationale for their selection***

Document Selected	Data Analyzed
CBK Annual Economic Reports	Remittance recognition and integration into the Kenyan economy
KDP Document	Forms of interaction between the state and Kenyan migrants: Role attribution to the Kenyan migrants by the state: Social Space of interaction created
KFP Document	Forms of interaction between the state and Kenyan migrants: Role attribution to the Kenyan migrants by the state: Social Space of interaction created
Vision 2030 Agenda Document	Forms of interaction between the state and Kenyan migrants: Role attribution to the Kenyan migrants by the state: Social Space of interaction created
Big 4 Agenda Document	Forms of interaction between the state and Kenyan migrants: Role attribution to the Kenyan migrants by the state: Social Space of interaction created
AU Diaspora Charter	Remittance recognition and integration into the African development rhetoric
IOM -Invest in Kenya Pitch	Remittance recognition and integration into the African development rhetoric

Source: Author (2020)

### **3.2. Justification for the method**

Many may argue that discourse analysis centered on document analysis as a method towards narrative inquiry may not, on its own, provide sufficient evidence in research compared to use of interviews or participant observation methods. However, documents just as people are valuable rich source of understanding how the world or social concepts in the world are made real. Documents entail the imprints of a phenomena's past, present and future depending on what and who wrote and utilized the document and also the climate surrounding the inception of the document provides an understanding of the phenomena depicted in the document.

The focus on discourse analysis as a method of choice was largely because remittance understanding from a policy and political state perspective is largely implied in state and non-state documents and by assessing these documents one is able to assess and bring out the reality about remittances contained in these documents. Furthermore, document analysis proved to be a favourable means of tracking change and development in relation to remittance recognition and incorporation into Kenya's economy, social and political space.

However, there were some limitations for instance, it was not possible to have the perspective of the Kenyan migrants with regard to GoK policy on remittances and this was due to access and time restrictions whereas the government is more structured thus its narrative was easily accessible and dependable for this study. Furthermore, the methodology is highly selective and may be subject to researcher bias however to be able to pinpoint and draw out the reality of remittances within state publications selectivity of state documents was necessary so as to remain true to the research question.

## Chapter 4: Empirical Findings and Analysis

### *4. Introduction*

In an effort to provide a holistic policy and state representation of migrant remittances as perceived and understood by the Government of Kenya (GoK) the study consults key reference documents published by the Kenyan state and non-state actors (regional and international organizations) in migrant remittance issues in Kenya. The study takes these key reference documents as sole documents that offer specific information and directives about specific state functions, agendas and initiatives geared towards migrant remittances. Furthermore, the study utilizes small case studies published in national and regional newspapers to further build on the argument on the kind of policy and political remittance narrative propagated in Kenya.

For this research the key reference documents analyzed in-depth were the Central Bank of Kenya Annual Economic reports, Kenya Vision 2030 document, Kenya Diaspora Policy, and the Kenya Foreign Policy. Remittances, economic and non-economic, are not a phenomena solely in Kenya but rather it is a pervasive phenomenon affecting several countries not only in Africa but the world. Hence, to further build an understanding of the remittances in Kenya the role of the African Union in the GoK's perception of migrant remittances is analyzed in this chapter. While international organizations who have directly engaged with remittance matters in Kenya like the International Organization of Migration (IOM) and International Monetary Fund (IMF) were discussed in the literature review chapter section where an analysis of their interlinkages with Kenya remittances was discussed.

These documents, when analyzed individually and together provide valuable information about remittances in Kenya in all aspects. That is, an in-depth understanding of remittances-development linkages in Kenya which then provide rationale for the GoK and Kenyan

migrants' interactions. The chapter begins with a deep dive into the national rationale of migrant remittances by analyzing key policy and government documents, that is the Kenya Diaspora Policy (KDP), The 2010 Constitution of Kenya, Kenya Foreign Policy (KFP), The Big 4 Agenda and Kenya Vision 2030 Agenda. And as a continuation from the literature review section on international organizations and remittances in Kenya the chapter analyzes the regional influence of the African Union (AU) on the understanding of Kenyan migrant remittances.

#### **4.1. The Central Bank of Kenya and its relationship with Kenyan migrant monetary remittances**

Central Bank of Kenya (CBK) established in 1966 by an Act of parliament (Article 231) is a public state institution mandated to act as the sole authority in ensuring the country's financial structure is sound and stable. To achieve this purpose, it established six key roles in ensuring a sound and stable economy: formulating and execution of a favorable monetary policy, ensuring stability of the financial market, supervision of financial institutions operating in the state, ensuring safe and efficient payment and settlement systems, offering banking services to the government, county governments, commercial banks and other financial institutions, and they are the sole currency designers, producers and distributors (Central Bank of Kenya 2017).

In this regard then, monetary remittances are bound to be a concern and interest for the CBK as an overlap between migrant monetary remittances with the economy is bound to sprout in some of the key roles undertaken by the CBK; Remittances are to be considered by CBK when offering supervision and banking services to commercial banks offering Diaspora services, when ensuring stability of the financial market, and when offering a safe and efficient payment

and settlement systems especially with the increased popularity and dependency on mobile money and online payments and banking in Kenya.

Mobile banking in Kenya is popularly known as ‘M-Pesa’ where ‘M’ symbolizes mobile while ‘Pesa’ is the Swahili word for cash. Even though ‘M-Pesa’ is popular there are several other firms offering mobile banking systems in Kenya. Mobile banking as a system where financial transactions are carried outside the formal banking sector gifts the ability to transfer purchasing power through the short message service (SMS) from one individual to the next, majorly between family members and friends. But also provides the ability to buy goods and pay for goods without physical cash and also remotely (William, Adam, and Tavneet 2013, 365).

With the increased popularity of mobile money and online payment systems there came the need for supervision and regulation of these financial institutions in Kenya by the CBK. And in the creation and execution of a monetary policy in ensuring a stable economy it has been argued by (Aboulezz 2015; Ocharo 2015; J Kiio 2014) that monetary remittance inflows have a positive impact on the Kenyan economy. At the very least migrant monetary remittances can cushion the economy during economic turmoil.

There is a considerable relationship between monetary remittances and the Kenyan economy beyond the monetary remittance amounts which have taken prominence in majority of remittance literature in Kenya. From this point onwards, this study aims to demonstrate that there is an unmentioned history of the process of remittance incorporation into the Kenyan economy that is evident and told within the CBK annual economic reports from 1990-2018. These reports provide a formal account of the Kenyan remittance narrative from an economic perspective that provides a look into the slow but sure integration of monetary remittances into



the Kenyan economy and the changes undertaken by the CBK to embrace monetary remittances.

It is the case that a multitude of events occur simultaneously leading to a story being written from varying perspectives. The CBK may have written down the history of remittances purely in accordance with its mandate. However, a deeper analysis through this research reveals the history of the incorporation of remittances in the realm of Kenya's economic development. In the section below, an interrogation of the CBK records will be undertaken with the aim of demonstrating the process of integration of the economic, social and political historical events that influenced the incorporation of remittances into the Kenyan economy.

***4.1.1. Central Bank of Kenya Annual Economic Financial Reports 1990 – 2018: A summary of recognizing and incorporating monetary remittances into the Kenyan economy***

Kenyans living abroad have been sending money transfers to their dependents back home through informal and formal channels however these transfers are not recognized or mentioned in CBK reports until 2005. From 1990 – 2005 there was no mention of monetary remittances, a formal connection was yet to be established between the Kenyan Economy and Kenyan migrant monetary remittances.

However, it is notable that during this period Kenya was experiencing poor economic performance especially in the 1990s to 2000s when foreign aid donors had pulled out, government corruption and funds mismanagement was high and there was increased migration due to a harsh political regime (Figaro 2013; Kinuthia, Jonyo, and Godwin 2017). One would think that remittances would be one of the lifelines that the CBK would consider especially in at least maintaining the banks reserves. But, according to the CBK annual reports monetary

remittances did not formally exist until the fiscal year 2005/2006 where monetary remittances are mentioned in relation to the central bank's source of funding. The mention of remittances is in conjunction with increased external donor inflows and tourism and export receipts increased the bank's reserves that economic year. Thus, it is at the 2005/2006 fiscal year that the mention and recognition of Kenyan migrant monetary remittances is first formally made (Central Bank of Kenya 2006, 35).

From 2005 a courting relationship between the Kenyan economy and migrant monetary remittances ensued and further depictions of monetary remittances and measures for addressing monetary remittances are adopted. Both fiscal year 2006/2007 report and the 2007/2008 report depict the increase in state finances partly due to monetary remittance receipts (2007, 46; 2008, 43) and where increased remittances are also partly a contributor to the stabilization of the Kenyan shilling in the foreign exchange market (2007, 51). Another development arising in the recognition of monetary remittance transfer in the Kenyan economy is the CBK taking note of the onset and upsurge of mobile banking and remittance systems in Kenya and the need to develop policies to regulate this new upcoming industry (2007, 57; 2008, 53, 55–56).

What begun as funding for the central bank reserves is now utilized in the country's financial statements and also calls for regulatory policies. Migrant monetary remittances are slowly but surely entrenching themselves in the Kenyan economy and the CBK annual reports till 2018 going by the available records. This remittance entrenchment is seen in the country's financial statements (stabilization of the Kenyan shilling) and the banking sector development (increasing bank reserves). Following in the coming paragraphs are some key developments in the relationship between the Kenyan Economy and migrant remittances as reported in the CBK reports.

With the 2008/2009 and the 2009/2010 fiscal year came the introduction of a monetary remittance section in the CBK report that was dedicated in detailing monetary remittances receipts and an overview of their impact to the economy. However, this new monetary remittance section in the CBK report was not detailing monetary remittances receipts and overview from and for the Kenyan economy but rather the section offers data and information on monetary remittance receipts from several countries, a world economy remittance view(2009, 3; 2010, 2).

Even though the monetary remittance section is not Kenya-specific but rather a global one it provides a step in building the story of monetary remittance incorporation into the Kenyan economy further. The recognition of monetary remittances is no longer just about financial statements and banking sector developments but now a need to focus on monetary remittance data collection and reporting on remittance receipts whether at a national or global level is considered an important route to take. Which would mean that a considerable effort will be taken in researching and formulating the remittance section to inform stakeholders on Kenyan migrant monetary remittance receipts or at the very least inform them of the global monetary remittances' receipts of other countries. Regardless, the crucial point is that migrant monetary remittances are now not only explicitly recognized but they will also be explicitly monitored by the CBK both at the national and global level.

The 2010/2011 and the 2011/2012 report provides a monetary remittance section focused on the global and Kenya-specific monetary remittance receipts. With the 2010/2011 report Kenya-specific monetary remittance receipts data report is referenced from the World Bank(2011, 41) while the 2011/2012 report depicts the CBKs own data report on Kenya-specific monetary remittance data(2012, 39). Hence, 2011 marks the first monetary remittance data collection and

analysis report by the CBK. This comes just after the legalization of dual citizenship and right to voting for Kenyans living abroad in the 2010 constitution of Kenya.

It is notable that during this time, 2010 – 2015 GoK made considerable changes in Kenyan laws and aligned its politics and other processes to be favorable to Kenyans living abroad. For instance, the 2012/2013 report marks the first and only use of ‘Diaspora’ in the CBK reports(2013, 26). This may be a result of the Kenyan ‘Diaspora’ lobbying as well as changes that may have been occurring in the country at the time in relation to Kenyan ‘Diaspora’.

In the 2013/2014 report monetary remittance providers experienced a good year as they became recognized by the CBK as authorized dealers and were licensed to conduct their businesses as money remittance providers(2014, 43,48). This comes in after development of a policy governing monetary remittance systems and their providers; the recognition of monetary remittance providers as authorized dealers depicts the execution of the policy set in place by the bank.

With a considerable ground of recognition set by monetary remittances from Kenyan migrants reports from the fiscal year 2014/2015 until the fiscal year 2017/2018 all depict a solidified and permanent recognition and monitoring of migrant monetary remittances in the Kenyan economy in financial statements, banking sector development and a section on global and national monetary remittance data gathering. However, the 2017/2018 report breaks away from the report writing norm for the first time in 10 years when CBK omits the global monetary remittance data section from the report retaining domestic Kenya-specific data on monetary remittances receipts and impact to the economy.

On the backdrop of the history of remittances in the records of the CBK, it is appropriate to now delve into the space that the CBK has created for migrant remittance understanding in

Kenya. Being a public autonomous institution responsible for the stability of the Kenyan economy CBK has set the formal recognition of migrant monetary remittances and the reasons as financial assistance, banking sector development, remittance industry supervision and monetary remittance data collection emphasizing on the importance of migrant monetary remittances into the Kenyan economy. This formal recognition and integration of monetary remittances by the CBK provides evidentiary support for the need for migrant engagement initiatives to the GoK.

To provide a brief but comprehensive representation of the CBK journey towards remittance recognition and incorporation into the Kenyan economy consult Annex 1 in the Appendices section in the end of this document.

#### **4.2. The relationship between the Government of Kenya (GoK) and Kenyan Migrant Remittances**

Recognition of the strategic strength of having the support and resources from Kenyan migrants is growing within the GoK, and Kenyan migrants themselves are advocating for recognition and inclusion (Kinuthia, Jonyo, and Godwin 2017). To demonstrate these linkages between GoK and Kenyan migrants key policy documents, projects and events will be analyzed to show these linkages, particularly that which creates economic (Direct investment of monetary remittance), political (Diaspora advocacy) and social (Diaspora advocacy) connections between the GoK and Kenyan migrants.

#### **4.2.1. The Creation of a symbiotic relationship between the Government of Kenya (GoK) and Kenyan migrants: The mainstreaming of Kenyan Migrant remittances into Kenya's national development strategies.**

##### ***4.2.1.1. Kenya Diaspora Policy (KDP)***

Kenya Diaspora Policy (KDP) published in June 2014 was researched and written by several stakeholders mandated by the GoK to address the urgent need of 'mainstreaming the Kenyan Diaspora into the national development agenda'(Government of Kenya 2014, 8). KDP as one of the flagship projects of Kenya's Vision 2030 is heavily tied on the project of wooing Kenyan migrants living abroad in developing their home country not only economically but socially and politically as well.

Termed as '*major enablers*' of economic growth and as a '*critical factor*' for Kenya's vision of being 'globally competitive and prosperous by the year 2030' Kenyan migrants acquired a vital role through their remittances, economic and non-economic, as Kenya's development agents(2014, ii). KDP is a key state reference document offering guidelines to government officials when engaging with Kenyan migrants. This could explain why Kenyan migrants are involved in several national projects from different government ministries which reference the KDP.

A key introduction to this migrant remittance space of existence is the recognition by the GoK of the large 'unexploited' capabilities and/or resources of the Kenyan migrants. Hence, these untapped resources be they economic, social or political should be, in one way or another, directed towards national projects. These migrant directed resources and their effective utilization then become 'diaspora contributions' to the nation.

This is not to say that migrant remittances are a new phenomenon in Kenya, KDP recognizes that Kenyans abroad have always contributed to their dependents back home or investing in a number of projects at a community or national level. However, with the growing global and regional recognition of the developmental role of diasporas to developing countries there was a need to ensure efficient and effective utilization of these contributions, that is tapping into their ‘passion to contribute to their homeland’ and directing this contributing passion to national development agendas.

Development is the main goal of the KDP, and this is clear in the entire policy. The introduction of the policy emphasizes on the governments need to engage with the Kenyan ‘Diaspora’ portraying an ‘all hands-on deck’ or ‘no man left behind’ perspective when it comes to nation building. And factors such as the absence of a policy framework in addressing ‘Diaspora’ issues and interests, unavailability of data on Kenyan migrants, the lack of awareness on investment opportunities in Kenya and an absence of coordinated strategies in engaging with Kenyan migrants are some of the push factors that influenced the development of the KDP. With the recognition of problems facing both the Kenyan migrants and the GoK, KDP provides a bridge to these two core parties to engage and influence one another.

In this effect KDP has clearly outlined key issues that are to be focused on in GoK’s relations with the Kenyan ‘Diaspora’, that is the reduction of remitting costs so as to encourage more monetary remitting transactions in large amounts from Kenyan migrants, improvement of consular services in areas with large concentration of Kenyan migrants to ensure security and good relations with the Kenyan migrants, use of Kenyans abroad as goodwill ambassadors for promoting Kenyan tourism boosting the economy, tapping Diaspora talents to reverse brain drain and acquire social resources from migrants and not just economic and political remittances, and the use of technology to improve on data collection on migrants for proper

planning and engagement initiatives. These issues can be taken as the goals of the bridge being formed between the GoK and the Kenyan migrants.

However, there is need for strategic methods to be used to build the bridge and the KDP provides measures and strategies that are to be followed when engaging with Kenyan migrants so as to ensure a budding relationship. These measures, just to mention a few, include enhancing consular assistance capacity, creation of a platform for continuous dialogue with Kenyan migrants, creation of an incentivizing framework and tailor-made investment packages to encourage Kenyan migrant participation in Kenyan national development agendas, promoting Kenyan migrants philanthropic agendas, developing a Kenyan ‘Diaspora’ information database and the creation of councils and institutions to directly engage with matters pertaining Kenyan migrants.

KDP, among several other nations with similar ‘diaspora’ policy documents, (further) justifies the global rhetoric of migrants as being development agents and also providing precedence for transnational governance activities undertaken by the remittance receiving origin governments in the name of assisting and engaging with their migrants abroad. The KDP creates and defines the boundaries of interaction, that is, it develops and sustains the social space where the state and Kenyan migrants can freely interact with each other and extract resources (tangible and non-tangible) from each other.

These issues focused on by the KDP specify what can be tackled within the state-Kenyan migrants’ social space. By streamlining the migrants into a policy framework, GoK has ensured the continued existence of the supposed good relations between the state and the Kenyan migrants, and the portrayal of a favorable supportive environment to Kenyan migrants within certain boundaries. The emphasis within KDP on streamlining Kenyan migrants is to ensure



that GoK is able to acquire and utilize Kenyan migrant resources and issues beyond this cannot be discussed within the KDP framework.

Thus, the role of the policy in this case is to propagate the remittance - development narrative where the migrants potential is not being fully exploited and utilized. In addition, the policy reinforces the rationale that the proper and effective utilization of remittances will lead to the common good of the nation, a 'benefit for all' notion. And that the GoK is the main actor to facilitate the process of remittance utilization while Kenyan migrants acquire and redistribute the resources acquired. The policy then further creates a boundary in the state-migrant remittances social spaces by stipulating the power of both the Kenyan migrants and GoK when engaging in this social space. That is, there are limits as to what and how far each actor can behave or act while in this space. And it seems that this space may be the only place migrants may be heard and valued by the state.

#### ***4.2.1.2. The 2010 Constitution of Kenya***

What is the role of the Kenyan 2010 Constitution in propagating the policy and politically oriented remittance narrative in Kenya?

The Kenyan 2010 constitution is utilized as an argument in the KDP on why there is a need for a policy for engaging Kenyan migrants. A constitution, that places an obligatory role to GoK in ensuring that they engage and facilitate with Kenyan citizens in ensuring that their rights to vote, access to dual citizenship and the security of the citizens within and without the Kenyan borders is exercised. This obligatory role of the GoK abroad enables a transnational relationship between Kenyan diaspora and the Kenyan government and even between the Kenyan government and the states of settlement. From viewing the expected roles Kenyan

migrants are to play, this relationship is further solidified in the Kenyan constitution enabling capital transactions – monetary and political - between states and migrants.

Migrant agency in the Kenyan state once again seems bounded within policy and political frameworks such as the KDP and the Kenyan 2010 constitution which draw out the state stipulated strengths and limits of migrants. And beyond this stipulated space, where migrants agency resides, contradictions begin to emerge as is the case of dual citizen Mwende Mwinzi an American born Kenyan who was H.E. President Uhuru Kenyatta’s presidential nominee for South Korea’s ambassadorial position (Kenya High Commission, South Korea) faced challenges in Parliament when her appointment was challenged by Kenyan state officials claiming that she has to renounce her United states citizenship so as to take the position. In an interview with a journalist from the Sunday standard, a Kenyan newspaper outlet, Mwende Mwinzi was quoted,

“This is not about me, although It does affect me. This is about the many Kenyans who ought to be mainstreamed into Kenya’s development and leadership. It cannot be that for all that we do for our country, and all that it does for us, we suddenly become strangers in times like these,”(Musau 2019).

With the case of Mwende Mwinzi, the boundaries of the remittance social space become visible on how far Kenyan migrants and their descendants, and the state can go. Dual citizenship, an act of fostering better relations with Kenyan migrants and their dependents so as to increase remitting practices is challenged when the relationship is stretched beyond the boundaries set by the state through key reference documents like the KDP and the 2010 constitution of Kenya.

In another newspaper, The East African, an article tackling the case of Mwende Mwinzi written by George Mucee delves into the problematic contradictions between what Kenyan migrants

are envisioned to do and what, in reality, they can actually do. He looks at the limits of the Kenyan migrants political capital whereby Kenyan migrants "...are considered patriotic when sharing their resources or when they are leading their private lives yet, their loyalty is questioned when it comes to them holding public office..."(Mucee 2019).

Mwende Mwinzi's case is just one case which brings out how the set boundaries of interaction between migrants and the Kenyan state are becoming more and more visible as these very boundaries are beginning to be challenged by Kenyan migrants. However, what is becoming more clear is that the remittance policy and political narrative in Kenya has gradually developed from a focus on the economic, to the socio-economic and towards the political arena which now is being actively challenged by Kenyan migrants who seem to no longer what to be confined by state expectations of what Kenyan migrants are supposed to be and to do. Hence, the remittance policy and political narrative in Kenya currently seems to be experiencing a changing phase.

#### ***4.2.1.3. Kenya Foreign Policy (KFP)***

Kenyan foreign policy (KFP) has always existed in Kenya since independence in 1963 however there was no written evidence of the existence of this policy. However, in 2015 the Kenyan Ministry of Foreign Affairs published the first written KFP. The need for a written document was to ensure that there was one key reference document that provided guidelines in facing dynamic engagements in a global environment filled with different players(2009, 2). The KFP framework is divided into five main diplomacy pillars which inform Kenya's foreign engagements; these pillars include the Economic Diplomacy pillar, Peace Diplomacy Pillar, Environmental Diplomacy pillar, Cultural Diplomacy pillar and the Diaspora Diplomacy Pillar.

The focus of this study being an attempt to understand the remittance policy and political narratives in Kenya will focus on the ‘Diaspora Diplomacy’ pillar which provides insight into the GoK’s perception of Kenyan migrants and the modes of integrating them into the nation and its developmental dreams. Where engagements with Kenyan migrants by the state is to be considered as a national objective(2009, 8). A partnership that they would like to build and sustain.

KFP engages, just like the KDP, with the Kenyan migrants as untapped resources and the need for acquiring and utilizing these resources towards national development agendas(2009, 9). There is also, similarly to the KDP, role defining for the Kenyan migrants as being goodwill ambassadors responsible for establishing a strong international presence and image for Kenya (2009, 14). Article 48 (2009, 22) recognizes that by the state recognizing the importance of Kenyan migrants in national development agendas there is need to explore several strategies of harnessing these resources – strategies that are similar and aligned with the KDP’s strategies.

#### **4.2.2. Direct Investment of Migrant Economic and Non-Economic Remittances into National Development Projects**

##### ***4.2.2.1. The Utilization of Kenyan Migrants Social Remittances towards National Development Projects, Vision 2030 Agenda***

Kenya Vision 2030 document is the GoK’s blueprint outlining the plans for the future of Kenya that will be a newly ‘industrialized middle-income’ country(2007b, 1). Launched on October 30<sup>th</sup> 2006 by H.E. President Mwai Kibaki, the document was implemented in the beginning of 2008 upon expiration of the Economic Recovery Strategy for Wealth and Employment Creation (ERS) on 31<sup>st</sup> December 2007 ((2007b, 3).

The ERS program was a key program from 2002 to 2007 that enabled Kenya to restart its economy and regain its path towards rapid growth: this was after a disappointing economic performance in the 1990s(2007b, 1). This vision was and is an opportunity for the government to provide a better future for Kenyans which they encourage their citizens to look forward to and to also work towards it(2007b, 1). The actualization of the vision is dependent on the improvement and upscaling of the country's economic performance and development, creating and sustaining a cohesive society founded on social equity and security, and the realization of an issue-based democratic political system (a direct democracy where the general public have a conscious and continuous willful input on issues affecting the nation). The plans are outlined in comprehensive details on multiple strategies and flagship projects to undertake to ensure the GoK's plan and vision is attained for Kenya by the deadline year, 2030.

One of the key arguments utilized in the Kenya Diaspora Policy ascertaining the necessity for the policy was that, the KDP is a Vision 2030 flagship program (Government of Kenya 2014, ii). KDP as a flagship program enables the creation of a space where several other projects or initiatives/goals can be performed in this space; KDP sets the pace for other projects to be realized. From analyzing both the popular version and official version of the vision document, both documents recognize the importance of involving Kenyans Living abroad and their role in vision 2030. However, the official document delves into more details on the Kenyan Diaspora role in Kenya's vision 2030 plan.

#### **4.2.2.2. Explicit Role creation for Kenyans living Abroad in Kenya's 2030 vision**

In the official vision 2030 document the role of Kenyans living abroad becomes more and more pronounced. One of the area identified as key in the vision is the Human Resource Development and talent cultivation in Kenya by channeling in the expertise of Kenyans living

abroad whereby ‘Kenya’s main potential is its people’(2007a, 23). To be able to have a globally competitive state in 2030 the GoK aims to improve the talent capabilities of its citizens and one of the strategies employed is tapping into talent from Kenyans Living abroad. And to facilitate the engagement of talent sourcing and development from Kenyans abroad a ‘Diaspora policy’ and Bill would be prepared in this effect(2007a, 25).

Under the vision’s goal of addressing problems facing vulnerable groups<sup>5</sup> increasing remittance inflows from Kenyans abroad is one of the strategies listed to tackle the problems facing vulnerable groups in Kenya. The strategy for attaining this goal is to encourage Kenyan abroad to remit more money so as achieve the remittance amounts that are 5% of the GDP hence enabling GoK to leverage remittances as one of the key sources of long-term capital in Kenya. In addition GoK aims to put in place measures that encourage and increase long-term international capital inflows(2007a, 138–39).

#### ***4.2.2.3.Going beyond passive remitting to active remitting: The Big 4 Agenda***

The Big 4 Agenda is a personal project undertaken by the current President of Kenya H.E President Uhuru Kenyatta, a project that was aligned and incorporated within Kenya’s Vision 2030. The Big 4 Agenda is a focused project aimed at improving the lives of Kenyans by creating better living standards, improving the economic performance of the country, reducing unemployment, ensuring food security, universal health coverage and affordable housing for Kenyans. The agenda driven by 4 key pillars, ‘manufacturing, affordable housing, universal health coverage and food security’ (The Government of Kenya 2018) calls upon the national

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<sup>5</sup> Vulnerable groups according to the Kenya Vision 2030 official document include widows and widowers, orphans and children at risk, persons with disabilities, under-age mothers, the poor of the poorest, internally and externally displaced persons, and the elderly(The Government of Kenya 2007a, 139).

and county governments, local and foreign investors, development partners and the Kenyan citizens to be active in assisting in the implementation and success of the Big 4 Agenda.

Kenyan migrants in this case may fall as either citizen implementers as per their constitutional citizenship rights, dual or birth, or/and as local or foreign investors of the project. Regardless of the position they take as implementers in the Big 4 project Kenyan migrants have been encouraged to consider a portion/percentage of their monetary remittances to be directed towards direct investments in Kenya's national development projects. This is not a new strategy employed in fund acquisition by GoK. However, there is a strong advocacy in documented projects such as the Big 4 Agenda that are targeting remitting patterns and motives of Kenyan migrants.

With the Big 4 Agenda the call for direct investment of migrant monetary remittances has become even louder and more verbalized by GoK and its officials to the Kenyan migrants. In a 2019 annual 'Diaspora' convention whose theme was 'Diaspora and The Big 4 Agenda' Kenyan migrants were termed by the Devolution Cabinet Secretary Eugene Wamalwa as the 48<sup>th</sup> county<sup>6</sup> of Kenya which was 'the largest and most influential'(Wamalwa 2019). The convention covered by Chris Wamalwa from the *Daily Nation*, one of Kenya's newspaper outlets, further quoted the Devolution Cabinet Secretary speech from the event,

"Kenyans in Diaspora play a big role in the development of the country and the government is committed to making sure that the role is mainstreamed in the politics and socio-economic welfare of the country... The Diaspora policy is now operational. The money you are remitting

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<sup>6</sup> In 2013 under Article 6 of the 2010 Constitution of Kenya, the Government of Kenya was decentralized into a National government and County governments. These county governments, 47 in total, were accorded 47 governors with political and administrative power over their respective counties (Kenya Law 2013; The Government of Kenya 2010).

is helping spur development in the counties. The Big 4 Agenda fits within the devolved system. We want to see how we can structure engagement between the Diaspora and the counties. The universal healthcare initiative started in Kisumu and Machakos are some of the initiatives where (there can be) more Diaspora participation,” CS Eugene Wamalwa, 2019 Diaspora Convention (Wamalwa 2019).

Migrant monetary remittances are no longer sufficient in just being passive transfers of monies from destination to origin countries as receipts. Rather origin states, in this case GoK is calling for active and direct participation in conjunction with the transfers of monies. Monetary remittances are no longer just statistics but tools of influence and change according to GoK.

An article by (Njiraini 2020) looks at the Kenyan governments endeavor in increasing and growing remittance amounts so as to finance government projects; “...the government is availing opportunities to enable remittances to be invested directly into Big 4 Agenda projects. There are plans to issue a Diaspora green bond in which Kenyans working and living abroad can invest in affordable housing, food security, manufacturing and affordable healthcare...”(Njiraini 2020).

With Kenya vision 2030 and The Big 4 Agenda the political narrative surrounding migrant remittances brings out social, economic and political potential of Kenyan migrants as perceived by the government. With these two projects and the cases mentioned, a considerable effort is being placed in mainstreaming migrants into the Kenyan development vision. Their roles are clearly outlined and served to the migrants to take them up in the name of solidarity with their home, Kenya.



#### **4.3. The Push Factors that influenced the Policy and Political Remittance Narrative in Kenya: The AU'S hand in Kenya's' interaction with Kenyan migrants**

In analyzing the KDP, the African Union (AU) was mentioned as having had an influence in the development of the policy. Using Balanta B,urassa's article on *how the African union was established to include the African diaspora*<sup>7</sup> the article provides a comprehensive summary of the thought-processes and initiatives undertaken by the AU in venturing into the development of Africa with African migrants as their weapon of choice.

The African Union from as early as the 2000s has been advocating for an effective collaboration between African migrants and the AU, clearly aiming towards permanently aligning African migrants in the AU. In 2003 in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia the AU put forward a mandate for encouraging African migrants towards active and complete participation in the building of the African Union as one of the core elements of building the African continent.

Kenya, as a member state of the AU and a signatory of the AU 'Diaspora' mandate is obligated to comply and implement the decisions agreed upon and adopted by the AU towards African 'Diaspora'. Some of the decisions obliged by the Kenyan government in relation to the African Diaspora and their role to the African continent include the "perception of an African Diaspora".

The African Union defines the African 'Diaspora' as, "*Consisting of people of African origin living outside the continent irrespective of their citizenship and nationality and who are willing to contribute to the development of the continent and the building of the African Union*". With

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<sup>7</sup> Excerpts from Ras Nathaniel's five-volume set, 'Come Out of Her, My People! 21st Century Black Prophetic Faith and Pan African Diplomacy' (Nathaniel 2018).

the willingness to contribute to development by the African migrants comes an even bigger responsibility to the AU and its member states in cultivating and maintaining this willingness to contribute. African migrants provide ambassadorial support to AU programs, public education and sensitization of the publics in the regions they are settled in about Africa, lobbying, advocacy, creation of a political space for AU goals and objectives, fundraising and resource mobilization. While the AU provides African migrants with involvement in the policy making processes, some level representation, symbolic identification, provision of some sort of dual or honorary citizenship, trade benefits and preference for entrepreneurs, social and political recognition in AU summits and meetings. The AU views African migrants as business partners and worked towards putting in place measures of supporting African migrants.

This perception of an ‘African Diaspora’ trickles into the Kenyan governments perception and understanding of Kenyan migrants. Just as discussed in the KDP section on the courtship between the Kenyan government and the Kenyan migrants, it’s a courtship between the African continent and African migrants. A courtship that emphasizes on the reciprocity of the relationship between African migrants and the AU; The emphasis on the relationship between African migrants and the AU/member states, should be reciprocal, complimentary and a partnership between these players. These assets should be encouraged to fully participate in the development of Africa, to investment and engage in business opportunities (where there are trade preferences and benefits for African ‘Diaspora’) as they are a resource to the AU and to Africa.

In January 2013, the AU Executive Council authorized the headquarters of the *African Institute for Remittances (AIR)* to be established in Nairobi, Kenya. The AIR initiative was a collaborative national, regional and international project where the AU together with its member states worked with the World Bank, and development partners such as The European

Commission, African Development Bank and the International Organization of Migration (IOM) to establish AIR.

AIR was launched in November 2014 with a mandate to develop the capacity of member states, remitting migrants and their dependents, and other stakeholders in the use of remittances towards development and towards poverty reduction (Kenya School of Monetary Studies 2014). Furthermore, the main objects of AIR towards migrant remittances therefore are assisting member states governments in establishing effective regulatory frameworks, carrying out and facilitating training and knowledge transference on remittances, monitoring and studying remittance inflows in Africa and conducting policy research and reporting on ways of effectively directing remittances into the development of African states.

Hence, AU's influence on the perception of remittances and of African migrants in Kenya is clearly seen and duplicated within the KDP which then influences other policy documents, development project documents and the messages tailored and delivered to migrants by government officials. From the need to engage with Kenyan migrants, viewing Kenyan migrants as assets and courting them so as to extract the migrant's resources all these perspectives align with the AUs which is expected as Kenya is a member state of the AU. Furthermore, Kenya through AIR became the beacon of the continent's vision of mainstreaming African migrants into the continents and AU's member states developmental visions and agendas. And this alignment with the AU further builds the policy and political remittance narrative in Kenya.

## Conclusion

*To identify the remittance policy and political narratives in Kenya as propagated by the Government of Kenya in state and non-state published public documents in collaboration with regional and international organizations.*

The purpose of this study was to bridge the existing knowledge gap with regard to understanding the ‘journey’ of governments in the third world have walked to embrace what started as remittances by migrants to sustain their families in the origin country into a major resource input into the economic development of the countries. Utilizing discourse analysis to analyze key documents published by the Government of Kenya (GoK) and some published by GoK in partnership with regional and international organizations key features depicting and propagating the policy and political remittances narrative in Kenya were identified.

### **Continuous recognition and incorporation of Kenyan migrants into the Kenyan economic, social and political sphere**

A key focus of the study was to identify the steps that have been taken by the GoK in recognition of Kenyan migrants and their incorporation into different spheres of the nation’s operations. With the CBK reports, 1990 – 2018, an economic development of the recognition and incorporation of Kenyan migrants into the economy is gradually established from absence of recognition remittances in the 1990s and early 2000s to remittances being permanently incorporated into the Kenyan economy today. Kenya Vision 2030 and KDP are the epitome of this recognition of Kenyan migrants and their role into developing Kenya and in a similar path KFP and the Big 4 agenda further continue to recognize, include and incorporate Kenyan migrants into the operations geared towards fund acquisition and/or nation development. The process of recognition and incorporation is one that is vital when engaging with migrants and

their acquired capital; there is a constant need to reify that migrants are visible and that they, their remittances and voice, are important and this seems to be a key component which the state utilizes whether on documents or in conferences with migrants to ensure that migrants continue to be ‘patriotic’ by remitting.

However, it seems that migrant remittances are migrant’s only badge of visibility and agency, and without these extractable resources where are these migrants and who are these migrants? (Small 2019) briefly engages on the deliberate silence that is placed on the costs and burdens of migration (hardship, risk and bodily absence) that some migrants undergo while acquiring the capital that states aim to extract. Similarly, key documents analyzed bring out migrants as sources of economic, social and political benefit and in as much as the government promises support in terms of increased consular services, reduced remitting costs and incentives for supporting the state they fail to address issues that affect migrants whether as individuals or as a group. Which is just as Small argued, that migrant monetary remittances become ‘public goods’ under the control of the remittance receiving states (2019, 8). The entangled relationship existing between Kenyan migrants and the GoK through remittances permits certain issues and views to be entertained within the relationship and other issues are neglected yet are vital in the process of remitting and the life of migrants.

### **Creation and sustenance of a bounded social space of interaction between Kenyan migrants and the Government of Kenya**

Lacroix’s communicative framework on remittances provided a foundational basis for understanding this interactional aspect of migrants and the state. His argument that through remittances, migrants and non-migrants (family, community and the state) can communicate and express themselves socially, economically and politically has proven true with the Kenyan

migrants through their remittances (Lacroix 2014). Through the key documents analyzed the state communicates to migrants, be it vaguely or clearly on where migrants stand when it comes to national development and national issues; The position of the migrant is defined through state, regional and international expectations of them.

The state expectations that migrants maintain their allegiance to the state is shown through remitting as is the case of the GoK whether verbally or through documents they constantly advocate for more and more remittances towards nation building. The communicative dimension of remittances in Kenya, between Kenyan migrants and the GoK, is on a developmental and political aspect whereby the strength of migrants is seen through their monetary remittance amounts and this proves beneficial both economically and politically. While social remittances in the end have, exchange/economic value for the nation.

Furthermore, as seen in the case of Mwende Mwinzi when migrants challenge the limits set by the state on migrant – state relations then migrants face restrictions from the very state and state officials that strongly advocate for their involvement in national issues and development.

### **The changing obligations of remitting: Moral and Market based remitting**

This increased focus on remittances by the state for economic and political reasons is encroaching on the moral rationale usually tied to traditional remitting practices. Migrants undertake risk management tactics when it comes to the money that they send back home which is partly remitted for the sustenance and investment of dependents and another is utilized to self-invest by the migrants starting a business and/or building a house in the country of origin (Lacroix 2014). And largely today governments such as the GoK are trying to also get their share of these monetary remittances as well as encouraging political and social remitting to solidify their perpetrated ‘mutually beneficial relationship of nation building’ with migrants.

The recognition of remittances as a source of capital for the state brought about a strongly state, regional and international advocacy for the move from traditional remitting (family sustenance and investments) to market remitting (national investments and increased self-investment). The policy and political arena in Kenya are pushing for the market-oriented remitting in the name of patriotic national development.

### **Identity Creation for migrants by the state**

A continuous trend within policy and political public documents published by the Kenyan government, AU and the IOM is role creation for Kenyan migrants. Even though in some of these documents the roles defined may be vague (use of Kenyans Abroad to promote tourism) but in some they are distinctly specific (monetary remittances to be utilized in providing for vulnerable groups in Kenya) on what migrant remittances are to be used for. The utilization of remittances depicts the identity and responsibilities placed on Kenyan migrants by the Kenyan government. This can be explained through the development and market pitches made to migrants that coerce them to fund specific projects or take up ambassadorial roles.

Pécoud argued for disciplined mobility whereby states, regional and international powers imposed particular behaviors on migrants and to be migrants (those who might migrate in future) so as to create and maintain migrant identities and behaviors (Geiger and Pécoud 2013). ‘Diaspora policies’ and migrant engagement initiatives organized and executed by the GoK together with International organizations further elaborated Pécoud’s disciplined migrant agency where the political and legal conceptualization of Kenyan migrants are bounded by state and non-state authority. The supposed behaviors and identities – ‘development heroes’, ‘development state partners’ and ‘influential actors’ that Kenyan migrants are expected to portray by the GoK are maintained through state policies and projects which outline the

‘influential’ roles of Kenyan migrants to the economy, to development, to politics and to the image of Kenya.

Pecoud’s ‘Disciplining Reality: Categories and Discourses’(2013, 7–9) analyses the use of certain words and categories whereby when used and arranged in a certain manner enables discourses to frame reality in a particular way, for instance the use of ‘African Diaspora’ or ‘Kenyan Diaspora’ or ‘effective utilization and/or extraction of migrant resources’. ‘Diaspora’ as per the African union definition is the term used for African interested in developing the continent through economic and non-economic remittances.

These rolled out categories and discourses bring to life certain types of individuals and/or groups and how the world (state, authorities and general public) perceives and treats these categorized and discoursed persons and/or groups. These categories and discourses used portray migrants as goldmines which need supervision and intervention from state and non-state authority to ensure that the resources they have acquired are ‘effectively’ and ‘efficiently’ utilized. Such use of these politically defined words and categories are active in shaping and ordering reality which then create certain representations and ‘shared views’ legitimizing the varying political interests and interventions on reality by states and non-state actors (2013, 8).

### **How Kenya sustains the remittance – development rhetoric**

These ‘shared views’ on migrants seem to trickle down from the global arena, to the regional and into the GoK’s perception of migrants and their capital. With the trickle down of perceptions of migrants and their remittances Kenya has incorporated the global and regional views on remittances and its links to development. Where, African migrants, ‘African Diaspora’ and ‘Kenyan Diaspora’ are transnational agents of development, assets and



development partners of developing nations or migrants who answered the call to build their motherland.

The involvement of international organizations is seen through the actions of the AU and the GoK in which an intergovernmental cooperation is constantly referenced in regard to the funding of remittance-development projects in Africa and in Kenya. Just as argued by Ghana's President Kwame Nkrumah (1966) and by Pecoud (2013) that's economic power is the tool of domination utilized by these international organizations. With remittances having surpassed foreign aid and foreign direct investments a need to still have control in remittance receiving states was garnered through funding and knowledge production in remittance and migrant engagement initiatives to be imposed upon remittance receiving states. Kinuthia et al (2017) however, argue that Kenya's migrant engagement policies are mere knee-jerk responses for international recognition and that without AU's insistence on migrant incorporation to development of member states the Kenyan government motive towards migrant engagement comes out as half-hearted and not a full-fledged interest in Kenyan migrants and who they are and what they have to offer to Kenya.

Hence, in as much as there is an explicit development in migrant remittance recognition, incorporation and sustenance in Kenya the empowerment of migrants is stipulated within state defined boundaries and the need to go beyond creates complications to the foundation of the relationship between migrants and the Kenyan state. Depicting the confined nature that migrants are imposed into within the remittance-development nexus in Kenya. It is at this point, that the study calls for further investigation into the experiences of migrants with and their understanding of state and non-state published documents.

Furthermore, there is a need in ensuring that the redirection of migrant remittances to development projects are utilized for the ordained purpose since remitting obligations are graduating towards market remitting. And by ensuring this, traditional remitting to one's dependents and community of origin will still be adhered to. The GoK, policy makers and researchers need to reevaluate the motives towards engagement practices with Kenyan migrants. This is because, as more and more involvement of Kenyan migrants into the nations matters is encouraged, the government may need to expand or disintegrate the boundaries they currently impose on migrants to ensure the much-advocated full participation in the nation's development.

## Appendices

### *Annex 1: Monetary Remittances Integration into the Kenyan Economy*

CBK Report Fiscal Year of Publication	Information on remittances in the report	Remittance amount (USD)	Remarks
1990 - 2005	No mention of remittances.	n.d.	A relationship between the economy and remittance receipts was yet to be formally recognized in Kenya.
2005/2006 (Central Bank of Kenya 2006)	Deposit Liabilities: Increase in bank funding (deposit base) was due to external donor inflows, remittances from Kenyans abroad, and tourism and export receipts(2006, 35).	n.d.	A recognition for remittances is seen in Banking sector development.
2006/2007 (Central Bank of Kenya 2007)	<p>Increase of the state's net current transfer receipts in part due to external remittance receipts(2007, 46).</p> <p>Stability of the Kenyan shilling is dependent on the increment of imports, long-term capital and also remittance receipts(2007, 51).</p> <p>Mobile Banking and Remittance System: The bank with the government are working on a policy and regulations for electronic money products, mobile phone banking and money remittance systems(2007, 57).</p>	n.d.	<p>Remittance receipts are beginning to have a more descriptive role in the Kenyan economy.</p> <p>Onset of recognition of mobile banking and remittance systems in Kenya and the need for regulation and policies in this industry.</p>

2007/2008 (Central Bank of Kenya 2008)	<p>Increase of external remittances which led to a rise of funds in service account(2008, 43).</p> <p>Mobile phone usage for funds transfer: Continued innovative remittance services by mobile phone companies (Safaricom and Celtel). Upsurge of private firms wanting to provide money transfer/remittance services. The bank in this regard was working on a policy to guide money transfer systems as per international standards for remittances service providers(Bank of International Settlement)(2008, 53,55-56).</p>	n.d.	<p>Remittance receipts are monitored and utilized in state finance statements.</p> <p>Recognition of the rising need for remittance system guidance policy due to the increased interest in money transfer/remittances systems.</p>
2008/2009 (Central Bank of Kenya 2009)	World Economy: A global detailed overview of remittance inflows to several developing states and a table of this data by Global Development Finance and, Economic Survey(2009, 3).	n.d.	Introduction of a remittance section however at a global perspective but not Kenya specific remittance data.
2009/2010 (Central Bank of Kenya 2010)	World Economy: A global detailed overview of remittance inflows to several developing states and a table of this data by World Bank(2010, 2).	n.d.	Provides a global perspective on remittances but not Kenya specific remittance data.
2010/2011 (Central Bank of Kenya 2011)	<p>World Economy: A global detailed overview of remittance inflows to several developing states and a table of this data by World Bank(2011, 2).</p> <p>Data on remittance inflow and their utilization in Kenya according to a World Bank survey(2011, 41).</p>	n.d.	<p>Kenya specific remittance data is outsourced by the CBK.</p> <p>A continued recognition for remittances is seen in Banking sector development.</p>

	Deposit Liabilities: Increase in bank funding (deposit base) was due to remittances from Kenyans abroad, bank branch expansions and receipts from exports(2011, 46)		
2011/2012 (Central Bank of Kenya 2012)	Data on Kenyan Migrants remittance inflows(2012, 39).  Deposit Liabilities: Increase in bank funding (deposit base) was due to remittances from Kenyans abroad, bank branch expansions and receipts from exports(2012, 45).	1,080 Million (2012, 39)	CBK produces own data on Kenyan remittances.
2012/2013 (Central Bank of Kenya 2013)	Stability of the Kenyan shilling is due, in part, to resilient Diaspora remittances(2013, 17,26)  Diaspora remittances are expected to ensure exchange rate stability in the coming fiscal year(2013, 28).	1,199 Million (2013, 39)	First mention of Diaspora.  Recognition of remittance unique quality 'resilience'.
2013/2014 (Central Bank of Kenya 2014)	Banking Sector development: Licensing of Money Remittance providers; 5 money remittance providers licensed by CBK by June 2014. CBK included money remittance providers in the CBK Act 2012(amended) as authorized dealers(2014, 43,48).	1,356 Million (2014, 39)	Formalization of money remittance providers in Kenya; Money Remittance Regulations.
2014/2015 (Central Bank Of Kenya 2015)	World Economy: A global detailed overview of remittance inflows to several developing states and a table of this data(2015, 3).  Resilience of Diaspora remittance inflows and the stability of the Kenyan shilling(2015, 25).	135,963 Million (2015, 35)	Recognition of permanence of remittances in the Kenyan economy regarding:  - Stabilizing the Kenyan shilling - Banking Sector Developments

	<p>Banking sector developments had 14 licensed money remittance providers by June 2015(2015, 39).</p> <p>Bank Funding increased due to expansions, remittances and agency banking(2015, 40).</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Up to date statistics on remittances by CBK</li> </ul>
2015/2016 (Central Bank of Kenya 2016)	<p>Stability of the foreign exchange market despite global uncertainties due to diaspora remittance receipts together with improved earnings from exports (2016, 7).</p> <p>World Economy: A global detailed overview of remittance inflows to several developing states and a table of this data(2016, 5).</p> <p>Domestic Economy: 12 months cumulative remittance flows table whose increment and resilience enabled increase in the Secondary account also entry of additional money remittance providers in the market(2016, 57–58).</p> <p>Structure of the Kenyan Banking sector had 17 licensed money remittance providers by June 2016(2016, 63).</p>	1,665 Million (2016, 58)	<p>Recognition of permanence of remittances in the Kenyan economy regarding:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Stabilizing the Kenyan shilling</li> <li>- Banking Sector Developments</li> <li>- Up to date statistics on remittances by CBK</li> </ul>
2016/2017 (Central bank of Kenya 2017)	<p>Stability of the foreign exchange market despite global uncertainties (Brexit) due to diaspora remittance receipts together with tea and horticulture exports(2017, 40).</p> <p>World Economy: A global detailed overview of remittance inflows to several developing states and a table of this data (2017, 5–6).</p>	1,759 Million (2017, 35)	<p>Remittances are integrated into the Kenyan economy with a role in the financial accounts of the country. Remittance data and analysis provides a global view of remittance inflows as well as Kenya specific data on remittance inflows and its role in the Kenyan economy.</p>

	<p>Domestic Economy: 12 months cumulative remittance flows table whose increment and resilience is due to success of cheaper and convenient mobile money payments(2017, 35).</p> <p>Expectation that remittances will remain resilient in the coming fiscal year(2017, 51).</p> <p>Structure of the Kenyan Banking sector had 18 licensed money remittance providers by June 2017(2017, 52).</p>		
2017/2018 (Central Bank of Kenya 2018)	<p>Stability of the foreign exchange market due to diaspora remittance receipts together with tourism and agricultural exports (2018, 42)</p> <p>Secondary Income Balance increased due to higher remittance inflows (Central Bank of Kenya 2018, 16)</p> <p>Resilient remittances are due to newly formed relationships between commercial banks and international money remittance providers bringing down high costs of remitting internationally (2018, 18)</p> <p>Expectation that remittances will remain resilient in the coming fiscal year (2018, 43).</p> <p>Structure of the Kenyan Banking sector had 19 licensed money remittance providers by June 2018(2018, 44).</p>	2,438 Million (2018, 18)	Remittances are integrated into the Kenyan economy with a role in the financial accounts of the country. Remittance data and analysis is majorly Kenya specific; the report does not provide a global view of remittance data and analysis.

**Source:** ((Central Bank of Kenya n.d.)Author, 2020)





***Annex 2: Developments in the evolution of Kenya's Diaspora policy***  
***Developments in the evolution of Kenya's diaspora policy***

Year	Main Development	Remarks
2001	Kenya appointed the signatory to the African Unions Constitutive Act (2001), which is aimed at promoting the participation of African professionals in the continent and in the Diaspora.	This can be considered the earliest documented moment of Kenya's recognition of the role of its diaspora
2004	The formation of the National Diaspora Council of Kenya.	The council remains inactive, thereby defeating the purpose of its original formation
2002 - 2007	The Government of Kenya (GoK) consults with members of the diaspora on the best way to promote their involvement in developing the nation.	
2007	The GoK creates a Diaspora Technical Team, The Kenya Private Sector Alliances (KEPSA) and diaspora representatives. The team prepares a report on "Maximizing the Potential and Input of the Kenyan Diaspora in the Political Process, Wealth Creation, Employment	Up to now, only the Kenya Private Sector Alliance has retained any presence in Kenya's public imaginaries. The role of the diaspora representatives on the team is unclear

	Generation and Poverty” ahead of the Kenya Diaspora Bill 2007.	
2009	In response to the Presidential Circular No.1 of 2008, the Diaspora Committee is moved to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs from the Ministry of Planning	The Ministry of Foreign Affairs did, in 2014, come up with a Strategic Plan that mentions Kenya’s diasporic communities
2009	Diaspora Diplomacy made into a pillar of Kenyan Foreign Policy	Captured in (Article 46, 47, 48)
2010	Non-resident rights such as voting rights, dual citizenship, and automatic citizenship for child born to Kenyan parents embedded in the new constitution	The right to vote for diasporic Kenyans is only enjoyed to the extent that Kenyans in the diaspora do not, now, lose their Kenyan citizenship by acquiring any other. But, as happened in 2013, neither the government nor the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission has labored enough to ensure that Kenyans in the diaspora can register and vote from their host countries. In essence, the right to vote is an ideal and not a practice.
2010	Investment forums are organized in the USA and the UK, for example The Kenya Diaspora Investment EXPO 2010	The outcomes of these are not clear because there is no evidence of follow-up initiatives or mechanisms of quantifying the impact of such forums.
2011	Draft Diaspora Policy released by Ministry of Foreign Affairs	At this stage, little could be done in the name of this policy
2011	Diaspora Bond issued in support of infrastructure projects	
2012	Kenya ratifies the Amendment to the African Union (AU) Constitutive Act Article 3(q), which welcomes the full participation of the African Diaspora in building the African Union.	This, again, may be an indication of Kenya’s willingness to conform to international protocols.
2012	Study visit by the Ministry of Labour, Social Security and Services, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, and the Department of Immigration and registration of persons to India and Morocco to create a better understanding of diaspora engagement strategies.	Relevant insights from the study visit informed the formulation and implementation of the 2014 Kenya Diaspora Policy.

2013	The Executive Council of the Africa Union accepts Kenya's offer to host the African Institute for Remittances (AIR)	The African Institute for remittances (AIR) was on November 28 launched at the Kenya School of Monetary Studies (KSMS), where it is hosted.
2014	Kenyan Diaspora Policy is published	Since 2001, this marks the beginning of singular direction on government engagement with its diasporic populations. The government's commitment to this is seen in the Kenyan Diaspora Policy, officially known by the same name.
2015	Kenya Foreign Policy, thus called, is published	Approved by President Uhuru Kenyatta
2015	Launch of the Kenyan Diaspora Policy by Kenyan President Uhuru Kenyatta on January 20 at the Kenyatta International Convention Centre	Also, in attendance were the cabinet Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Principal Secretary, Ministry of Labour, Social Security and Services, the CEO Kenya Commercial Bank, among other key players in diaspora matters. Diaspora engagement, according to the President and other stakeholders will be based on the five pillars of Foreign Policy— economic diplomacy, peace diplomacy, environmental diplomacy, cultural diplomacy and Diaspora diplomacy. The Diaspora Policy acts a guide to “harnessing the wealth and expertise of Kenyans in the diaspora to our development efforts”
Forthcoming	Plans to establish a National Diaspora Council of Kenya (NADICOK) outlined in the Kenyan Diaspora Policy, to oversee the implementation of the Kenyan Diaspora Policy.	The Council will operate under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade and is expected to advise the government on issues of Kenyans in the diaspora.

Source: (Kinuthia, Jonyo, and Godwin 2017)<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Adapted from Bonfiglio et al. (2015)

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